ROME AND CHALDEAN PATRIARCHATE IN CONFLICT

SCHISM OF BISHOP ROKOS IN INDIA

PAUL PALLATH

ROME AND CHALDEAN PATRIARCHATE IN CONFLICT

Schism of Bishop Rokos in India

Paul Pallath



HIRS Publications Changanacherry 2017

Rome and Chaldean Patriarchate in Conflict: Schism of Bishop Rokos in India

Author : Paul Pallath

Published by : HIRS publications

Mar Thoma Vidyanikethan

P. B. No. 20

Changa na cherry-686101

Kerala, India

First published: August 2017

© Copy right : To the Author

Printed at : St Joseph's Orphanage Press, Changanacherry

Available at : HIRS publications

Mar Thoma Vidyanikethan

P. B. No. 20

Changanacherry – 686101

Kerala, India Tel. 0481 2421891

E-mail: mnikethan@gmail.com

Price : ₹ 500/-

ISBN 978-81-87576-90-7

TABLE OF CONTENTS

General Introduction17	
Introductory Article One CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN INDIA THROUGHOUT THE CENTURIES	
Chaldean Jurisdiction in India from the Beginning until the Arrival of the Portuguese Missionaries (IV-XV Centuries)	
1.1. The Beginning of Chaldean Jurisdiction in India22	
1.2. Chaldean Patriarch as the Canonical Head of the Indian Church24	
2. Portuguese Patronage and the Origin of the Latin Church in India in the Sixteenth Century26	
3. Chaldean Jurisdiction in the Sixteenth Century28	
3.1. Mar Jacob, Metropolitan of India (1503-1550)28	
3.2. Renewal of Ecclesiastical Communion with the Roman Pontiff and a New Line of Catholic Chaldean Patriarchs with Jurisdiction in India32	
3.3. Official Papal Recognition of Chaldean Catholic Jurisdiction in India35	
3.4. Initial Portuguese Attempts to Eradicate Chaldean Jurisdiction: Metropolitan Mar Joseph (1555-1569) and Patriarchal Visitor Mar Elias	
3.5. Metropolitan Mar Abraham and the Solemn Papal Confirmation of Chaldean Jurisdiction in India44	

3.5.1. Intervention of Pope Pius IV in India for the Protection of Chaldean Jurisdiction	47
3.5.2. Chaldean Patriarch's Exercise of Jurisdiction in India according to the Counsel of the Pope	48
3.6. Metropolitan Mar Abraham and the Portuguese Attempts to Suppress Chaldean Jurisdiction and Eastern Rite in India	50
3.6.1. Convocation of Mar Abraham to the Second Provincial Council of Goa in 1575 and His Appeal to Pope Gregory XIII	51
3.6.2. Intervention of Pope Gregory XIII for the Protection of Chaldean Catholic Jurisdiction in India	54
3.6.3. Synod of Angamaly (1583): the Portuguese Recognition of Chaldean Jurisdiction	57
3.6.4. The Third Provincial Council of Goa in 1585 and the Portuguese Attempt to Curtail Chaldean Jurisdiction	59
3.6.5. Accusations against Mar Abraham and His Death as a Catholic Bishop	66
4. The Synod of Dimaper and the Invalid and Unlawful Suppression of Chaldean Jurisdiction in India	69
4.1. Preparations for the Synod	69
4.2. Celebration of the Synod	72
4.3. Condemnation of the Chaldean Patriarch and the Suppression of His Jurisdiction in India	73
4.4. Inauguration of Portuguese Padroado Jurisdiction	
Conclusion	78

Introductory Article Two ROME AND THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCHATE: HISTORICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL CONTEXT IN THE XIX CENTURY

PART ONE: ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF DOCUMENTS

Section One

QUEST OF ST THOMAS CHRISTIANS FOR BISHOPS OF THEIR OWN RITE AND REQUESTS TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH

ntroduction119
. Letter of Some Malabar Priests to Chaldean Patriarch Nicolas Zeia Requesting Chaldean Bishops121/453
2. Request of Some Malabar Priests to All the Chaldeans for the Same Purpose
Letter of Mar Cyril Joachim to the Chaldean Patriarch Presenting the Requests of Malabar Priests124/455
Propaganda Fide Seeking Permission to Appoint Chaldean Bishops in Malabar
to the Prefect of the Dominican Mission in Mosul to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide128/459
6. Reply of the Prefect of Propaganda Fide to the Letter of Augustine Marchi
7. Reply of Propaganda Fide to the Chaldean Patriarch concerning Chaldean Jurisdiction in Malabar133/462
Report of the Vicar Apostolic to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide concerning the Petitions of Malabar Priests

Section Two

FURTHER REQUESTS FROM MALABAR AND THE REACTION OF THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AND THE PROPAGANDA FIDE

Introduction
9. Letter of Some Malabar Priests to Chaldean Patriarch Audo Renewing Their Request for Bishops147/471
10. Letter of the Syro-Jacobite Archbishop in Malabar to the Chaldean Patriarch149/473
11. Letter of Chaldean Patriarch Audo to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide
12. Letter of Fr. Augustine Marchi to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide153/476
13. Letter of Fr. Lawrence Puccinelli to Propaganda Fide about the State of the Clergy in India155/478
14. New Letter of Some Priests of Malabar to Chaldean Patriarch Joseph Audo163/484
15. Letter of Pro-Apostolic Delegate Planchet to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide166/487
16. Another Letter of Chaldean Patriarch Audo to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide168/488
17. Opinion Expressed by Fr. Puccinelli to Propaganda Fide regarding Malabar Issue170/490
18. Reply of Propaganda Fide to Fr. Planchet SJ, Pro- Apostolic Delegate of Mesopotamia184/503
19. Letter of Fr. Planchet SJ to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide186/504

Section Three

ESCALATION OF THE MALABAR MOVEMENT FOR BISHOPS OF THE SAME RITE AND NEW PETITIONS

Introduction189
20. Petition of Fr. Antony Kudakkachira to the Propaganda Fide192/506
21. Petition of Some Priests of Malabar to the Propaganda Fide
22. Letter of the Coadjutor Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide197/511
23. Letter of Msgr. Bernardino to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide
24. Another Letter of Msgr. Bernardino to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide202/515
25. Letter of Fr. Antony Kudakkachira to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide206/518
26. Official Report of Coadjutor Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide about the State of Syro-Malabar Christianity208/520
Section Four
MISSION OF MALABAR PRIESTS IN CHALDEA,
PATRIARCHAL ASSEMBLY OF MOSUL AND
PROPOSALS FOR A JUST SOLUTION
Introduction215
27. Memorandum of 45 Malabar Priests Addressed to Pope Pius IX217/526
28. Letter of 31 Malabar Priests to Chaldean Patriarch Joseph Audo. 218/526

TABLE OF CONTENTS

29. Letter of Bernardino to Cardinal Barnabò, the Prefect of Propaganda Fide219/528
30. Letter of Chaldean Patriarch Audo to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide Communicating the Proposals of the Patriarchal Assembly
31. Letter of Father Augustine Marchi to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide228/535
32. Letter of Chaldean Patriarch Audo to Pope Pius IX concerning Chaldean Jurisdiction in Malabar231/538
33. Letter of Chaldean Patriarch Audo to the Malabars Providing Information concerning the Progress of Their Affair
Section Five
SECOND VOYAGE OF ANTONY KUDAKKACHIRA TO
MOSUL AND TROUBLES: PROPAGANDA DENIES
CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR
Introduction
Introduction
Introduction
Introduction
Introduction

Fide Presenting various Needs of the Malabar Church 263/564
41. Report of Fr. Charles Hyacinth to Propaganda Fide against the Appointment of Bishops269/568
42. Report of Fr. Charles Hyacinth to Propaganda Fide Regarding Fr. Antony Kudakkachira276/574
43. Letter of Chaldean Patriarch Audo to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide reiterating his right to consecrate bishops for Malabar
44. Letter of Propaganda Fide to Chaldean Patriarch Audo Asking Him to Expell the Malabars Staying in Mosul281/579
Section Six
PATRIARCHAL SYNOD, ELECTION AND
CONSECRATION OF ROKOS FOR MALABAR, REACTION OF THE APOSTOLIC DELEGATE
AND THE RESPONSE OF ROME
AND THE RESIGNSE OF ROME
Introduction
Introduction
45. Letter of Apostolic Delegate Amanton to the Chaldean
45. Letter of Apostolic Delegate Amanton to the Chaldean Patriarch Seeking Information about the Synod289/58146. Reply of Patriarch Audo to Apostolic Delegate Amanton
 45. Letter of Apostolic Delegate Amanton to the Chaldean Patriarch Seeking Information about the Synod289/581 46. Reply of Patriarch Audo to Apostolic Delegate Amanton Asking for His Credentials
 45. Letter of Apostolic Delegate Amanton to the Chaldean Patriarch Seeking Information about the Synod289/581 46. Reply of Patriarch Audo to Apostolic Delegate Amanton Asking for His Credentials

TABLE OF CONTENTS

51. Response of the Chaldean Patriarch and Bishops to Msgr. Amanton Ignoring the Threat304/594
52. Letter of the Chaldean Patriarch and Bishops to Pope Pius IX, Describing the Circumstances of Consecrating a Bishop for Malabar
53. Memorial Sent by the Chaldean Patriarchate to Pope Pius IX concerning Chaldean Jurisdiction in Malabar323/611
54. Letter of Mar Peter Bar-tatar, Bishop of Seert to the Prefect of Propaganda Asserting Chaldean Jurisdiction in Malabar
55. Letter of Pope Pius IX to Patriarch Audo Inviting Him to Rome and Asserting the Exclusive Competence of the Holy See in Malabar
Section Seven ARRIVAL OF BISHOP ROKOS IN MALABAR,
APPOINTMENT OF CHAVARA AS VICAR GENERAL
APPOINTMENT OF CHAVARA AS VICAR GENERAL, FIGHT AGAINST ROKOS
•
FIGHT AGAINST ROKOS
Introduction
Introduction
Introduction

61. Letter of Thomas Rokos to Chavara Warning Him of Dire Consequences
62. Letter of Vicar Apostolic Bernardino to the Prefect of Propaganda concerning the Advancement of Schism354/634
63. Letter of Chavara to the Prefect of Propaganda Seeking Clarification about the Status of Rokos358/637
64. Letter of Bishop Rokos to the Priests and People of Malabar Confirming the Legitimacy of His Authority360/639
Section Eight
CONVOCATION OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH TO ROME
AND HIS SURRENDER, REVOCATION OF ROKOS
Introduction
65. Letter of Chaldean Patriarch Audo Revoking Bishop Rokos from Malabar366/641
66. Letter of Chaldean Patriarch Audo to Bishop Bar-Tatar in Mosul Ordering Him to Return to His Own Diocese of Seert
67. Letter of Chaldean Patriarch Audo to Fr. Sciauriz Revoking Him from Baghdad369/643
68. Supplication of Patriarch Audo to Pope Pius IX for Absolution from Excommunication370/644
69. Circular Letter of Chaldean Patriarch Audo to Bishops, Priests and All Members of the Chaldean Church372/646
70. Requests Made by Patriarch Audo in Rome and the Responses of the Cardinal Prefect376/649
71. Complaints of Apostolic Delegate Amanton against the Acts of the Patriarch in Rome and the Circular Letter 378/651

Section Nine

EXCOMMUNICATION OF ROKOS AND HIS DEPARTURE, END OF THE SCHISM IN MALABAR

Introduction
72. Letter of Pope Pius IX to the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly Authorizing Him to Excommunicate Rokos393/660
73. Reply of Pope Pius IX to Chavara and Companions Declaring the Illegitimacy of the Mission of Rokos394/661
74. Letter of Chavara and Companions to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide Seeking Clarifications395/662
75. Letter of Msgr. Bernardino to the Propaganda Fide Acknowledging the Receipt of Documents from Rome397/663
76. Letter of Bernardino to the Prefect of Propaganda Transmitting a Forged Letter Circulated in Malabar399/665
77. Response of Bishop Rokos to Vicar Apostolic concerning the Threat of Excommunication401/667
78. Letter of Bernardino to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide Informing Him of the Excommunication of Rokos403/668
79. Letter of the Prefect of Propaganda Fide to chavara and companions Informing Them of the Surrender of the Patriarch in Rome
80. Letter of Patriarch Audo to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide Asking Him to Fulfil the Promises Made during His Visit in Rome
81. Letter of Patriarch Audo to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide Advancing Bitter Complaints413/677
82. Letter of Apostolic Delegate Amanton to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide concerning Rokos
83. Letter of Pope Pius IX to Chaldean Patriarch Audo Confirming the Excommunication of Rokos and Prohibiting Him to Send Any Bishop to Malabar424/686

TABLE OF CONTENTS

84. Letter of Patriarch Audo to the Prefect of Propaganda Imploring Absolution for Bishop Rokos426/688
85. Letter of Bishop Rokos to the Prefect of Propaganda Requesting Absolution from Excommunication428/690
86. Letter of the Prefect of Propaganda to Patriarch Audo Denying the Presumed Promises about Chaldean Jurisdiction in Malabar
Concluding Section
CONTINUATION OF CONFLICTS BETWEEN ROME AND THE
CHALDEAN PATRIARCHATE
1. Five Grounds of Conflicts
2. Plenary Assembly of Propaganda in 1865443
2.1. Doubts Proposed to the Cardinals for Decision444
2.2. Responses of the Cardinals and Papal Approval446
Part Two: Original Documents 451-698
Index of Persons699
Index of Places709

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Truth is the soul of history. Without truth, history becomes simple story or capricious fiction. The appropriate method for uncovering historical truth is to trace, study and analyse original and authentic documents, both published ones and manuscripts kept in the archives. With the intention of fostering scientific research and objective studies, in recent years we have published different documental works concerning the history of St Thomas Christians in India and the history of Syro-Malabar liturgy.

The present book entitled, Rome and Chaldean Patriarchate in Conflict: Schism of Bishop Rokos in India, should also be considered as a part of our efforts to make unpublished documents and manuscripts preserved in the archives available to scholars and students. After this general introduction we have added two introductory articles, in order to enable the readers to comprehend and interpret the documents and to evaluate the acts and facts according to the principles of true historical-critical hermeneutics. The first article briefly presents the Chaldean jurisdiction in India from the very beginning of Christianity until its suppression in the Synod of Diamper and the inauguration of Latin jurisdiction in 1599, while the second is devoted to the reconstruction of the immediate historical and ecclesiastical context of the outbreak of the conflict between Rome and the Chaldean Patriarchate, mainly on the question of Chaldean jurisdiction in Malabar and its consequence, namely the schism triggered by the Chaldean Bishop Mar Thomas Rokos in India.

Then the book is divided into two parts: the first part presents the English translation of 86 selected documents, while the second part is dedicated to the original texts. In order to facilitate continuous reading and to provide logical coherence and sequence the first part is divided into nine sections, without interrupting, however, the continuous numbering of documents, which are inserted in chronological order, only with some exceptions for

reasons indicated at the proper place. Each section has a historical introduction which settles the immediate context, facilitating better comprehension and appraisal of the documents. Similarly, the text of each document is preceded by a brief introduction and the precise indication of the source, which respectively elucidate its essential content and facilitate exact citation. Original footnotes found in some documents are put in square brackets, while footnotes and explanations added by us in the English translation are inserted in the usual manner.

In the second part the documents are reproduced in the original language with the same number and English heading, so that those who wish to consult the original, can easily do so. Since all the documents are also reproduced in the original language, this book can be consulted even by non-English speaking scholars. Footnotes or explanations found in the original documents are maintained without any modification. We have not corrected the mistakes and shortcomings in the original texts, often not written (or translated from Syriac and Arabic) by people of mother tongue. The indexes at the end of this book are based on the English version alone.

In this book we cover the history of the Chaldean Catholic Church and the Malabar Church between 1840 and 1865. During this period the Eastern Catholic Churches were under the authority of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide for the Affairs of the Oriental Rite. The Latin and the Oriental sections of Propaganda Fide had the same prefect, but two separate archbishops as secretaries. On 1 May 1917 by the motu proprio Dei Providentis Pope Benedict XV separated the Oriental section of Propaganda Fide and constituted the 'Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church', which was later denominated as Congregation for the Oriental Churches by Pope Paul VI on 15 August 1967. After the erection of the Oriental Congregation, in the course of time the main documents concerning Eastern liturgies and hierarchy were also transferred to it from the Propaganda Fide and thus at present they are preserved in the Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches. That is why also for the events that took place under Propaganda Fide alone, reference is

made to the Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches.

In order to refer more or less to the same Church which originated in the ancient Persian Empire or Mesopotamia authors use different expressions like the Persian Church, the Church of the East, the Babylonian Church, the Assyrian Church, the Church of Seleucia Ctesiphon (the capital of the Persian Empire, which became the see of the catholicos-patriarch), the Nestorian Church, the East Syrian Church and the Chaldean Church. However, from the time of the Catholic Patriarch John Sulaga (1551-1555), the Chaldean Church refers to the Catholic section, while the Assyrian Church of the East points to its counterpart not in full communion with the Roman Pontiff. In the documents many of these expressions are almost synonymously used according to the context. The Greek word 'Mesopotamia' literally means the 'land between two rivers', the Tigris and the Euphrates. In antiquity Mesopotamia included present-day Iraq, a part of north-east Syria, southern Turkey and of north-west Iran.

In order to refer to the Eastern Christians of Malabar, from the second half of the nineteenth century on, the terms "Suriani" or "Suriani Catholics" were used even in the documents and communications of the Holy See until the name Syro-Malabar became prevalent. "Suriani" is the Malayalam word for Syriac or Syrian, which was the liturgical language of the Eastern Christians of India until the introduction of local languages since 1962. Like the expressions "Latin Church" and "Latin Christians" or simply "Latins", formerly "Suriani Church", "Suriani Catholics", "Suriani Christians" and "Suriani" were used to indicate the St Thomas Christians and their Church. In our English translation we have maintained all the aforementioned expressions, as they are found in the original documents. This seems necessary also to avoid ambiguity, since the word Syrian indicates natives or nationals of the modern state of Syria in the Middle East or matters relating to it.

Another expression found in some documents is malpan, a derivative of the Syriac word ' $malp\bar{a}na$ ', which means master, teacher or guru. The system of education prevalent in India was

Gurukula Vidyabyāsam, according to which the students selected an illustrious Guru or master and resided with him throughout the training period. For the education and formation of those aspiring to the priesthood, the St Thomas Christians developed their own institution called the malpānate adapting the system of Hindu Gurukula Vidyabyāsam. Malpānate can be described as a system of training of the students to priesthood under an elderly priest or malpan who was reputed for his learning, nobility and holiness of life.

The words *cathanar(s)* and *cassanar(s)* found in different documents indicate Malabar or Indian Eastern priests. Even Western missionaries and vicars apostolic used these expressions in their writings, in order to distinguish Eastern priests from Latin priests.

Introductory Article One CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN INDIA THROUGHOUT THE CENTURIES

In this article we will briefly examine the origin, progress and vicissitudes of the Chaldean jurisdiction in India on the basis of available sources and scholarly studies. It should be pointed out from the outset that our scope is not to consider whether Chaldean jurisdiction was beneficial or not to the St Thomas Christians in India, but its historicity. Once its existence in India has been established, then we proceed to scrutinize how and why in the course of time it became completely extinct.

1. Chaldean Jurisdiction in India from the Beginning until the Arrival of the Portuguese Missionaries (IV-XV Centuries)

According to the constant and living tradition, corroborated by historical, liturgical, patristic, archaeological and circumstantial evidences, St Thomas the Apostle, who reached South India in the middle of the first century, founded more than seven Christian communities there and thus originated the first nucleus of the Church of St Thomas Christians. The Indian Church, which had its inception from the evangelizing ministry of the Apostle Thomas, was not a ramification or offshoot of the Persian Church, nor a daughter Church of the same. However, in the course of time due to various ecclesiastical and canonical reasons the Indian

¹ For a comprehensive evaluation of the apostolate of St Thomas in India, A. E. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas, An Inquiry with a Critical Analysis of the Acta Thomae, London 1905*; B. Vadakkekara, *Origin of India's St Thomas Christians: A Historiographical Critique, Delhi 1995*, revised edition, *Origin of Christianity in India: A Historiographical Critique, Delhi 2007*; G. Nedungatt, *Quest for the Historical Thomas Apostle of India: A Re-reading of the Evidence, Bangalore 2008*; J. Puliurumpil, *St Thomas in India: Patristic Evidences*, Kottayam 2012.

Church entered into communion with the patriarch of its sister Churches in the Persian Empire, but without jeopardizing its autonomy and particular administrative and organizational structures.

1.1. The Beginning of Chaldean Jurisdiction in India

Cultural and commercial relations existed between South India and Persia from very early times, even before the dawn of the Christian era. Until the rise of Islam, Aramaic or Chaldean (Syriac) was the commercial language of the East, including South India. In addition to such commercial relationships, there emerged a spiritual bond between the Churches in the Persian Empire and those in South India due to the direct or indirect apostolate of St Thomas. According to ancient tradition, Addai, the disciple of St Thomas, founded the Church in Edessa and Addai's disciple Mari evangelised Seleucia-Ctesiphon. The Church in Persia holds that St Thomas visited Persia on his way to India and founded the first Christian community there.² Thus from the apostolic period there emerged a spiritual relationship between the Church in South India and the Churches in the Persian Empire, all of which began to venerate St Thomas as their direct or indirect Apostle and common patron.

In the early Church, some sees gradually emerged as important ecclesiastical centres because of their apostolic origin, evangelization of other nations (as mother Churches), favourable geographical situation, political, civil and cultural importance as well as flourishing ecclesial life. This process resulted in the groupings of Churches into provinces headed by metropolitans and later into larger circumscriptions like patriarchates administered by patriarchs. Consequently, small Churches became dependent on such great ecclesiastical centres. Within the Roman Empire, Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, Jerusalem and Constantinople became

² Cf. Mar Bawai Soro, *The Church of the East: Apostolic and Orthodox*, San Jose 2007, 36-43; S. Rassam, *Christianity in Iraq*, new edition, Herefordshire 2010, 25-26; for a critical evaluation of the tradition, see S. H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia, Volume I: Beginnings to 1500*, New York 1998, 48-56.

first metropolitan sees and then patriarchates. In this context, Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the capital of the Persian Empire, emerged as the primatial see and the ecclesiastical centre of the Churches outside the Roman Empire. In the Synod of Seleucia in 410 the metropolitan of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was acknowledged as the head of all the Churches of the Persian Empire.³ It seems that during the period of such regional organization the Church in South India, which had a cultural, spiritual and Thomistic relationship with the Churches in the Persian Empire, accepted the primacy of the "Great Metropolitan" or "Catholicos" of Seleucia Ctesiphon.

As a matter of fact the hierarchical communion of the Church of St Thomas Christians with the primate or patriarch of the Churches in the Persian Empire became a necessity because of the legislation of the early ecumenical councils and general synods which exclusively reserved the election of bishops to the provincial synod canonically convoked and presided over by the metropolitan. Normally no episcopal consecration was possible without the presence of the metropolitan and two other bishops or at least three bishops with the written consent of the metropolitan. Similarly the metropolitans had to be ordained by the "catholicos" or patriarch. Therefore in its early years the small Indian Church which did not have a metropolitan and a provincial synod could not have canonically elected and consecrated bishops without depending on its sister Churches.

³ The Synod of Mar Isac (410 AD), c. 12, in J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens*, Paris 1902, 266; cf. also Mar Bawai Soro, *The Church of the East: Apostolic and Orthodox*, 151-164; S. Rassam, *Christianity in Iraq*, 35-36.

⁴ See Apostolic Canon 1; Council of Nicaea (325) cc. 4, 6; Synod of Antioch (341) cc. 16, 19, 23; Constantinople (394) c. 1; Carthage (419) c. 13, 49; Nicaea II (887) c. 3; Constantinople IV (869-870) c. 22; for detailed analysis, see P. Pallath, *Local Episcopal Bodies in East and West*, Kottayam 1997, 53-60. Practically this was also the discipline of the Assyrian Church of the East, see the Synod of Mar Isac (410 AD) canon 1, in J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens*, 263.

1.2. Chaldean Patriarch as the Canonical Head of the Indian Church

As a consequence of the aforementioned circumstances, most probably from the fourth century onwards bishops came from the Church of the East, which also shared the same Thomistic liturgical and spiritual heritage.⁵ Among the list of bishops participated in the first ecumenical council of Nicaea in 325 we also find Bishop Mar John of Persia, namely the bishop who presided over the whole of Persia and the "Great India". He was even commissioned by the Council to communicate its symbol of faith and constitutions to the Indian Church.⁶ With the emigrants led by Thomas Kinai who, according to tradition, reached Malabar in 345 there was also a bishop called Mar Yausef Uraha.⁷

The channel of Persian ecclesiastical authority in India was through the bishopric of Riwardushir (Fars), which was strategically located on the direct sea route to India. Between 410 and 420 this bishopric was elevated to the status of a metropolitan Church and was given jurisdiction over the Indian Church. Hence, from the beginning of the fifth century the metropolitan of Riwardushir nominated bishops in India. Patriarch Isoyahb III (649-660) terminated the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Riwardushir over the Indian Church which was constituted as an autonomous metropolitan Church, coming directly under the

⁵ P. J. Podipara, *The Hierarchy of the Syro-Malabar Church*, Alleppey 1976, 27-28; *The Thomas Christians*, London-Bombay 1970, 63-64; J. Kollaparambil, *The Sources of the Syro-Malabar Law*, edited by S. Kokkaravalayil, Kottayam 2015, 101-110.

⁶ Cf. Gelasius Cyzicenus, *History of the Nicene Council*, Book II, chapters 27 and 36; *Patrologia Greca* 85, 1309-1310 & 1343-1344. This is a fact recognized even by Cardinal Alexander Barnabò, Prefect of Propaganda Fide; cf. Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 272.

⁷ For details, see J. Kollaparambil, *The Babylonian Origin of the Southists among the St Thomas Christians*, Rome 1992, 37-81.

⁸ Cf. S. H. Moffett, A History of Christianity in Asia, Volume I, 267-268.

catholicos-patriarch.⁹ From that time on the hierarchy of the Indian Church was headed by a metropolitan of all India, ¹⁰ who had jurisdiction over the whole of India. Patriarch Timothy I (780-823) confirmed the provision of Isoyahb III and reserved the right to ordain the metropolitan of all India to the patriarch himself. ¹¹ Patriarch Theodosius (853-858) exempted the distant metropolitans of the Chaldean Church such as those of China, India, Marusits (Merve), Samarqand etc., from the obligation of attending the synods for the election of patriarch and other regular patriarchal synods, requiring them to send a sexennial report and voluntary contribution according to each one's ability. ¹²

It is true that the patriarch of the Church of the East was the canonical head of the Church of St Thomas Christians, but he did not intervene in the administration of the Church, nor did he exercise any jurisdictional powers. His role was practically limited to the appointment and consecration of the Indian metropolitan. Even in this respect the St Thomas Christians enjoyed a certain freedom. Normally the Indian metropolitan was not elected by the patriarchal synod but selected by a delegation of St Thomas Christians from among the Chaldean clergy. ¹³ In truth, the

⁹ Cf. S. H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 257 & 269; J. Kollaparambil, "Sources on the Hierarchical Structure of the St Thomas Christian Church in the Pre-Diamper Period", in B. Puthur (ed.), *The Life and Nature of the St. Thomas Christian Church in the Pre-Diamper Period*, Kochi 2000, 167-168.

 $^{^{10}}$ J. Kollaparambil, "Sources on the Hierarchical Structure of the St Thomas Christian Church", 168; *The Sources of the Syro-Malabar Law*, 111-115.

¹¹ Cf. The letter of the Patriarch to the archdeacon, head of the faithful in India, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 168, Luvain 1957, 121; partial English trans. in J. Kollaparambil, "Sources on the Hierarchical Structure of the St Thomas Christian Church", 168; *The Sources of the Syro-Malabar Law*, 120-121; see also P. J. Podipara, *The Hierarchy of the Syro-Malabar Church*, 31; *The Thomas Christians*, 65-66; S. H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 353

¹² Abdiso, *Nomocanon*, Tract VIII, Caput 19, canon 1; in A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e vaticanis codicibus*, vol. X-I, Rome 1838, 146; J. Kollaparambil, *The Sources of the Syro-Malabar Law*, 121-122.

¹³ Cf. J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution in 1653*, Kottayam 1981, 5; *The Sources of the Syro-Malabar Law*, 260.

patriarch respected the autonomy of the Indian Church to a certain extent even with regard to the appointment of bishops, by permitting the Indian delegation to select the candidate, instead of electing him in the synod.

The hierarchical relationship between the Persian Church and the Indian Church, attested by historical records since the fourth century, continued until the sixteenth century without any contestation from other ecclesiastical or civil authorities, although with long interruptions and frequent absence of bishops in India. It is beyond the scope of this study to present a comprehensive report about this relationship, providing information about all the Chaldean bishops who visited or governed the Indian Church. ¹⁴ So we directly proceed to the situation in the sixteenth century.

2. Portuguese Patronage and the Origin of the Latin Church in India in the Sixteenth Century

It is not possible to comprehend the vicissitudes of the Chaldean jurisdiction in India from the sixteenth century and the fate of the St Thomas Christians, without considering the origin of the Latin Church in India under Portuguese *Padroado* jurisdiction. Since at that epoch the Western Church had no organ for missionary activity in the "newly discovered countries", the Catholic kings of Portugal and Spain were entrusted with the task.

The Portuguese word "padroado" means patronage. In Church history this word indicates the sum total of the rights, privileges and obligations which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Roman Pontiffs conferred upon the kings of Portugal and Spain for the Christianization of "pagan countries". The Latin expression *ius patronatus* means the "right of patronage". On account of *padroado* the kings of Portugal and Spain obtained a kind of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in territories under their dominion, which included the right of deciding the erection of new dioceses,

¹⁴ For more information on this point, see P. J. Podipara, *The Hierarchy of the Syro-Malabar Church*, 27-44; J. Kollaparambil, *The Sources of the Syro-Malabar Law*, 101-128 & 543-554.

presenting bishops to the Roman Pontiff for appointment in all the dioceses under their authority and of nominating suitable persons to all ecclesiastical offices in those dioceses. In fact, it is evident that the king of Portugal was not only the political authority but also the supreme ecclesiastical power in the Portuguese territories. His powers were extremely vast and unlimited.¹⁵

At the dawn of the sixteenth century the Portuguese missionaries reached South India (first missionaries arrived on 30 August 1500) and subsequently the Latin Hierarchy was constituted under the patronage of the king of Portugal. Upon the solicitation of the Portuguese King John III, on 31 January 1533 with the apostolic letter *Aequum reputamus* Pope Clement VII (1523-1534) erected the diocese of Goa as a suffragan of the archdiocese of Funchal in Portugal. The territory of the Archdiocese of Goa stretched from the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa to China and Japan in East Asia. To

Upon the persistent and efficacious request of the Portuguese king by the apostolic constitution *Etsi sancta* of 4 February 1558 Pope Paul IV (1555-1559) constituted the ecclesiastical province of Goa, elevating the diocese of Goa to the status of a metropolitan archdiocese and erecting the dioceses of Cochin (Kochi) and Malacca (in Malaysia) as suffragan sees.¹⁸ The first archbishop of

 $^{^{15}}$ For details and documentation, see P. Pallath, *The Catholic Church in India* (third edition), Kottayam 2010, 51-53 & 60-61.

Apostolic constitution Aequum reputamus in Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum in Ecclesiis Africae, Asiae atque Oceaniae, tomus 1, Olisipone 1868, 148-149; original text with English trans. in P. Pallath, Important Roman Documents concerning the Catholic Church in India, Kottayam 2004, 18-19

¹⁷ Cf. Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae, tomus 1, 149.

¹⁸ The apostolic constitutions *Etsi sancta* (Goa) and *Pro exellenti* (diocese of Cochin) can be found in *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tomus 1, 191-192 and 193-195 respectively. In the apostolic constitution the date of the erection of the new ecclesiastical province of Goa is indicated as "Given at Rome, at St Peter's, on 4 February, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1557, the third year of our Pontificate". The year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1557 is really 1558 AD.

Goa was Don Gaspar de Leao Pereira, who arrived in Goa on 1 December 1560. On 9 January 1606 Pope Paul V (1605-1621) bifurcated the diocese of Cochin and erected the diocese of Mylapore. As we have indicated, because of the right of Patronage, the king of Portugal was both the supreme political and ecclesiastical authority in India, with extremely vast and unlimited powers. Now we evaluate the vicissitudes of Chaldean jurisdiction in India in the sixteenth century.

3. Chaldean Jurisdiction in the Sixteenth Century

Until the arrival of the Western missionaries and the implantation of the Latin Church under Portuguese patronage only the Church of St Thomas Christians existed in India. Hence there was no question of any territorial limitation or containment of this Church from the part of other local ecclesiastical authorities or foreign political powers. The Chaldean "Metropolitan of All India", whose see was not fixed to any particular place, freely exercised jurisdiction over the St Thomas Christians in the whole of India.²⁰

3.1. Mar Jacob, Metropolitan of India (1503-1550)

Since the St Thomas Christians had no bishop for several years, in 1490 they sent a delegation of three Christian faithful to their patriarch in Mesopotamia to ask for pastors. One of them died on the way; the other two George and Joseph reached their destination and met Patriarch Mar Simon V (1497-1501), who then resided in the town of Gazirah or Jazira (Turkey). The Patriarch received them with great joy and ordained them priests in the church of St George in Gazirah, since they were found sufficiently well-instructed in Christian doctrine. The Indian priests were authorized to select two monks from the monastery of St

¹⁹ Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae in Ecclesiis Africae, Asiae atque Oceaniae, tomus 2 (1601-1700), curante Vicecomite De Paiva Manso, Olisipone 1870, 4-6; P. Pallath, *Important Roman Documents*, 54-57.

²⁰ For details, P. Pallath, *The Catholic Church in India*, 21-26.

Eugenius,²¹ whom the Patriarch ordained bishops calling them Thomas and John, respectively. The Patriarch sent the two bishops to Malabar, together with the Indian priests.

Mar John remained as bishop in India, but after some time Mar Thomas returned to Mesopotamia, where he found that Patriarch Mar Elias V (1502-1503) was governing the Church, after the death of Mar Simon in 1502. Mar Thomas informed the new Patriarch of the great necessities of the Indian Church and in 1503 he consecrated three more bishops, one metropolitan and two suffragan bishops, namely Mar Jaballah, Mar Denha and Mar Jacob and sent them to India, together with the same Mar Thomas. On reaching Malabar, they found Bishop John still alive. Shortly after their arrival, the four bishops sent a letter, dated India 1504, to Mar Elias, their Patriarch.²² In this letter they informed the Patriarch of their safe arrival in India, their meeting with Mar John, the warm reception given to them by the St Thomas Christians and the arrival of the Portuguese. With regard to their friendly relationship with the Portuguese, whom the four bishops called "our brethren the Franks" and communicatio in sacris with them the bishops wrote:

We started from the town of Hormizda (Ormuz) and came to the town of the Indians, Canonor, we made them (the Portuguese) understand, that we were Christians and indicated them our condition. We were received by them with greatest joy and they gave us beautiful vestments and 20 gold drachmas and honoured our pilgrimage exceedingly for Christ's sake. We remained with them $2\frac{1}{2}$ months and they told us, we also should on a certain day celebrate the holy mysteries, that is to say, offer the Holy Sacrifice. And they destined for it a beautiful place fit for prayer, wherein

 $^{^{21}}$ St Eugenius was a martyr of the thirteenth century; the monastery was situated in Trabson, north-eastern Turkey.

²² Everything described above is contained in the historical introduction of this letter. The Syriac text of the letter with Latin translation can be found in J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino Vaticana*, tomus III, Romae 1725, 589-599; also in S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes inter Sedem Apostolicam et Assyriorum Orientalium seu Chaldaeorum Ecclesiam*, Romae 1902, 588-603; English trans. in G. Schurhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome during the Early Portuguese Period and before*, Trichinopoly 1934, 2-8.

there was a kind of Oratory. Their priests offer daily the Holy Sacrifice, for this is their custom and rite. Therefore on Sunday Nosardel,²³ after their priests had celebrated we also were admitted and celebrated the Holy Sacrifice, and it was pleasing to their eyes.²⁴

The four bishops and the Portuguese, including their priests considered themselves brethren in the faith, although their traditions, rites and customs were different. In brief, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese began to settle in South India, there were five Chaldean bishops in Malabar for the pastoral care of the St Thomas Christians, one of whom metropolitan and the others suffragans, although the Indian Eastern Church was not canonically divided into separate dioceses.

One of the five bishops, Mar John, whom the others found alive in 1503 died soon; so too, the new comers Mar Jaballaha and Mar Denha. Mar Jacob, the metropolitan of India, and one of the suffragans Mar Thomas (died after 1536) survived. Mar Jacob, the metropolitan of India, collaborated with the Portuguese authorities in their religious, commercial and political affairs. He convinced the St Thomas Christians, who had the monopoly of pepper trade, to sell it to the Portuguese and not to the Moors and brought the Christians in touch with the Portuguese as brothers in arms. As regards the commercial and military affairs between the Portuguese and the St Thomas Christians, "the humble Jacob, called Bishop of India", wrote in 1523 from Cochin to John III, the "King Our Lord",

[...] I had brought them to love you, and then they agreed and swore to me, never to sell the pepper to the Moors and to bring it clean and dry to your factory, as they indeed are doing, as you can see by the shrinkage, which you can see in that of this and the last two years. And further I have won all these Christians of this country for your service, so that when you will be in need of them, you wll find in it over 25,000 warriors.

²³ Seventh Sunday after Pentecost.

²⁴ G. Schurhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome*, 7.

This, Lord, is the service, which I have done to you in these parts with the intention to move you to help me to increase these people through this India in the faith of Jesus Christ Our Redeemer [...]. ²⁵

Mar Jacob was ready to satisfy the commercial and military interests of the occupying forces for obtaining help for the propagation of the Christian faith in India.

Mar Jacob, who received a small allowance from the Portuguese king, collaborated with the missionaries for the formation of native Latin clergy from among the St Thomas Christians, permitted the Latin missionaries to freely work among them and consented even to the gradual introduction of the Roman rite in Malabar. From 1543 he began to live in the Franciscan monastery of St Anthony in Cochin, where he met St Francis Xavier a few times. On 26 January 1549, from Cochin Francis Xavier wrote to the Portuguese King John III very positively about Mar Jacob, highly recommending him to the king, since in his old age the Portuguese officials abandoned him:

Jacob Abuna has been serving God and Your Highness in these parts these last 45 years, a very old, virtuous and holy man and at the same time disfavoured by Your Highness and almost all here in India. God gives him his grace, for he wants to favour him personally, without using us as mediators to console his servants. Here he is only favoured by the fathers of St Francis, and by them he is favoured, that one could not do more. And if it was not for them, the good and holy old man would already be resting with God. Your Highness should write to him a letter full of love, and in a chapter of it you should have him recommended to the Governors and Procurators and Captains of Cochin, that they give him honour and reception, which he deserves, whenever he comes to them with some demand. This I do not write, as if the Bishop suffered want, for the charity of the fathers of the Order of St Francis will supply abundantly whatever he wants according to the zeal of charity they

²⁵ The original and English trans. in G. Schurhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome*, 13.

²⁶ Cf. G. Schurhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome*, 20-21; J. Kollaparambil, "Sources on the Hierarchical Structure of the St Thomas Christian Church", 156; A. M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India, Volume 1: From the Beginning up to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century*, Bangalore 1989, 286.

have. But Your Highness should write to him, recommending him very much to recommend you to God, for Your Highness needs more to be favoured by the Bishop in his prayers, than the Bishop needs the temporal favour of Your Highness. He has been working much among the St Thomas Christians and now in his old age he is very obedient to the customs of the Holy Mother the Church of Rome.²⁷

St Francis Xavier presented Mar Jacob as a saintly bishop abandoned by the Portuguese political authorities, though he served them for many years. The scope of the letter of Francis was not to obtain any material help for the bishop, but to propose to the king of Portugal to request the prayers of the saintly bishop which he badly needed for his spiritual advantage. Mar Jacob, assisted by the Franciscans, stayed in their monastery in Cochin until his death in 1550. He ministered the Church of St Thomas Christians for 47 years.

3.2. Renewal of Ecclesiastical Communion with the Roman Pontiff and a New Line of Catholic Chaldean Patriarchs with Jurisdiction in India

In the Church of the East, from the time of Patriarch Simon IV (1437-1497) the patriarchal succession became hereditary, since he reserved patriarchal office to his own family of Bar Mama. After decades, when Patriarch Simon VII Bar Mama died in 1551, in protest at the hereditary succession of an unworthy person (a minor) to the patriarchal thrown as Simon VIII (1551-1559), a consistent group of clergy, nobles and Christian faithful assembled under three bishops and elected John (Simon) Sulaqa, the abbot of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, as anti-patriarch in the beginning of 1552 and sent him to Rome with testimonial letters.²⁸

The Chaldeans had no difficulty to send their patriarch elect to the Roman Pontiff, since the doctrine of the divinely instituted

²⁷ G. Schurhammer & J. Wicki (eds.), *Epostolae S. Francisci Xaverii*, vol. 2, Romae 1945, 61-63; English trans., G. Schurhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome*, 34.

²⁸ G. Beltrami, La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione, Roma 1933, 1-4.

primacy of the Roman Pontiff over the universal Church was part of their theological patrimony, although because of natural calamities, wars and other political reasons, they could not have always manifested their ecclesiastical communion in the manner prescribed by canon law. In fact, as the official books of the Church of the East such as the Pontifical, Divine Office and canonical collections unambiguously demonstrate, this Church believed in the divinely instituted primacy of Peter and his successors in the universal Church.²⁹ The Church of the East considered the Patriarch of Rome as the "head of the patriarchs", the first Patriarch who "has jurisdiction over patriarchs as the blessed Peter had it over the whole universal Church", as the Vicar of Christ having power over all patriarchs, superiors and all Christian faithful, and as the one who "resides in Rome in the place of Peter" and has "the guardianship of the Universal Church".³⁰

The Patriarch elect, John (Simon) Sulaqa, reached Rome on 18 November 1552 and made the oral and written profession of faith on 15 February 1553. In the Consistory of 20 February 1553 Pope Julius III (1550-1555) confirmed him and proclaimed him as the Patriarch of Mosul (also written as Mossul) in Assyria. On 9 April 1553 the Pope consecrated him a bishop in St Peter's Basilica and on 28 April of the same year granted him the sacred pallium as a sign of full pontifical power. While presenting John (Simon) Sulaqa to Pope Julius III for the sacred pallium, Cardinal

²⁹ Cf. P. J. Podipara, *The Thomas Christians*, 46-55; J. Kollaparambil, *The Sources of the Syro-Malabar Law*, 479-498; for details G. Ebdejesus Khayyath, *Syri Orientales seu Chaldei Nestoriani et Romanorum Pontificum Primatus*, Romae 1870.

³⁰ See various canons and documents cited in X. Koodapuzha, Faith and Communion of the Indian Church of the Thomas Christians, Kottayam 1982, 64-80.

³¹ The bull of confirmation: *Divina disponente clementia* in S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 15-23; also in *Subsidium ad Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, Alleppey 1903, 4-7.

³² The bull conferring pallium: *Cum nos nuper* in S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 24-27; see also J. Habbi, "Signification de l'union Chaldéenne de Mar Sulaqa avec Rome en 1553", *L'Orient Syrien* 2 (1966), 221.

Maffei stated: "These Nestorians seem to have kept rather the name of the heretic Nestorius than his heresies. For I see nothing in these men who are here, which may have any leaning to that sect [...]".³³

Since the new Patriarch requested an expert of ecclesiastical sciences as a counsellor, on 5 May 1553 the Pope nominated Ambrose Buttigeg OP, a Maltese Dominican as titular bishop of Auria and on 23 June 1553 appointed him apostolic "Nuncio" to Mosul, granting him ample faculties for the accomplishment of his mission. ³⁴ Bishop Buttigeg selected another Dominican, Anthony Sahara as his companion and assistant. The Patriarch and the two Dominicans reached their destination at the end of the year 1553 and began to execute their mandates. ³⁵ Whatever be the nature of the ecclesiastical communion of the preceding patriarchs ³⁶, it is evident that from the time of Patriarch John (Simon) Sulaqa a section of the Church of the East entered into full communion with the Roman Pontiff, which came to be known as the Chaldean Church.

On the return of Sulaqa, the hereditary patriarch of the Church of the East Simon VIII declared his election illegitimate. On the orders of the latter, Sulaqa was arrested by Ottoman authorities and murdered in January 1555. After the martyrdom of Sulaqa, Mar Abdiso (also called Ebed-Jesu), archbishop of Gazirah (Turkey), one of the six bishops appointed and consecrated by Sulaqa, was elected the new Patriarch in 1555 under the supervision of the

³³ "Verum hi Nestoriani nomen potius Nestorii Heretici, quam errores retinuisse videntur; nam nihil plane quod illam Sectam referat, in his hominibus, qui hic adsunt comperio [...]". S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 480.

³⁴ The papal bulls of the nomination of Buttigeg and the appointment as Nuncio can be found in G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione*, 141-145.

 $^{^{35}}$ For details, see G. Beltrami, La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione, 6-27.

³⁶ For the relationship between the Babylonian Patriarchs and Rome before this time, see X. Koodapuzha, *Faith and Communion*, 37-80; P. J. Podipara, *The Thomas Christians*, 46-51; J. Habbi, "Signification de l'union Chaldéenne", 201-203.

Apostolic "Nuncio" Bishop Ambrose Buttigeg and Fr. Anthony Sahara. Though request for confirmation was sent to Pope Paul IV (1555-1559) immediately after the election, the new Patriarch could not have reached Rome until 1561 due to political and ecclesiastical reasons. On 7 March 1562 the patriarch elect made the solemn profession of faith in the presence of Pope Pius IV (1559-1565), who confirmed him in office. To 4 May 1562 the Pope granted him pallium and on 1 August many other special privileges and faculties. The saintly Patriarch Abdiso died in 1567. After the short pontificate of Patriarch Yahbalaha (1567-1579), Simon IX Denha (1579-1600) was elected patriarch, who also made the profession of faith and obtained the pallium from Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585).

As already indicated only a few dioceses under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Patriarch maintained communion with Rome. Consequently for the first time the Church of the East was divided into two communities. The vast majority remained in the Church of the East under the authority of hereditary "Nestorian patriarchs". The non Catholic patriarchs of that period were: Elias VI (1559-1576, Elias VII (1576-1591) and Elias VIII (1591-1617), whose patriarchal see was in Alquosh (also written as Alquoch).

3.3. Official Papal Recognition of Chaldean Catholic Jurisdiction in India

The Chaldean jurisdiction in India over the St Thomas Christians was sanctioned by consolidated customs and traditions which lasted at least for more than a millennium. Until the arrival of the Portuguese missionaries in the sixteenth century, only the Church of St Thomas Christians existed in India and hence there was no question of any territorial limitation of this Church nor any possibility of jurisdictional conflicts. As in the case of other

³⁷ S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 35-58 & 61-67.

³⁸ S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 59-61.

³⁹ For the well documented history of Patriarch Simon Denha, see G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione*, 68-81.

Churches, since no controversy or doubt about the jurisdiction of the Chaldean patriarch arose during this period, the question was never brought to the attention of ecumenical councils or Roman Pontiffs.

We have already seen that in 1553 Pope Julius III confirmed John (Simon) Sulaqa as the patriarch of Mosul. In the profession of faith made by the patriarch elect Sulaqa on 15 February 1553 he presented himself as the successor of the Patriarch Simon Bar Mama, who had also jurisdiction in the whole of India. In the bull of confirmation, *Divina disponente clementia*, Pope Julius III (1550-1555) explicitly acknowledged and confirmed the all India jurisdiction of the Chaldean patriarch. In fact Sulaqa was confirmed as the patriarch of

Mosul, the Islands of Tigris and of other cities and oriental countries which are subject to the same Patriarch, as well as the monasteries of the same nation existing in Sin, Masin and Calicut and also all India which also are subject to the same Patriarch.⁴⁰

In the bull, *Cum nos nuper* of 28 April 1553 with which Pope Julius III imposed the pallium on the Patriarch, his all India jurisdiction was again recognized and confirmed.⁴¹ Thus in both these documents the Roman Pontiff explicitly confirmed the all India jurisdiction of the Chaldean patriarch over the St Thomas Christian Church.

As we have already seen, Patriarch Mar Abdiso, also called Ebediesus (1555-1567), successor of Sulaqa personally went to Rome and obtained confirmation from Pope Pius IV (1559-1565) on 7 March 1562. In his profession of faith made in Rome, "Ebediesus...now by the grace of God and of the Apostolic See the

⁴⁰ "Postmodum vero ecclesia patriarchali de Muzal in Syria orientali cui bonae memoriae Simon Maria (Bar-Mama) Patriarcha de Muzal et insulae Tigris ac caeterarum civitatum et terrarum orientalium eidem Patriarchae subjectarum, necnon monasteriorum ejusdem nationis in Sin, Massin et Calicuth ac *tota India* existentium eidem etiam Patriarchae subditorum dum viveret praesidebat [...]". S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 17-18; *Subsidium ad Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*. 4.

⁴¹ S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 24-27.

Primate or Patriarch of the city of Mosul in East-Assyria, under whose jurisdiction are included many metropolitans and diocesan bishops" enumerates the metropolitan and episcopal sees in Ottoman Empire, other sees in the kingdom of Persia and finally the cities of India, not even excepting the territories under Portuguese dominion, Cochin, Cannur, Goa, Calicut and Cranganore. 42

Since the Patriarch could not remain in Rome for participating in the council of Trent, on 23 July 1562 he made a pledge that he would accept and observe all the decisions of the same Council. 43 While the profession of faith of the Patriarch asserting jurisdiction in India was read in the Council of Trent between the session XXI and XXII, the Portuguese ambassador to the Council protested, while the Pope or Roman authorities made no objection. 44 As Cardinal Alexander Barnabò, Prefect of Propaganda Fide later admitted, all these facts "demonstrate that at that epoch not only the Holy See did not contest the right which the said Patriarch affirmed to have in India, but also recognized it. 45 In brief the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch was explicitly recognized by the Pope and the Roman authorities.

3.4. Initial Portuguese Attempts to Eradicate Chaldean Jurisdiction: Metropolitan Mar Joseph (1555-1569) and Patriarchal Visitor Mar Elias

After the death of Mar Jacob in 1550 the See of St Thomas Christians remained vacant for about five years. In 1555 the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch Mar Abdiso, the legitimate canonical head of the St Thomas Christians sent two Catholic bishops to India: Mar Joseph Sulaqa, the brother of John Sulaqa (former

⁴² Cf. S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 65; cf. also Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 274.

⁴³ G. Beltrami, La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione, 62-63.

⁴⁴ G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione*, 39, footnote 7.

 $^{^{45}}$ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 275.

Catholic Patriarch) as metropolitan of the St Thomas Christians and Mar Elias as a visitor and representative of the Patriarch. These two Catholic bishops, accompanied by two Dominicans, Roman Catholic Latin Bishop Ambrose Buttigeg, the papal "Nuncio" to the East and his companion Anthony Sahara OP (and two Chaldean clerics), reached Goa in November 1555. In fact, Bishop Buttigeg and Anthony Sahara had also been authorized by Pope Julius III to inquire into the state of affairs of the "Chaldean Christians" in India. Although the letters that Patriarch John (Simon) Sulaga had brought from Pope Julius III (authorization of the apostolic visit) and the testimonials of Patriarch Abdiso were presented to the Portuguese authorities, the two Chaldean bishops were arrested and detained in the Franciscan monastery of Bassein near Bombay, while the papal "Nuncio" Bishop Buttigeg and his companion Fr. Anthony Sahara were obliged by Portuguese religious and political authorities to remain in Goa itself. In the report submitted to Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santorio in Rome, ⁴⁶ Mar Elias (after his return from India) described their tragic fate in Goa:

Patriarch Mar Abdiso created Mar Joseph, brother of the former Patriarch Sulaqa, the archbishop of India, in order to provide for the Chaldeans who are in the Indies from Cochin up to the Indies of St Thomas. He sent myself as a companion (to Mar Joseph) together with Bishop Ambrose and friar Anthony and two other Chaldean friars, with recommendation letters to the Portuguese Viceroy in India, which Patriarch Sulaqa brought from Rome, namely from the Apostolic See [...]. Arrived in Goa, they presented the said letters, but were placed in a monastery, where they remained for one and a half years [...]. ⁴⁷

The papal "Nuncio", the Dominican Latin Bishop Ambrose Buttigeg wrote a letter to King John III of Portugal on 25

 $^{^{46}}$ At that time Giulio Antonio Santorio, cardinal of the Holy Roman Church from 1570 until his death in 1602, was the Relator of ultramarine affairs in the Roman Curia.

⁴⁷ The printed versions of the report of Mar Elias kept in the Vatican Archives can be found in *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 239-241; S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 90-97 and in G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione*, 199-203, here p. 201.

December 1556, in which he lamented about his arrest and detention in Goa by the "will and mandate of the Governor of Your Highness":

Behold, it is not lawful for me to depart, nor to continue my journey, although it is for the Pope my patron and for the Apostolic See. Because of the wish and order of the Governor of Your Highness I remain in detention here in your city of Goa. [...] I do not wish to fight with the officials of Your Majesty, who should understand that I, a bishop of the Roman Church and a Legate or Nuncio (though unworthy) of the Pope and of the Holy Apostolic See, could have employed the spiritual arms of the Catholic Church, since they have done me violence and have impeded my course in the service of the Apostolic See (and this) in accordance with the law of nature (since violence could be repelled by violence). However, this way would have been scandalous, against the person of the Governor and against this city according to the doctrine of the canon [...]. Then on account of my great reverence towards Your Majesty I decided to wait patiently, if not enough one year, four and five, and even the whole period of my life. 48

If faith was the only concern of the Portuguese authorities there was no reason to arrest the papal Nuncio, Latin Catholic Bishop Ambrose Buttigeg, his companion Latin Dominican Priest Anthony Sahara and the two Chaldean Catholic bishops, who brought recommendation letters from the Holy See. On 20 November 1557 the custodian of the two Chaldean bishops in Bassein, the Portuguese Friar Antonio Do Porto, wrote a letter to the king of Portugal, in which he acknowledged the strict orthodox faith, exemplary life and heroic virtues of the two Chaldean bishops. ⁴⁹ Do Porto, "humble servant of Your Majesty" stated:

In the articles of Faith and the Sacraments of our Holy Mother the Church, I often discussed with them what is fundamental and necessary, and in no way or word found them differing from us. As regards their life and good habits they were such that they were a good example, not only to myself, but to the new Christians of this

⁴⁸ J. Wicki, "Zur Orientreise des päpstlichen Nuntius Ambrosius Buttigeg O. P. (1553-56)", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 19 (1953) 359-361.

⁴⁹ The complete text of the letter in the Portuguese language can be found in G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione*, 40-43.

country, and the Moors were astonished at their good life and their good doctrine and practice. The Portuguese, being more enlightened, were so edified by their good life and practice that few spoke with them once without returning to speak again; and many cherished for them great devotion and visited them many times, although they lived in this jungle. They are men who do not eat meat, because they belong to the order of St Basil, as observed by the Carthusians; they do not eat fish either in Lent or in Advent, or on the days of fasting, nor do they drink wine on these days. They are very quite and retiring, so that they do not get out unless absolutely necessary, spending all their time in prayer and contemplation and in studying the Sacred Scripture and the saintly doctors on Scripture, which they have. When they came here to this house of Our Lady of Piety, they very devotedly said Mass in Chaldean, which they sang, and the person who serves Mass says almost as much as the one who says it, and they said it with such devotion that all those who heard them were very much edified. However, having found them in complete agreement with us, I thought that they might also do so in this very holy Sacrifice of the Mass; hence I taught them the ceremonies of (Latin) Mass, which they learnt with such devotion and diligence that, when the feast of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ came, they said Mass with such devotion and clearness, that I and all those who heard them were surprised. And henceforward they said it in Latin and never in Chaldean [...]. They are men of a very spiritual conversation and far from any malice either in words or in deeds.⁵⁰

It is evident that the two bishops, accompanied by the papal nuncio to the East, Latin Catholic Bishop Ambrose Buttigeg, were detained in Goa not because of any question of faith and morals, but because of political reasons. Precisely as regards Chaldean jurisdiction in Malabar the missionary affirmed to His Majesty:

I advised them as well as I could and pointed out to them the reasons why they should not go to Malabar, one of the reasons being that, as they well know, no bishop could enter the bishopric of another to attend to his flock, and that the bishop of Goa was the bishop of Malabar and the whole of India, and of all the other parts of the Orient conquered by Your Majesty, and that no one without his leave could interfere with the Christians of those parts, and that

⁵⁰ G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione*, 40-43; English trans. in D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. 1, Bangalore 1939, 159-160.

those who went to minister the Sacraments to the Christians of Malabar without the leave of the bishop of Goa were thieves who did not enter through the door into the sheepfold. [...] it is necessary that Your Majesty should send a memorandum to the Pope to order the Chaldean Patriarch, who has given his allegiance, that in no case should he send bishops to Malabar; but that if the Malabarians should ask for them that he should tell them to obey the bishop of Goa, who is their bishop by the order of the Pope, whom he obeys. ⁵¹

After the erection of the diocese of Goa, the Portuguese began to consider the bishop of Goa as the bishop and true pastor of the St Thomas Christians as well. Consequently, the Eastern bishops, canonically appointed by the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch, began to be simply considered as thieves and robbers, who illegitimately entered into the territory of another bishop, without authorization.

During the detention of the said bishops in Goa, another Chaldean bishop, Mar Abraham reached Kerala in 1557 who, being informed of the fate of the other bishops of his country, travelled through another root, avoiding Goa.⁵² The St Thomas Christians, who had not any bishop for about seven years, received Mar Abraham with great enthusiasm and appropriate solemnity.

Soon the shocking news about the arrival of the new Bishop Mar Abraham in Kerala reached Goa. The Portuguese religious and political authorities understood that their strategy to keep aloof the Chaldean bishops from the St Thomas Christians had utterly failed. Therefore, in the second half of 1558, after 18 months of detention, they set free Mar Joseph and Mar Elias together with the papal Nuncio Bishop Ambrose Buttigeg and his companion Anthony Sahara. All of them were permitted to go to Kerala on condition that they would not have exercised any jurisdiction without the consent of the Portuguese Latin Archbishop of Goa.

After reaching Malabar, the papal Nuncio Bishop Ambrose Buttigeg died in Cochin in January 1558. Bishop Mar Elias returned to his Patriarch as pre-planned and after a few years he

⁵¹ G. Beltrami, La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione, 42-43; English trans. in D. Ferroli, The Jesuits in Malabar, 160-161.

⁵² For details, see in this introductory article, no. 2. 3. 5.

went to Rome and submitted the report about the needs of the Chaldean Church.⁵³ Mar Joseph and Anthony Zahara worked together among the St Thomas Christians for about two years. By the brief of 24 January 1561, Pope Pius IV (1559-1565) unexpectedly called back Fr. Anthony Sahara. Later, on 17 November 1564 he was nominated bishop of "Vico Equense nel Napoletano" in Italy.⁵⁴

As soon as Anthony Sahara left for Rome, the Portuguese began to accuse Mar Joseph of Nestorian heresy and schism. By the end of 1562 the Inquisition of Goa forced Mar Joseph to go to Lisbon, where he was kept for more than one year. In fact, he succeeded in proving his orthodoxy and innocence before the Inquisition of Lisbon, headed by Cardinal Infante Dom Henrique, who was at that time Inquisitor General and later Legate of the Portuguese Crown. Although it was judged inopportune to allow Mar Joseph to proceed to Rome for the *ad limina* visit, Pope Pius IV (1559-1565) sent him a blessing together with a brief dated 27 June 1564, in which the Pope exhorted him to return to Malabar for teaching the Christian faithful there "the same faith and doctrine which the Patriarch (Abdiso) professed in Rome". Se

According to the wish of Pope Pius IV, Mar Joseph retuned to India and might have reached Malabar by the end of 1564. Soon after his arrival in Malabar, again the Portuguese began to accuse him of teaching heresy, although he introduced some Latin

⁵³ The full text of the report, which we have already cited, can be found in in *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tom. 2, 239-241; S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 90-97 and in G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione*, 199-203.

 $^{^{54}}$ For details and documentation, G. Beltrami, La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione, 51-57.

⁵⁵ Cf. A. De Gouvea, Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes Primaz da India Oriental, Religioso da Ordem de S. Agostinho, Coimbra 1606, 7; P. Malekandathil (ed.), Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes: A Portuguese Account of the Sixteenth Century Malabar, Kochi 2003, 34; E. Tisserant, Eastern Christianity in India, Bombay 1957, 39.

⁵⁶ The brief in *Corpo Diplomatico Português*, tomo X, 170; G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione*, 89-90.

practices and made a few modifications in the Chaldean rite. In fact, he permitted Latin liturgical vestments, as well as Portuguese wine and unleavened bread for the Eucharistic celebration.⁵⁷ Moreover he translated from Latin into Syriac the words of Institution of the Holy Eucharist and the sacramental formulas of Confession and Extreme Unction for the use of the St Thomas Christians.⁵⁸ But this was not enough for the Portuguese, for whom communion with the Roman Pontiff signified the complete adoption of Latin liturgy, sacramental discipline and even Western customs.

In 1567 the archbishop of Goa, George Temudo, obtained permission from Pope Pius V (1566-1572) to conduct another inquisition process against Mar Joseph and to send him to Rome, if found guilty, with the acts of the process. Soon he was arrested (second time) and deported to Lisbon and then to Rome. The trial conducted in Rome by the order of Pope Pius V enabled the Roman judges to recognize anew his authentic Catholic faith, and religious and moral integrity. Mar Joseph died in Rome in 1569, when he was about to be made cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, as a reward for his great devotion, strong Catholic faith and heroic sufferings. About the trial and the death of Mar Joseph in Rome, Cardinal Tisserant rightly observed:

⁵⁷ Cf. A. De Gouvea, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes*, 7; P. Malekandathil (ed.), *Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes*, 33.

⁵⁸ Cf. F. Ros, "Relação sobre a Serra", written in 1604, British Library MS Add. 9853, ff. 86-99, original text with English trans., "A Report on the Serra", in G. Nedungatt (ed.), *The Synod of Diamper Revisited*, Rome 2001, 331-333.

⁵⁹ Cf. G. Beltrami, La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione, 91; A. De Gouvea, Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes, 8; P. Malekandathil (ed.), Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes, 37.

⁶⁰ Cf. G. Beltrami, La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione, 92-93.

⁶¹ Cf. F. De Souza, Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa, Segunda Parte (II), Lisboa 1710, 123; G. T. Mackenzie, "History of Christianity in Travancore", in V. Nagam Aiya (ed.), The Travancore State Manual, vol. 2, New Delhi-Madras 1989, 165; D. Ferroli, The Jesuits in Malabar, vol. 1, 156.

The Roman judges, however, like the Franciscan Guardian of Bassein previously, felt obliged to give way before the piety of Mar Joseph and to recognize his orthodoxy. Yet the measure of suffering was full, and Mar Joseph received, near the tomb of the Apostles, the crown which he had merited, through his long and slow martyrdom which was perhaps a more painful one than that of his heroic brother. ⁶²

The saintly bishop endured all such "persecution" from the moment of his episcopal consecration with patience and courage, in total obedience and submission to the Roman Pontiff, because of his heroic and insurmountable faith. It is God's inestimable mercy, that enabled Mar Joseph to prove his orthodoxy – without being assisted or defended by anyone – despite the Portuguese political, financial and religious power in the Roman Curia at that time.

3.5. Metropolitan Mar Abraham and the Solemn Papal Confirmation of Chaldean Jurisdiction in India

We have indicated above that the Chaldean Bishop Mar Abraham reached Malabar in 1557, while Mar Joseph and his companions were detained in Goa. With regard to the ecclesiastical status of Mar Abraham at the time of his arrival in Malabar, there exists much confusion among authors. It is not our intention to go deep into the question, but only to give some indications. According to authors like Assemani, Giamil, Beltrami, Cardinal Tisserant and Bernard Thoma, Mar Abraham was a Catholic bishop sent by the Chaldean Patriarch Mar Abdiso, upon the requests of the St Thomas Christians, since Bishop Joseph and his companions were detained in Goa. However, many authors, based mainly on Portuguese sources, hold that Mar Abraham was a Nestorian bishop sent by the Nestorian Patriarch Mar Simon VIII

⁶² E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India*, Bombay 1957, 41. Here the reference is to Patriarch John (Simon) Sulaqa, who had to embrace martyrdom for the sake of maintaining communion with Rome.

⁶³ J. S. Assemani, Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino Vaticana, tom. III, 165; S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 602; G. Beltrami, La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione, 98-99; E. Tisserant, Eastern Christianity in India, 40; Bernard Thoma, Mar Thoma Kristianikal, 316-319.

(1551-1559).⁶⁴ However, one has to keep in mind that often many Western missionaries indiscriminately called Nestorians all the Chaldean bishops and even the St Thomas Christians.

Anyway, after the arrival of Mar Joseph and his companions, Mar Abraham was arrested in 1558 to be deported to Lisbon in Portugal. However, on the way to Portugal, when the ship anchored in Mozambique he eluded his guards and escaped to Ormuz, from where he made his way to Mosul and met the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch Mar Abdiso. 65 If Abraham had not yet been a Catholic bishop, it is certain that after his return from India Patriarch Abdiso received him to the Catholic Church and promoted him to the status of a metropolitan. 66 After sometime, since the Patriarch had received assurances from the Roman Pontiff about his jurisdiction over the St Thomas Christians, he sent Mar Abraham to Rome with testimonial letters. The Chaldean bishop might have reached Rome at the end of 1564. During his stay in the eternal city, he met Pope Pius IV, made the profession of faith and obtained two testimonial letters signed by the Pope himself. The Pope also sent a letter to Patriarch Mar Abdiso on 23 February 1565 informing him of the warm reception extended to

⁶⁴ A. De Gouvea, Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes, 7; P. Malekandathil (ed.), Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes, 34; J. F. Raulin, Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae cum Diamperitana Synodo, Romae 1745, 438; M. Geddes, The History of the Church of Malabar, together with the Synod of Diamper, London 1694, 19-20; J. Hough, The History of Christianity in India from the Commencement of the Christian Era, vol. 1, London 1839, 254; G. T. Mackenzie, "History of Christianity in Travancore", 135; J. Wicki, "Die Synoden der Thomaschristen (auch Syromalabaren genannt)", Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum 18 (1986) 334-447; "Die Synode von Diamper in Malabar (1599) und ihre Beurteilung (1600-1975)", Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum 1-2 (1977) 190.

⁶⁵ If Mar Abraham was a Nestorian bishop, as some authors affirm, it is not clear why he returned to the Catholic Patriarch and not to the Nestorian Patriarch, when there existed conflicts between the two.

⁶⁶ Cf. The letter of the Patriarch to the Archbishop of Goa, J. Wicki (ed.), Documenta Indica, vol. 11 (1970) 41*; A. Rabbath, Documents inédits pour servir a l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient, vol. 2, Paris-Leipzig 1910, 434; see P. Pallath, The Provincial Councils of Goa and the Church of St Thomas Christians, Kottayam 2005, 168-170.

Mar Abraham in Rome and reconfirming his jurisdiction in Malabar. We cite the relevant part of the last letter concerning Mar Abraham and the jurisdiction of the Patriarch in India:

Even though, as we have learnt, he (Mar Abraham) is a man of great intellect and a great scholar of sacred Christian literature and Catholic dogma, and he is endowed with such honesty and moral integrity which befits a religious man, he suffered inconveniences in India. We have been sorry about that, but we believe that the Lord permitted it so that his faith might be explored, and success might result from the test. Upon his return to India we gave him, as he requested from us, letters of recommendation. Yet, we think it expedient that Your Fraternity assign to him a proper diocese and a place of residence, dividing the diocese between him and another bishop of your country (Mar Joseph), who, we have heard, dwells in those regions, so that each one may recognize which flock he has to feed and protect and so neither of them impede the other in exercising the ministry. As it was referred to us, since Abraham desired to assign himself as residence the neighbouring place of the Portuguese territory, called Angamaly, we exhort Your Fraternity to comply with his wishes in this matter.

In this letter the Pope categorically, explicitly and unambiguously confirmed the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch over the St Thomas Christians in India, which Pope Julius III had publicly acknowledged in the bull of confirmation of Patriarch John (Simon) Sulaqa. The Pope explicitly acknowledged the right of the Chaldean Patriarch to create dioceses and nominate bishops in India. It is remarkable that the Pope, in order to fully respect the jurisdiction of the Patriarch, only advised him to divide the territory of the St Thomas Christians into two dioceses and to assign the diocese of Angamaly to Mar Abraham, although as the Supreme Authority of the Catholic Church he could easily adopted these provisions, especially since an appeal was made to him.

⁶⁷ Rome, Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Archivum de Castello, Armad. VII, Caps. V, n. 9; printed text in S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 69-71; the complete Latin text and the English trans. in P. Pallath, *The Provincial Councils of Goa*, 160-163.

3.5.1. Intervention of Pope Pius IV in India for the Protection of Chaldean Jurisdiction

As already indicated Pope Pius IV also entrusted to Mar Abraham two testimonial letters, dated 28 February 1565 and addressed to the archbishop of Goa and to the bishop of Cochin respectively. In these letters of identical content the Supreme Pontiff officially informed the said archbishop and bishop that Mar Abraham was a good Catholic bishop who made the profession of faith in Rome, after he had been examined and instructed by competent experts nominated by him.⁶⁸ In the letter to the archbishop of Goa, after mentioning the long and perilous journey of "beloved brother Abraham" and his "truly outstanding devotion to the Holy See" the Pope affirmed:

From the authoritative testimonials given by his Patriarch and by others in those regions who knew him well, we have realized that he is a pious and devout man; in fact, he himself has proved those testimonies by his exemplary life here. Furthermore, during his stay in this city he took care that the faith of the Holy Roman Church which he had previously received be diligently taught to him by learned and devout men who, upon our mandate, had been chosen for this task; and he fully accepted what they taught. Moreover, as proof of this matter, following the example of his Patriarch, he left here in Rome a document, signed by his own hand. ⁶⁹

Moreover the Pope reminded the bishops of Goa and Cochin that the Chaldean Patriarch Mar Abdiso personally went to Rome, made the profession of faith there and obtained the pallium; hence he was a Catholic Patriarch in full communion with the Roman Pontiff. The Pope warned the archbishop of Goa that it would be detrimental to the Pope himself and to the Apostolic See, if he would hinder the jurisdiction of the Patriarch. After reminding the advice given to the Patriarch to divide the Church of St Thomas Christians into two dioceses, the Pope stated in the same letter:

⁶⁸ These letters can be found in S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 71-73; also in P. Pallath, *The Provincial Councils of Goa*, 164-169.

⁶⁹ S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 71-72; P. Pallath, The Provincial Councils of Goa, 165.

[...] Since we consider him (Mar Abraham) to be worthy of our recommendation and since we think that his Patriarch, who wrote so carefully about him, must also be respected, great care should be taken that nothing be neglected concerning what he decides in consideration of our advice, lest he may have a just cause for complaint.

If such a thing happens, it would be harmful to this Holy See and to us, (we) who confirmed this same Patriarch, an exceedingly good and pious man, who about three years ago had come from Assyria all the way to the Apostolic See to obtain the communion of the Roman Church and who duly professed the reverence and obedience proper to this Apostolic See, and we received him into our faith and that of the Apostolic See, conferring on him the pallium and confirming his privileges. For this reason, we judge it just and wish that his jurisdiction remains intact and inviolate.⁷⁰

In brief, the Roman Pontiff officially informed the archbishop of Goa and the bishop of Cochin that Mar Abraham was a Catholic bishop, canonically and legitimately appointed by the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch, who was in full and explicit communion with the Roman Pontiff and who had jurisdiction over the St Thomas Christians, which should remain intact and inviolate.

3.5.2. Chaldean Patriarch's Exercise of Jurisdiction in India according to the Counsel of the Pope

According to the advice of Pope Pius IV, Patriarch Abdiso bifurcated the territory of the St Thomas Christians into two dioceses and appointed Mar Abraham the metropolitan of the archdiocese of Angamaly and Mar Joseph the bishop of the rest of the territory. In the decree of the Patriarch addressed to George Temudo, the archbishop of Goa, we read:

And now with the help of the Most Holy Trinity, by the will of God and the Holy Roman Church, mother of Churches, and by our own will, with the authority which was communicated to us by the same Church, and was received from Pope Pius IV, we decide as follows: We divide and give to this person who brings our letters,

 $^{^{70}\,\}mathrm{S}.$ Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 73; P. Pallath, The Provincial Councils of Goa, 167.

Metropolitan Mar Abraham, the half of the flock of our Syrians in the Indies, and the other half to Mar Joseph, our son and brother. Let Angamaly belong to Mar Abraham, a portion more, in consideration of the fatigue in betaking himself to the Pope, and as our Lord the Pope commanded, with that half which is near Gamila. And this should be made clear to all who will happen to read these lines, that after us, that is, while we live or after our death, he (Abraham) should be the superior (head) of all bishops and metropolitans. Furthermore, all you must know that when one of these two bishops dies or goes to another place, the one who will remain, should govern the people of the whole flock.

Given in the blessed city of Gazirah, on 24 August of the Greek year 1878 (i.e. 1567 AD). Glory be to God, and his mercy and kindness be upon us, for ever and ever. Amen. ⁷¹

It is remarkable that Mar Abraham was nominated the head (*protos*) of all bishops and metropolitans of the St Thomas Christians in India. Unfortunately, the division of the territory of the St Thomas Christians into two dioceses did not come into effect, because Mar Joseph was arrested and deported to Lisbon and then to Rome before the arrival of Mar Abraham. Therefore, as the Patriarch decided, Mar Abraham should have governed all the St Thomas Christians.

When the Portuguese came, the residence of the metropolitan was in Cranganore. As soon as the Portuguese military had erected a fortress in Cranganore around 1536-1537, the St Thomas Christians left the city, because they not only were prohibited from observing their own rite and the "law of Thomas" but also were coerced into conforming in everything to the Roman rite and Western culture. Subsequently in 1565, according to the request of Mar Abraham, complying with the directive of Pope Pius IV

J. Wicki (ed.), Documenta Indica, vol. 11 (1970) 41*; A. Rabbath, Documents inédits, vol. 2, 434; P. Pallath, The Provincial Councils of Goa, 168-170.

 $^{^{72}}$ Based on the Malayalam expression at present Cranganore is written also as Kodungallur or Kodungalloor.

⁷³ Cf. F. Ros, "Relação sobre a Serra", 323-325; A. M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, 178-179.

(1559-1565), the Chaldean Patriarch Mar Abdiso fixed the residence of the principal metropolitan of the St Thomas Christians in Angamaly.

3.6. Metropolitan Mar Abraham and the Portuguese Attempts to Suppress Chaldean Jurisdiction and Eastern Rite in India

Surprisingly enough, when Mar Abraham reached Goa in 1568 with so evident testimonial letters of the Pope and those of his Patriarch, he was arrested and detained in the Dominican monastery of Goa, because Archbishop George Temudo, who examined the letters, judged them to be either false or obtained by subterfuge. A few months later he escaped from Goa at night, on Maundy Thursday (15 April 1568) and reached his flock in Kerala, where he was received with great affection and devotion. Afterwards Mar Abraham remained in the hinterland of Malabar protected by the St Thomas Christians and kept aloof from his enemies. As the Portuguese historian António de Gouvea affirmed:

The Viceroy and the archbishop of Goa and the bishop of Cochin tried a lot to lay hands again on him, but he went right inside the land and never came to the churches close to Cochin or to the places where he could be arrested by the Portuguese.⁷⁵

After the failure of their best attempts to capture Mar Abraham, the Portuguese religious and political authorities left things to the destiny, at least for a few years. As fixed by the Patriarch, Mar Abraham, the last Chaldean metropolitan of the St Thomas Christians, began to reside in Angamaly. From this time the See of St Thomas Christians and their archbishop came to be

⁷⁴ Cf. S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 86; A. De Gouvea, Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes, 8; P. Malekandathil (ed.), Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes, 38; F. De Souza, Oriente Conquistado II, 124.

⁷⁵ A. De Gouvea, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes*, 8; P. Malekandathil (ed.), *Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes*, 39.

known as the archdiocese of Angamaly and the archbishop of Angamaly, respectively.

3.6.1. Convocation of Mar Abraham to the Second Provincial Council of Goa in 1575 and His Appeal to Pope Gregory XIII

As we have already indicated, after the failure of the Portuguese to capture Mar Abraham, for a few years he peacefully governed his flock. Afterwards the relationship between the Chaldean bishop and the Portuguese religious and political authorities worsened mainly due to their attempts at the westernization of the St Thomas Christians, which he resisted to a certain extent. Although the Archdiocese of Angamaly (subject to the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch) was not a suffragan of Goa, Mar Abraham was convoked to the provincial council of Goa in 1575 together with the two suffragan bishops of Cochin and Malacca, as if Abraham had been a "con-provincial" bishop. 76 Mar Abraham did not take part in the council, because he had no obligation to do so, since the archdiocese of Angamaly was not part of the ecclesiastical province of Goa, nor was Abraham a conprovincial bishop as stated in the convocation letter. At that time the archdiocese of Angamaly was juridically an autonomous ecclesiastical province, pertaining to the Chaldean Patriarchate. Hence, the archbishop of Goa had no right to convoke Mar Abraham, a metropolitan of an Eastern patriarchate, who did not in any way belong to the ecclesiastical province of Goa. Moreover, Abraham was very much afraid of going to Goa, the Portuguese religious and political capital, since already he was twice arrested and detained by them.

However, by the very fact of convocation of Mar Abraham to the council, the archbishop of Goa demonstrated that he was a Catholic bishop, because at that epoch it was abhorrent and unlawful to invite heretics and schismatics to a provincial council

 $^{^{76}}$ Cf. Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae, Appendix-Tomus 1, Lisbon 1872, 40-41.

of the Latin Church. Moreover, it was at least an indirect recognition of the Chaldean Catholic jurisdiction in Inda, which of course the Portuguese wanted to supress.

Even in the absence of Mar Abraham, the provincial council enacted a decree on the appointment of bishops in the archdiocese of Angamaly and on the obligation of its archbishop to participate in the future provincial councils of Goa. In fact the council decreed:

For the good of the Christianity of the Apostle St Thomas, which is in the land of Malabar, it is convenient that the diocese be governed by a prelate presented by the king of Portugal and not by the Patriarch of Chaldea in order that the said Christianity may be more easily freed from many abuses in which it is involved. Since the archbishop of Angamaly, who governs these Christians, has no suffragan bishops, and neither does he go nor can he easily go to Chaldea, owing to the great distance, this council petitions His Holiness that he should come, and should be obliged to come to the council of this province and to observe and make them (his Christians) observe its decrees, according to the Council of Trent, for he is our close neighbour, and in this way, that Christianity will have a great remedy [...].

The decree indubitably and explicitly reveals the Portuguese intention to place "the Christianity of the Apostle St Thomas" under the Portuguese patronage which would naturally grant the king of Portugal the right of presenting to the Pope anyone he wished to be appointed bishop in the see of Angamaly. Similarly the decree indicates that Mar Abraham would be obliged to participate in the future provincial councils of Goa and to observe and make the St Thomas Christians observe their decrees, as if the archdiocese of Angamaly were a suffragan of Goa.

Since from the hostile attitude of the missionaries and especially from this decree Abraham knew well the Portuguese strategy to suppress the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch in India and to make the archdiocese of Angamaly a suffragan of

⁷⁷ Provincial Council of Goa (1575), Session 3, decree 1, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, Appendix-Tomus 1, Lisbon 1872, 51. For a commentary, see P. Pallath, *The Provincial Councils of Goa*, 70-77.

Goa, he could have imagined the tragic consequences of his refusal to participate in the provincial council in 1575. Moreover Abraham was aware of the fact that Pope Pius IV, who knew him personally and who granted him recommendation letters, already died in 1565 and after a short pontificate of Pope Pius V (1566-1572) at that time Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) was governing the universal Church. Therefore he acted very prudently. At the request of Mar Abraham, on 2 January 1576 the king of Cochin sent a letter to Pope Gregory XIII, in which he explained why Mar Abraham did not participate in the provincial council of Goa. The king stated:

Mar Abraham, the archbishop of Angamaly, my vassal and prelate of the St Thomas Christians in my kingdom, informed me that he could not, as he was requested, be present at the provincial council convoked by the archbishop of Goa on account of the wrongs and oppressions done towards him, and also because he was twice committed to prison. So he could not sit in the said council, and he asked me to inform Your Holiness that he remains an obedient son to the Holy Apostolic See, and that if Your Holiness will assure him, he will be present at the council of these states and will communicate with Portuguese prelates and religious to the great utility of Christianity [...].

On 21 December 1576 the Pope wrote a reply to the king of Cochin, highly praising and thanking him for the acts "of kindness and gentleness, you have bestowed upon our sons, the Christians" and encouraging him to continue his good works. Then the Pope continued:

About the archbishop of Angamaly we cannot decide anything since we are ignorant of the troubles that keep him back from going to the provincial council, or for what reasons he had been twice committed to prison. When we shall come to be informed, we shall decide what is right and proper, nor shall we suffer him any more to be oppressed.⁷⁹

Being aware of the looming dangers, in 1577 Mar Abraham sent to Pope Gregory XIII, a written profession of faith, equal to the one

⁷⁸ S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 76.

⁷⁹ S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 77.

he made before Pope Pius IV in 1565, in order to demonstrate his authentic Catholic faith and his attachment to the Holy See. In this profession of faith Mar Abraham once more unambiguously confessed the faith of the Holy Roman Church and admitted the seven sacraments, the primacy of the pope and the superiority of the Roman Church as it was taught at that time. Furthermore, on 3 January 1578 Mar Abraham wrote another letter to Pope Gregory XIII, in which "prostrating at the most holy feet of Your Beatitude and kissing them with the greatest submission and piety of which I am capable", he informed the Pope of his Catholic faith and true obedience to the Holy See and explained to him the reasons for his absence from the provincial council of Goa in 1575, namely the terror of arrest and detention. For the Holy See and explained to the Holy See and explained to him the reasons for his absence from the provincial council of Goa in 1575, namely the terror of arrest and detention.

3.6.2. Intervention of Pope Gregory XIII for the Protection of Chaldean Catholic Jurisdiction in India

The letter of the king of Cochin, as well as the profession of faith and the letter of Mar Abraham, induced Pope Gregory XIII to send three briefs. In the first letter dated 20 November 1578 and addressed to the archbishop of Goa, the Pope stated:

We wish that in the provincial synod you receive the archbishop of Angamaly – for we wish that he too be present at that, and of this we have written to him – and act to the effect that he may come to know of your charity and humanity there as well as in other places. This, we think, behoves a brother, and would contribute to the propagation of the worship of Christ and the spread of Catholic faith [...]" ⁸²

⁸⁰ The profession of the Catholic faith signed by Mar Abaraham can be found in the Vatican Archives, Arch. Arcis. S. Aug., Armar. XI, Caps. 3, n. 39; printed text in S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 83-85; original text and English trans. in P. Pallath, *The Provincial Councils of Goa*, 156-161.

⁸¹ The complete text of this letter in G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea*, 98-99; original text and English trans. in P. Pallath, *The Provincial Councils of Goa*, 176-179.

⁸² S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 604.

In the letter of 29 November 1578 the Pope advised Mar Abraham to participate in the future provincial councils of Goa, since he could not have convoked his own synods as he had no suffragan bishops.⁸³ In the letter to Henry, the king of Portugal the Pope wrote on 3 December 1578: "We recommend to your Majesty also the venerable brother the archbishop of Angamaly whom we hear to have been vexed by some; it will be very pleasing to us if you give orders to the viceroy and governors of India to protect him and not to suffer him to be hurt by any injury". 84 In accordance with this papal letter the king of Portugal gave precise orders to the Portuguese Viceroy in Goa to receive Mar Abraham with due honour and to treat him with dignity.⁸⁵ The real Portuguese intention of convoking Mar Abraham to the provincial council of Goa was the suppression of Chaldean jurisdiction, but really the opposite happened; the supreme authority of the Church intervened to protect the Chaldean Catholic Bishop Mar Abraham.

In the context of the contrast between the Portuguese and Mar Abraham, already on 25 August 1566 the Chaldean Patriarch Mar Abdiso nominated Archdeacon George of Christ as the bishop of "Palur" (Palayur) and suffragan to Mar Abraham. ⁸⁶ It seems that the humility of the archdeacon was such that he did not accept to be consecrated bishop. In order to counter the move of the Portuguese to constrain him to the provincial councils of Goa on the ground that he had no suffragan, already in 1578 Mar Abraham tried to obtain papal confirmation of the appointment of the archdeacon as the bishop of Palur and as the metropolitan of the St Thomas Christians after his death. ⁸⁷ In fact, with the letter of 3 January 1579, addressed to our beloved son George of Christ, archdeacon of the Church of Angamaly, Pope Gregory XIII appointed him administrator of the archdiocese of Angamaly in

⁸³ S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 605.

⁸⁴ S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 606.

⁸⁵ See the document in G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea*, 195.

⁸⁶ J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. VII, Romae 1962, 703-705.

⁸⁷ See the letter of Mar Abraham to the Pope, dated 2 January 1578, in Roma, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Goa-Mal., 12, fol. 447-448.

case of vacancy through the death of Mar Abraham and on 4 March 1580 the same Pope confirmed him as the bishop of Palur.⁸⁸

Around this period a certain Simon arrived in Malabar claiming to be a bishop sent by the Nestorian Patriarch, creating confusion among the faithful.⁸⁹ Four letters written by Pope Gregory XIII on this occasion: the letter of 13 October 1578 to Enrique de Távora, archbishop of Goa, 90 the brief of 4 March 1580 to Archdeacon George of Christ, in which the Pope confirmed his election as the bishop of "Palur", and two letters (dated 12 February 1580 and 5 March 1580) addressed to the clergy and people of the archdiocese of Angamaly, confirmed directly or indirectly the authority of Mar Abraham and thus the Chaldean Catholic jurisdiction. 91 The main intention of all these four letters was to encourage the ecclesiastical authorities in Goa, as well as the clergy and the people in Malabar to oppose and expel Mar Simon from Malabar and to obey only the Catholic Bishop Mar Abraham. In the fourth letter the Pope admonished the clergy and people in Malabar:

We, then being solicitous for your salvation and the tranquillity of your Church, exhort and advise you and by virtue of the power committed to us by Christ, also order you not to suffer yourselves to be infected by that pest (the reference is to the activities of Simon), but evade it by all means; flee from his words and sermons; fear him as the enemy and eradicator of the Catholic faith, your salvation and the glory of Christ; eject him out of your community and gathering, permit him not to dwell among you nor to remain in your places.

⁸⁸ The two letters of the Pope can be found in G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea*, 195-197. The Archdeacon died in 1593, without receiving episcopal consecration.

⁸⁹ For more information about Simon, E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India*, 43-44; Bernard Thoma, *Mar Thoma Kristianikal*, 328-331; J. Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, *Volume II, From the Middle of the Sixteenth Century to the End of the Seventeenth Century*, Bangalore 1988, 50-51.

 $^{^{90}\,\}mathrm{He}$ was bishop of Cochin from 1567 to 1577 and then Archbishop of Goa from 1577 to 1581.

⁹¹ The first three letters can be found in G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea*, 192-194, 196-197, 198-199 and the fourth letter in S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 607-608.

The same you should do with the rest of the heretics and schismatics lest corrupted by their pestiferous doctrine and contagion you should perish. Be you therefore obedient to your lord Archbishop Abraham and also to George, bishop of "Palur", and live steadfast in the sincerity of Faith, in the simplicity of morals and in the unity of the holy mother the Church. Thus you attain to that eternal felicity and glory, which God has prepared and reserved for those who would live piously and holy [...].

Here one can find how earnestly the Pope advised the clergy and the Christian faithful to be obedient only to the Catholic Bishop Mar Abraham and to the bishop elect Archdeacon George of Christ in contrast to the heretics who should not be even permitted to dwell among them, but be expelled from their community. In fact, the Pope considered valid and canonically legitimate the Chaldean Catholic jurisdiction at that time represented by Mar Abraham.

3.6.3. Synod of Angamaly (1583): the Portuguese Recognition of Chaldean Jurisdiction

Encouraged by the Jesuit visitor Fr. Alessandro Valignano and other missionaries Mar Abraham, together with Archdeacon George convoked a synod or a *yogam* in the Church of Our Lady of Assumption in Angamaly on 26 October 1583, in order to correct the abuses and to bring the Church in greater conformity with the Roman Church. In this Synod Archdeacon George of Christ, the clergy, lay Christian leaders and a few Jesuit missionaries took part. ⁹³ In this synod in the presence of the Western missionaries, Mar Abraham again publicly and solemnly renewed the profession of faith which he made in Rome in 1565 and which he signed and sent to Pope Gregory XIII in 1577 in the name of the entire clergy and people of God. ⁹⁴

⁹² S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 608.

 $^{^{93}}$ G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea*, 109; J. Wicki, "Die Synoden der Thomaschristen", 336-337.

 $^{^{94}}$ G. Beltrami, La Chiesa caldea, 68-81; F. De Souza, Oriente Conquistado II, 106.

In the letter which Archbishop Mar Abraham wrote to Pope Gregory XIII on 13 January 1584, after expressing his sentiments of thanks and obligation towards the Pope for the ciborium and some relics, which he had sent through the fathers of the Society of Jesus, he referred to the Synod of Angamaly:

The same fathers this year informed us and our Archdeacon of the errors and customs of these Christians which need correction (that they may be conformable to the Apostolic and Roman Church) which thing seemed to us holy and necessary and therefore we convoked a diocesan synod of all the clergy and chief men in order that they might know the necessity of things incumbent on them, and thus acknowledge it willingly by divine help and through diligence of these ministers, who helped us, they most willingly acknowledge all things necessary for them, in obedience to the precepts of your Holiness [...].

According to the proposal of the Western missionaries in the Synod of Angamaly 28 articels were enacted and promulgated. ⁹⁶ Until today no one has succeeded in tracing the said decrees, but from the writings of the missionaries we get information about four important decisions: prohibition of marriage after ordination under excommunication and suspension *ipso facto*, prescription of obligatory annual confession and communion for all those who have reached the age of reason, reservation of confession only to those priests who have received faculty from the bishop, as well as the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar and the celebration of feasts according to it. ⁹⁷

The Synod of Angamaly demonstrates that Archbishop Mar Abraham himself and the St Thomas Christian priests and faithful voluntarily and peacefully accepted reforms and even Latinizations proposed by Western missionaries and hence traumatic actions like the Synod of Diamper, convoked under pain of excommunication latae setentiae, was not needed to reform this Christianity. It is also

⁹⁵ S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 98.

⁹⁶ Cf. Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum, Appendix-Tomus 1, 75.

⁹⁷ See the letter of Fr. Jerome Rebello SJ to Jesuit General Claudio Acquaviva on 20 January 1584 in *Documenta Indica*, vol. 13 (1975) 499; cf. also J. Wicki, "Die Synoden der Thomaschristen", 337.

evident that the missionaries collaborated with Mar Abraham and accepted his authority and jurisdiction, considering him as the legitimate metropolitan of the St Thomas Christians, competent to convoke a diocesan synod, which introduced many important modifications in the disciplinary and liturgical fields.

3.6.4. The Third Provincial Council of Goa in 1585 and the Portuguese Attempt to Curtail Chaldean Jurisdiction

We have already seen that after the second provincial council of Goa, in 1578 the Pope advised Mar Abraham to participate in the provincial councils of Goa since he had no possibility to convoke such a council or to participate in the synods of Chaldea. The Pope also wrote letters to the archbishop of Goa and the king of Portugal asking them to treat the archbishop of Angamaly with fraternal charity and due respect. In harmony with the directives of the Pope, Archbishop Vincent da Fonseca officially convoked Mar Abraham to the third provincial council of Goa, 98 which opened on 9 June 1585. Mar Abraham, who was not a suffragan of Goa and who had no juridical obligation to participate in the provincial councils, on account of his heroic obedience and filial devotion to the Roman Pontiff, did go to Goa, for him the most dangerous place in the world, where he had been twice arrested and detained by the Portuguese authorities.

The council began with a solemn pontifical high Mass in the cathedral of Goa celebrated by Archbishop Fonseca, in which Archbishop Mar Abraham of the St Thomas Christians, other bishops of the province, the Viceroy Duarte de Menezes, the members of the city council, many religious, ecclesiastics and Christian faithful took part. After the Holy Mass, a letter of Fonseca, dated 7 June 1585, explaining the nature, scope and competence of the council, was read. Then the secretary of the council Fr. Anthony Cachino read the legislation of the Council of Trent, session 25, chapter two, on the manner of conducting the provincial Council. Subsequently the profession of faith was made

⁹⁸ Cf. Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum, Appendix-Tomus 1, 60.

according to the bull *Inictum nobis* of Pope Pius IV, issued on 13 November 1564.⁹⁹ The secretary read the text in Portuguese language and then asked: "Fathers, do you believe, accept and firmly embrace all things contained in this symbol, and the profession of faith? The metropolitan and the other bishops responded: "Ita credimus, ita tenemus, ita profitemur". ¹⁰⁰ Then the council was officially declared opened. Thus once again together with all the bishops of East Indies Mar Abraham made the solemn and public profession of faith.

The third provincial council in five sessions enacted 82 decrees concerning the faith and various other aspects of ecclesial life. ¹⁰¹ The third session of the council, which contains ten decrees, is completely dedicated to "Das couzas do arcebispado de Angamale, e christandade, que chamão de S. Thomé, nas partes do Malavar". ¹⁰² Although Mar Abraham was alone amidst hostile and suspicious Portuguese prelates and in the presence of the representatives of the ferocious Inquisition of Goa and those of the king of Portugal, he offered some resistance, when the council declared that the holy Orders conferred by him according to the Chaldean rite were invalid because of the lack of proper matter. ¹⁰³ In fact, departing from the millennial common tradition of the Church, from the beginning of the eleventh century the Latin

⁹⁹ Cf. H. Denzinger, Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum, edizione bilinque, a cura di P. Hünermann, Bologna 1996, nos. 1862-1870; J. Neuner & J. Dupuis, The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church, New York 2001, nos. 30-38.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum, Appendix-Tomus 1, 61-62.

¹⁰¹ For the decrees, see *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum*, Appendix-Tomus 1, 62-89.

¹⁰² The decrees can be found in *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum*, Appendix-Tomus 1, 73-76; the original Portuguese text, the English translation and a commentary in P. Pallath, *The Provincial Councils of Goa*, 77-147.

Cf. Alessandro Valignano, Letter to the Jesuit General Claudio Acquaviva, dated 17 December 1585, in J. Wicki, "Quellen zum 3.
 Provinzialkonzil von Goa (1585)", Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum 5 (1973) 382-407; cf. also P. Malekandathil (ed.), Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes, 40.

Church began to consider the handing over of the objects or instruments as the matter of holy Orders: the priesthood is bestowed by the handing over of a chalice with wine and a paten with bread; the diaconate by the giving of the gospels; the subdiaconate by the handing over of an empty chalice with an empty paten on it. 104 It is in accordance with this practice that the council judged invalid all the ordinations to the priesthood conferred by Mar Abraham over a period of 28 years (1557-1585) and enjoined him to consecrate again all his priests ordained by him, utilizing the matter and form of the Roman rite. Abraham strived to defend the validity of the Orders conferred according to the Chaldean rite, but without any success. The prelates of the council, obfuscated by their anxiety to humiliate Mar Abraham, could not even imagine that on 30 November 1947 Pope Pius XII, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, would declare with "sure knowledge" that the Roman Church has always considered valid the holy Orders (of the Greek rite) conferred without the handing over of the instruments and would definitively declare that "the matter of the holy Orders of diaconate, presbyterate and episcopate is the laying on of hands alone". 105

With regard to the other proposals of the council, such as the introduction of Latin language among the St Thomas Christians, erection of a seminary and the permission for the missionaries to reform that Christianity, he responded that he could not assent without consulting the Archdeacon and the leaders of the community. ¹⁰⁶ In fact, Mar Abraham acted in conformity with the immemorial tradition of the Indian Eastern Church, according to which the bishop could not have decided such things without

¹⁰⁴ Cf. The Council of Florence, session 8 (22 November 1439); Bull of Union with the Armenians, H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum*, no. 1326; J. Neuner & J. Dupuis, *The Christian Faith*, no. 1705; N. P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1, London 1990, 549.

Apostolic constitution Sacramentum Ordinis, Acta Apostolicae Sedis 40 (1948) 5-7; H. Denzinger, Enchiridion symbolorum,, nos. 3857-3861; J. Neuner & J. Dupuis, The Christian Faith, no. 1737.

¹⁰⁶ Alessandro Valignano, Letter to the Jesuit General, in J. Wicki, "Quellen zum 3. Provinzialkonzil von Goa (1585)", 398-399.

consulting the Archdeacon, the clergy and the leaders of the community, if possible, in a general *yogam*. For countering such resistance and for subjugating Mar Abraham, in accordance with the decision of the council, the archbishop of Goa rebuked him, threatening him to be handed over to the Holy Office of Inquisition. Alessandro Valignano gives the following account:

Nevertheless it seemed that in the same Council he should be gravely reprimanded by the archbishop of Goa, the metropolitan and the primate of India, placing before him (Mar Abraham) all his faults and admonishing him to mend his ways and to keep perfectly what the Council ordered, threatening him that if he did not do so when he would return to his land, he would be tried in the Holy Office (of Inquisition) as against a heretic and schismatic. With this rebuke, being gravely terrified, he promised great things and made a public abjuration in the Council and a solemn promise with an oath to observe all what the Council ordered, when he would return to his land. ¹⁰⁷

On 24 November 1585 Mar Abraham signed the acts and decrees of the council, because in the imperial city of Goa, surrounded by Portuguese military, where he was arrested and imprisoned, it was not possible for him to do anything to safeguard the dignity and rights of the St Thomas Christians.

The Council ordered that the Roman Ritual, the Roman Missal, the Roman Breviary, and the Roman Pontifical were to be translated into Chaldean (Syriac) for the use of the St Thomas Christians:

Moreover, for the same conformity, it has seemed to this council that, since for the time being Latin cannot be utilized, the Roman Missal and the Roman Breviary, reformed in accordance with the order of the Council of Trent, should be translated into Chaldean (Syriac); and that from the Roman Pontifical and the Roman Sacerdotal (Ritual) are to be translated those parts necessary for conferring or giving (holy) Orders, and for administering the

¹⁰⁷ Alessandro Valignano, Letter to the Jesuit General, in J. Wicki, "Quellen zum 3. Provinzialkonzil von Goa (1585)", 399.

sacraments; and from the other books of the (Latin) Church, what is necessary for that Church $[\ldots]^{108}$

The intention of the Goan authorities was to expunge the Eastern rite from India and to gradually introduce the Latin rite among the St Thomas Christians as well. Since these Christians believed that the Apostle Thomas had bequeathed their prayers and rites to them in Aramaic or Syriac, the language of Our Lord, it was not possible to replace immediately Syriac with Latin. Considering this fact the Council ordered the translation of the Latin liturgical books into Syriac for the time being. Decree 8 stipulates that an able assistant is to be appointed to help Mar Abraham, who was old and sick.

Since it is hardly useful to enact laws, unless they are executed, for this purpose, and primarily to help that Christianity in temporal and spiritual maters, as well as to execute the abovementioned dispositions and other matters which seem useful for the service of Our Lord and for the good of that Christianity, it has seemed to this council that, from its side, an erudite and authoritative religious person should go to that Christianity, together with the said Archbishop (Mar Abraham), in order to help him in all the aforementioned matters. The archbishop himself considers it opportune, because of his advanced age, ill health, and also because he is less versed in matters of the Latin Church, than in Chaldean subjects, since he is a native of that country. This council commands the archbishop to let him be aided by the said religious person accompanying him both for the execution of the aforesaid matters and for the visitation of his diocese, so that in everything, what would be better for the greater service of Our Lord and for the good of that Church and Christianity be done. 109

[&]quot;Outrosim para a mesma conformidade pareceo ao Concilio que por agora se tresladasse em caldeo, para em quanto o latim não servisse, o missal, e breviario romano reformados por ordem do Concilio Tridentino, e que do pontifical, e sacerdotal romano se tresladasse o necessario para conferir, ou dar ordens, e administrar sacramentos, e dos mais livros da Igreja o que para ella fosse necessario...". Session 3, decree 7, Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum, Appendix 1, 75; original with Engl. trans. in P. Pallath, The Provincial Councils of Goa, 115-116.

¹⁰⁹ Session 3, decree 8, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum*, Appendix-Tomus 1, 75.

In accordance with this decree Fr. Francis Ros SJ, who arrived in India in 1583 and was professor of Syriac at the Jesuit seminary of Vaipicotta since 1587, was appointed as an assistant to Mar Abraham, especially for implementing the decisions of the Synod. The tenth decree of the Council is perhaps the most important:

[...] henceforth no one should be received and approved as a bishop or Catholic prelate, unless he first presents letters addressed to the archbishop of Goa as the Primate of India and the Eastern regions. Such letters should be of His Holiness or of a patriarch who must be Catholic and has given obedience to the Roman Church and has been approved by it, as previously did Archbishop Mar Abraham, when he came, being appointed archbishop of Angamaly by Pope Pius IV of happy memory. He who does not present such letters shall be regarded as an intruder and as such shall be dragged out of the Church. The council humbly begs His Holiness to approve this and order the Patriarch of Chaldea to whom this pertains to issue orders likewise as this is most important for the good of that Christianity and the Holy Roman Church.

Paradoxically Archbishop Mar Joseph Sulaga and Bishop Mar Elias who arrived in Goa accompanied by the papal Nuncio Ambrose Buttigeg and Bishop Mar Abraham who had presented the letters of the Pope and the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch to the archbishop of Goa, fulfilled all the procedures prescribed in this decree even before its enactment. Notwithstanding this they were and deported. Moreover, this decree acknowledges that Mar Abraham, whom the Portuguese authorities had arrested and detained, was not an "intruder" to be dragged out of the Church as he had been, but a Catholic bishop who came "being appointed archbishop of Angamaly by Pope Pius IV of happy memory", and who presented letters from His Holiness and the Patriarch to the archbishop of Goa. In truth, it seems that the council ordered such presentation of letters to the archbishop of Goa because this would have enabled the Portuguese authorities to prevent these bishops from reaching their flock.

¹¹⁰ Session 3, decree 10, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum*, Appendix 1, 76; original with Engl. trans. in P. Pallath, *The Provincial Councils of Goa*, 141-142.

This decree also testifies to the fact that the Portuguese were aware of the existence of a Catholic patriarch in Chaldea, who was in full communion with the Roman Pontiff and who had jurisdiction in India including the right of appointing bishops. The Council was also convinced of the fact that only the supreme authority of the Church was competent to make any modification in the Chaldean jurisdiction in India; hence the Roman Pontiff was requested to approve the present decree and to issue an order, asking the Chaldean Patriarch to implement the procedure.

After the closing of the council Mar Abraham returned to Malabar in the beginning of 1586, accompanied by Fr. Francis Ros SJ, whom the council appointed to execute the decrees. Under the guidance of Francis Ros SJ the translation of Latin liturgical books into Syriac progressed rapidly. In his letter to the Jesuit General Claudio Aquaviva on 6 January 1587 Ros wrote:

[...] already the books began to be corrected and the clerics who had not been rightly ordained were re-ordained in the Roman manner in Syriac language, because during the last year the archbishop and I together made a pontifical of all ordinations according to the Latin rite and translated it into Syriac.¹¹¹

This indicates that after the council Mar Abraham cooperated with Fr. Ros for the correction of Syriac books and for the translation of Roman liturgical books into Syriac. He also re-ordained some of his priests and other clerics, but soon it became evident to him that the real Portuguese project was not the correction of errors, but the complete replacement of the Eastern rite with the Latin rite and the extermination of Oriental hierarchy in India. No Eastern Catholic bishop in the world, who had to be faithful to his Patriarch and to his ecclesial heritage, could have collaborated for such a project. The result was a continuous conflict between the Portuguese missionaries and Mar Abraham, which lasted until his death.

¹¹¹ Roma, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Goa-Mal.* 13, fol. 344; *Documenta Indica*, vol. 14 (1979) 565.

3.6.5. Accusations against Mar Abraham and His Death as a Catholic Bishop

Whenever the bishops of the St Thomas Christians made any restraint or objection to the Portuguese project of complete westernization, they were accused of heresy and were deported to Goa and then to Lisbon to be examined by the Inquisitors, operating in those centres. The consequence of Mar Abraham's reluctance to comply with the decrees of the Goan council concerning the introduction of the Latin rite among the St Thomas Christians was catastrophic. Francis Ros SJ, who was appointed assistant to Mar Abraham by the council and the other missionaries in Malabar initiated a campaign against the Chaldean archbishop, who was accused of heresy, simony and even immorality in their letters to the Portuguese and Roman authorities.

In 1586-87 Francis Ros SJ examined a few Chaldean books present in Kerala and composed a treatise entitled: *De Erroribus Nestorianorum qui in hac India Orientali versantur*, extracting from those books what he considered to be "Nestorian heretical doctrines" and translating them into Latin. 112 On 30 December 1594 he wrote another more detailed denunciation of Mar Abraham, entitled "Enfomação do Prelado do Serra". 113 In both of these documents the Chaldean bishop is presented as a disobedient and notorious Nestorian heretic to be deposed and punished. Similarly many other Jesuit missionaries wrote to Rome denouncing Mar Abraham. For example, Fr. Abrahamo di Giorgio SJ, who stayed only a few months in Kerala, wrote two letters (on 13 October and 15 December 1593) to the Jesuit General Claudio Acquaviva in Rome in order to inform him that "the Archbishop of

¹¹² F. Ros S.J, De Erroribus Nestorianorum qui in hac India Orientali versantur, annotated by I. Hausherr, Orientalia Christiana, vol. XI (1), n. 40, Rome 1928.

¹¹³ The original portuguese version in J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. XVI, Romae 1984, 1029-1039; English trans. in G. Nedungatt (ed.), *The Synod of Diamper Revisited*, Rome 2001, 285-293.

this Christianity is a Nestorian heretic, who is worse than an infidel and who leads a bestial and carnal life". 114

Pope Clement VIII was also informed that Mar Abraham had relapsed into the errors of the Nestorian heresy and he did not even permit the Chaldean books filled with the same errors to be emended and corrected. Authorization was also requested from the Pope to arrest and deport (third time) Mar Abraham to Goa for conducting a trial against him regarding the accusations indicated above. Finally on 27 January 1595, induced by the Portuguese authorities, Pope Clement VIII issued a letter authorizing the archbishop of Goa to conduct a trial against Mar Abraham and to send the acts of the process to Rome for decision. The relevant part of the letter reads:

[...] with this missive we entrust to you our brother and give order that you inquire diligently into the life, morals and doctrine of Mar Abraham and from this inquiry if you find him guilty regarding the above, you shall order him and make him come to Goa and thither you shall keep him in safe and distinguished custody and transmit to us and the Apostolic See an authentic copy of the trial to be conducted by you, so that after the process itself has been diligently inspected and examined, we may be able to settle the case of the Archbishop Mar Abraham as justice requires.¹¹⁵

Although information was gathered about the Chaldean bishop suffering from old age and sickness, he was not deported to Goa and no formal trial was conducted by the Goan Inquisition, perhaps because it was impossible to prove the accusations against him, who more than thrice publicly and solemnly professed the Catholic faith and who always acted according to the directives of the Roman Pontiff and the Holy See even risking his life. The official written communications between Mar Abraham and the Roman Pontiffs are so abundant that in this study only a few important

¹¹⁴ J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. XVI, Romae 1984, 174-176, 560-567.

¹¹⁵ This letter can be found in Archivio Brevi Apostolici, vol. 248, f. 245; printed versions, *Subsidium ad Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, 11; G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea*, 252-253.

ones are cited.¹¹⁶ All such documents demonstrate the indubitable, explicit and full communion of Mar Abraham with the Roman Pontiff and his profound veneration towards the successors of St Peter.

The accusations of heresy against Mar Abraham, made by those missionaries, who turned out to be his enemies, were never proved by any Inquisition or ecclesiastical court. Since the trial permitted by Pope Clement VIII was never conducted, it was not possible to "transmit to us and the Apostolic See an authentic copy of the trial to be conducted by you, so that after the process itself has been diligently inspected and examined, we may be able to settle the case of the Archbishop Mar Abraham as justice requires". It is evident that no Catholic bishop becomes non Catholic only because his enemies have accused him of heresy and schism. Mar Abraham, the last Chaldean Catholic metropolitan of the St Thomas Christians, died on 3 January 1597, when he was 90 years old and was buried in Angamaly. Despite continuous vexations and manifold tribulations, perpetrated by the Portuguese religious and political authorities, the saintly bishop persisted in the Catholic faith until his last breath, always maintaining communion with the Roman Pontiff. Practically the death of Mar Abraham marked the end of Chaldean Catholic jurisdiction in India.

It is interesting to note that the Chaldean patriarchs, the canonical heads of the St Thomas Christians at that epoch, were true Catholics, who made the profession of faith and obtained the confirmation and pallium of the Roman Church after they had satisfied all the rigorous requirements of ecclesiastical communion as practised in the second millennium. Similarly the bishops of the St Thomas Christians at that time were appointed by Chaldean Catholic patriarchs in full communion with the Roman Pontiff. Because of the accusations of heresy, the last two bishops, Mar Joseph Sulaqa and Mar Abraham personally went to Rome, submitted themselves to the meticulous examination of the

¹¹⁶ For complete documentation, see S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes* and G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea*, the second part of the book dedicated to documents, pages 141-272.

rigorous Roman experts and proved their authentic Catholic faith, even obtaining recommendation letters personally signed by Roman Pontiffs. Hence the St Thomas Christians in India were ecclesiastically, hierarchically and canonically in full, explicit and complete communion with the Roman Pontiff before the Synod of Diamper.

4. The Synod of Dimaper and the Invalid and Unlawful Suppression of Chaldean Jurisdiction in India

The suppression of Chaldean jurisdiction in India and the reduction of the metropolitan see of St Thomas Christians to a simple suffragan diocese of the Archdiocese of Goa formed part of the political and military strategy of Portugal. The death of the last Chaldean Metropolitan Mar Abraham in January 1597 wiped the slate clean for the realization of the aforementioned Portuguese project. Once the see became vacant, according to the ancient custom and in virtue of the appointment previously made by Mar Abraham, Archdeacon George of the Cross began to govern the Church as administrator.

4.1. Preparations for the Synod

As soon as Dom Aleixo de Menezes, the archbishop of Goa (1595-1610), received news of the death of Mar Abraham, he decided to go to Malabar for the materialization of the long cherished Portuguese project. This is evident from his letter of 19 December 1597 addressed to Fabio Biondi, the Latin (titular) patriarch of Jerusalem, residing at that time in Rome, in which he revealed his intention to go to Malabar, visit the churches personally and to convoke a synod with the help of the "infidel king", who would be "friendly to serve his own interests" since Menezes was the second highest representative of the Portuguese state in India. 117 Towards the end of this letter Menezes stated:

¹¹⁷ Subsidium ad Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae, 12-13; G. Beltrami, La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'unione, 121-122.

I shall remain there until October, waiting to see if a bishop for this Church will come with the ships, so that I can more easily introduce him into his bishopric. If the new bishop for this Church is not yet made, I advise Your Excellency that it is a matter of great importance to select a Jesuit father, as the fathers of the Company of Jesus are there already. I humbly suggest that he be instructed to extinguish little by little the Syriac language, which is not natural. His priests should learn the Latin language, because the Syriac language is the channel through which all that heresy flows. A good administrator ought to replace Syriac by Latin. What is most important of all is that the bishop should be a suffragan of this city (Goa), as is at present the bishop of Cochin, his nearest suffragan. ¹¹⁸

According to Menezes the three most important things were: the nomination of a Latin (Jesuit) bishop in the archdiocese of Angamaly, the gradual extinction of the Syriac language and the introduction of Latin in its place and the reduction of Angamaly to a suffragan of the Archdiocese of Goa.

As a man of the state, devoted to the expansion of the Portuguese Empire, Menezes had also a design of pure military strategy for subjecting the St Thomas Christians, among whom there were a large number of excellent soldiers, to a Latin bishop of the *Padroado*. In a letter of 1597 addressed to Agostinho de Castro, archbishop of Braga (1588-1609), he wrote: "These Malabars are excellent in fighting and very obedient to their bishop. If they accept a Latin bishop we will have 50.000 soldiers at our disposal, already trained in the use of fire weapons". ¹¹⁹

On 27 December 1598 Dom Aleixo de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, set sail from Goa to Malabar. On reaching Malabar in February 1599, as a first act he visited the Jesuit seminary in Vaipicotta near Cranganore, initiated by the Jesuit missionaries in 1581 for the Latin formation of Malabar priests and officially erected in 1587 by Archbishop Mar Abraham. In this seminary

¹¹⁸ Subsidium ad Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae, 13; G. Beltrami, La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'unione, 122; English trans. in V. Nagam Aiya (ed.), The Travancore State Manual, vol. 2, New Delhi-Madras 1989, 174.

¹¹⁹ S. Subrahmanyam, "Dom Frei Aleixo de Meneses (1599-1617) et l'échec des tentatives d'indigénisation du Christianisme en Inde", *Archives de Sciences sociales des Religions* 103 (1998) 37.

under the Latin Jesuit missionaries the name of the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch was commemorated twice at the holy Mass and twice in the Divine Office, since he was at that time the canonical father and head of the Malabar Church. The Jesuit missionaries did not find anything wrong in the commemoration of the Patriarch, in full and explicit communion with the Roman Pontiff.

Since the political strategy of Archbishop Menezes was to separate the St Thomas Christian from the Chaldean patriarchs and bring them under the Portuguese Padroado jurisdiction, as a first step he commanded the archdeacon and the priests under precept of obedience and under the pain of excommunication latae sententiae not to mention the name of the Chaldean patriarch in any liturgical celebration, declaring him as Nestorian heretic and schismatic, outside the obedience of the Roman Church. 120 The Portuguese historian Antonio De Gouvea, who provided a vivid description of the "meritorious act" of the archbishop, indicated also the reaction of the archdeacon and the senior priests gathered around him: "they all raised their voices and began to make a big and pitiful crv". 121 They all cried because the father and head of their Church, whom they respected and loved, was considered as a heretic and schismatic, whose name should be obliterated from the liturgical prayers.

Archbishop Menezes won over the local kings, who were eager to obtain Portuguese support against their rivals, with threats, bribes and impressive gifts. He visited the churches, at times opened them with force against the will of the Christian faithful and exercised jurisdiction, celebrating the sacraments, especially

¹²⁰ A. De Gouvea, Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes 29; P. Malekandathil (ed.), Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes, 123-124.

¹²¹ A. De Gouvea, Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes, 30; P. Malekandathil (ed.), Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes, 124. One can imagine the tragic situation and the agony of the priests and people if during the vacancy of a see in a diocese of the Syro-Malabar Church a Latin Archbishop enters and orders them not to commemorate the name of their father and head, Major Archbishop Mar George Alencherry in liturgical celebrations under threat of automatic excommunication, declaring him a heretic and schismatic.

Confirmation. He subjugated many priests and the Christian faithful with various tactics, intimidation and the threat of excommunication. Within a period of only four months he also ordained to the priesthood more than a hundred young men who had no formation, in order to create a group favourable to him. ¹²² The St Thomas Christians, terrified by the weapon of excommunication, to which Menezes often made recourse, could not do anything to safeguard their rights.

4.2. Celebration of the Synod

Having thus prepared the ground, Archdeacon George of the Cross was constrained under threat of excommunication latae sententiae to subscribe to the ten points prepared by Archbishop Menezes, among which was the promise to convoke a synod. Accordingly, during the vacancy of the see, when nothing could be innovated (Sede vacante nihil innovetur), the archbishop of Goa, a Latin Ordinary who had no jurisdiction over the St Thomas Christians, namely in an Eastern Church, without any explicit mandate from the supreme authority of the Church, forcefully entered the archdiocese of Angamaly and with the help of the non-Christian kings and princes of the place and that of the Portuguese civil and military authorities orchestrated the pseudo-Synod of Diamper from 20 to 26 June 1599, under pain of excommunication latae sententiae, contrary to the norms of the canon law of that time. 123 About 153 priests (as we have indicated above, Menezes ordained more than a hundred priests) and 660 lay delegates from the Malabar Church participated in the synod. In the nine sessions of the synod wide-ranging doctrinal and canonical decrees were made with the intention of transforming completely the religious,

¹²² All such activities of Menezes are fully described in A. De Gouvea, Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes, book 1, chapters V-XVIII.

¹²³ Cf. P. Pallath, "The Synod of Diamper Valid or Invalid?", in G. Nedungatt (ed.), *The Synod of Diamper Revisited*, Rome 2001, 199-226; for a detailed discussion on the invalidity of the Synod, J. Thaliath, *The Synod of Diamper*, Rome 1958; J. Wicki, "Die Synode von Diamper in Malabar (1599) und ihre Beurteilung (1600-1975)", 190-205.

ecclesial, sacramental and socio-cultural life of St Thomas Christians in accordance with the Latin rite and Western culture. 124

It is to be particularly noted that the Portuguese military captain of Cochin, Antonio De Noronha and the members of the Portuguese military city council were strangely present in the Synod. After the profession of faith Archbishop Menezes asked the Portuguese military captain to take all the St Thomas Christians "in the name of the king of Portugal their lord under his protection". The captain Antonio De Noronha responded that:

he in the name of the king of Portugal their lord with the officials of that city who were present there, were taking all the Christians of Saint Thomas, and each one of them, their churches, and its bazaars, and people under their protection [...]. ¹²⁵

In fact, one of the real aims of the Synod of Diamper was to sever the hierarchical relationship of the Indian Church with the Chaldean Church and to bring the St Thomas Christians, their churches and properties under the authority of the king of Portugal and really this was achieved.

4.3. Condemnation of the Chaldean Patriarch and the Suppression His Jurisdiction in India

As we have seen above, in his letter of 19 December 1597 addressed to Fabio Biondi, the Latin (titular) patriarch of Jerusalem, residing at that time in Rome, Menezes revealed his

¹²⁴ For the acts and decrees of the Synod of Diamper, A. De Gouvea, Synodo Diocesano da Igreja e bispado de Angamale dos antigos christaos de Sam Thome das Serras do Malavar das partes da India Oriental, Coimbra 1606, 3-62; Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum, Appendix-Tomus 1, 147-368; J. D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissime collectio, vol. 35, 1161-1368; J. F. Raulin, Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae cum Diamperitana Synodo, 59-282; J. Hough, The History of Christianity in India, 511-683; M. Geddes, The History of the Church of Malabar, together with the Synod of Diamper, 97-443; Scaria Zacharia, The Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamper 1599, Edamattam 1994, 73-214

¹²⁵ A. De Gouvea, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes*, 63; P. Malekandathil (ed.), *Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes*, 270.

intention to appoint a Latin bishop for the St Thomas Christians: "...If the new bishop for this Church is not yet made, I advise Your Excellency that it is a matter of great importance to select a Jesuit father, as the fathers of the Company of Jesus are there already. I humbly suggest that he be instructed to extinguish little by little the Syrian language, which is not natural. A good administrator ought to replace Syrian by Latin". 126

In the profession and oath of faith conducted on the second day of the Synod the St Thomas Christians were made to condemn, reject and anathematize, as a Nestorian heretic and schismatic, Chaldean Catholic Patriarch Simon Denha (1581-1600), who had obtained ecclesiastical communion and the pallium from Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585). The profession of faith which Menezes had compiled and which the St Thomas Christians were obliged to pronounce under ecclesiastical and military threat reads:

I do also promise, vow and swear to God, this cross, and these holy Gospels, never to receive into this Church and bishopric of the Serra any bishop, archbishop, prelate, pastor or governor whatsoever, but whom shall be immediately appointed by the holy Apostolic See, and the Bishop of Rome, and that whomsoever he shall appoint, I will receive and obey as my true pastor, without expecting any message, or having any further dependence upon the Patriarch of Babylon, whom I condemn, reject and anathematize, as being a Nestorian heretic and schismatic, and out of the obedience of the Holy Roman Church, and for that reason out of a state of salvation; and I do swear and promise, never to obey him any more, nor to communicate with him in any matter; all this I have professed and declared, I do promise, vow and swear to almighty God, and this holy Cross of Christ; so help me God, and the contents of these Gospels. Amen. ¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Subsidium ad Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae, 13; G. Beltrami, La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'unione, 122; V. Nagam Aiya (ed.), The Travancore State Manual, vol. 2, 174.

¹²⁷ Cf. G. Beltrami, La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'unione, 68-81.

¹²⁸ See session II, decree 1; cf. also session III, decree 19; the phrase "immediately appointed" is particularly relevant, since it excludes appointment through the mediation of the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch in communion with the Bishop of Rome, as was the custom at the epoch of the Synod.

The Synod further ordered, under the precept of obedience and upon pain of automatic excommunication that the Malabar Church,

shall not from henceforward have any manner of dependence upon the said Patriarch of Babylon; and the present Synod, does under the precept of obedience, and upon pain of excommunication to be ipso facto incurred prohibit all priests and curates from henceforward to name the said Patriarch of Babylon in the holy sacrifice of the mass, or in any other divine office, in the prayers of the church, even without the false title of universal pastor [..]. ¹²⁹

Such acts of Menezes were obviously non-canonical and *ultra vires*, since no Latin Ordinary has ever had the power to condemn or excommunicate a Catholic patriarch in full communion with the Roman Pontiff, and this too without any knowledge of the same Pontiff. Obviously the excommunication unduly performed in India had no juridical effect on the relationship between the Roman Pontiff and the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch, who remained in full communion.

The Chaldean jurisdiction was invalidly and unlawfully suppressed by the invalid Synod of Diamper, convoked under threat of automatic excommunication, under the menace of Portuguese military; the Synod was never rectified or approved by the supreme authority of the Church, as was the right procedure at that epoch. However, as we see below, in the context of jurisdictional conflicts between the Chaldean Catholic Church and the Propaganda Fide, at least from the XIX century, based exclusively on the Western interpretation of facts, the authorities of Propaganda Fide began to consider the suppression of Chaldean jurisdiction as valid, since the St Thomas Christians in their profession of faith solemnly declared that they would never "receive into this Church and bishopric of the Serra any bishop, archbishop, prelate, pastor or governor whatsoever, but whom shall be immediately appointed by the holy Apostolic See, and the Bishop of Rome". 130 However, one has to take into due

¹²⁹ Session III, decree 8.

¹³⁰ Cf. Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 288-294.

consideration the fact that the St Thomas Christians pronounced the said formula in an invalid synod, convoked under the supervision of Portuguese political and military authorities, terrified by the threat of automatic excommunication to be ipso facto incurred, contrary to their will and desire.

4.4. Inauguration of Portuguese Padroado Jurisdiction

The Latin jurisdiction over the St Thomas Christians really began on 20 December 1599, when Pope Clement VIII appointed Francis Ros SJ as successor to Metropolitan Mar Abraham in the see of Angamaly. Bishop Ros received episcopal consecration at Goa on 28 January 1601 and on 1 May of the same year he reached Angamaly and took possession of his diocese. Thus with the Synod of Diamper the concerted efforts of the Portuguese to separate the St Thomas Christians from the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch and to bring them under the Latin jurisdiction of *Padroado* became a reality. The strategies of the Portuguese to St. Thomas Christians from the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch and to bring them under the Latin jurisdiction of *Padroado* became a reality.

In accordance with the Portuguese project, six months after the Synod of Diamper, on 20 December 1599 Pope Clement VIII (1592-1603) suppressed the metropolitan status of the archdiocese of Angamaly, reduced it to the status of a simple diocese and made it a suffragan of the archdiocese of Goa. Although the document of suppression has not yet been found, Pope Clement VIII in the document *In supremo militantis* of 4 August 1600 (extension of Portuguese patronage) and Pope Paul V (1605-1621) in the bull *Romanus Pontifex* of 22 December 1608 (re-establishment of metropolitan status) explicitly referred to the reduction of the

¹³¹ Cf. A. Santos, "Francisco Ros, S. J. Arzobispo de Cranganor, primer Obispo Jesuita de la India", *Missionalia Hispanica* 14 (1948) 377; D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. 1, 292.

¹³² The Latin jurisdiction continued until the erection of three vicariates and the appointment of native vicars apostolic on 28 July 1896.

¹³³ Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae 1794,61.

archdiocese of Angamaly to a simple suffragan of Goa.¹³⁴ In the document *In supremo militantis*, with regard to the suppression of the archiepiscopal status of the archdiocese of Angamaly, Pope Clement VIII stated:

Since in the Church of Angamaly, which is situated in the East Indies under the rule of a gentile king, namely the one of Cochin, and which lacks any endowment, on account of the death of Mar Abraham, of blessed memory, the former archbishop of Angamaly, who died outside the Roman Curia, which Church has been deprived of the consolation of a pastor, upon the advice of our brothers, by means of another letter of ours, we have recently suppressed and extinguished in perpetuity the name and title of archbishop and metropolitan Church, as well as the archiepiscopal seat, dignity, superiority, pre-eminence and the metropolitan right in its entirety, and have reduced that same Church to the status of a simple cathedral Church of one bishop, to be in the future suffragan of the archbishop for the time being of Goa, and have subjected it to the metropolitan authority of the Church of Goa, as is more amply contained in the above mentioned letter. ¹³⁵

The Portuguese religious and political authorities had finally succeeded in suppressing the metropolitan status of the see of St Thomas Christians, which had existed in India since the time of the Apostle, and in reducing it to a simple suffragan of the recently created missionary archdiocese of Goa. Thereupon the diocese of Angamaly, together with the other two suffragans of Goa, Cochin and Malacca, formed one ecclesiastical province of the Latin Church. In 1605 the residence of the bishop was transferred from Angamaly to Cranganore because of the presence of a Portuguese fortress there and hence gradually the see of St Thomas Christians came to be again known as the (Arch)diocese of Cranganore.

¹³⁴ These two documents can be found respectively in *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tomus 1, 260-261 & *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, tomus 2, 8-9; these two volumes published all the official documents of the time, but omitted the bull of suppression. Similarly authors like S. Giamil and G. Beltrami did not publish this document.

¹³⁵ Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae, tomus 1, 260; P. Pallath, Important Roman Documents, 68-69.

Conclusion

According to available records Chaldean jurisdiction existed in India from the fourth century, although with occasional interruptions due to the distance of places, persecutions in Mesopotamia and other adverse socio-political circumstances. Until the sixteenth century episcopal ministry was exercised in India exclusively by Chaldean bishops, who even risked their lives for the pastoral care of the faithful of the same rite, challenging the perils of a long journey and the difficulties of unfamiliar sociocultural, political and religious circumstances. On the occasion of the reunion of Sulaga, Pope Julius III explicitly recognized Chaldean jurisdiction in India. After the arrival of the Portuguese missionaries in the sixteenth century and the constitution of Latin hierarchy in India under Portuguese patronage, in the context of contrast between Indian Portuguese hierarchy and the Chaldean bishops Mar Joseph Sulaqa and Mar Abraham, Popes Pius IV and Gregory XIII officially acknowledged, solemnly confirmed and convincingly promoted Chaldean Catholic jurisdiction in India.

In the invalid Synod of Diamper in 1599 the St Thomas Christians, terrified by the threat of automatic excommunication and scared by the presence of Portuguese military, in their profession of faith pronounced to condemn the Chaldean Patriarch and to sever all kinds of relationship with him. After several years, especially in the nineteenth century, in order to defend Latin jurisdiction in Malabar, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, based only on the Western interpretation of facts and thus uninformed of the invalidity of the Synod of Diamper, began to consider the termination of Chaldean jurisdiction as valid, on the basis of the aforementioned profession of faith. However, the Chaldean patriarchs and bishops, being unaware of the suppression of Chaldean jurisdiction in India, whenever there were occasions, especially when requests were made by Malabar Christians, endeavoured to renew their hierarchical relationship with the Indian Church, which provoked conflicts with Propaganda Fide and schisms in India. As a matter of fact, although Chaldean jurisdiction was suppressed as a result of Portuguese imperial and political strategy with the subsequent appointment of Latin bishops under Portuguese patronage, St Thomas Christians always desired bishops of their own rite and endeavoured to attain this end whenever it was possibile.

Introductory Article Two ROME AND THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCHATE: HISTORICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL CONTEXT IN THE XIX CENTURY

In the previous article we have evaluated the Chaldean jurisdiction in India from the very beginning until its extinction in the sixteenth century. However, in order to comprehend the documents and the facts they encompass it is necessary to know the immediate historical and ecclesial context in Mesopotamia, India and Rome. Our attempt is only to provide essential information concerning the very complex socio-cultural and ecclesial circumstances.

Politically from the earliest sixteenth century Iraq gradually came under the Ottoman rule (1533-1918), as part of the Turkish Empire. The Ottomans were Sunni Muslims, who portrayed themselves as the unrivalled leaders of Islam, with the Sultan carrying the title Amir al-Mu'min (the Commander of the faithful). He was an absolute monarch, who considered his rule divinely established, and himself answerable only to God.¹

1. Chaldean Catholic Patriarchate

After the death of Catholic Patriarch Simon IX Denha in 1600, the communion with Roman Pontiff continued only for a few decades, especially because it was hard to maintain contact with Rome, because of political and ecclesiastical circumstances. The Catholic patriarchs who succeeded Simon Denha were all named Simon, though with some additions. We give a list of those patriarchs, indicating the period of their governance and their residence.²

¹ For details, S. Rassam, *Christianity in Iraq*, 99-107.

² All our lists of Patriarchs are based on: B. Spuler, *Die morgenländischen Kirchen*, Leiden-Köln 1964, 327-329; E. Tisserent, "L'Église nestorienne", in

Name	Period	Residence
Simon X	1600-1638	Salmas
Simon XI	1638-1656	Urmiah
Simon XII, John	1656-1662	Urmiah
Simon XIII, Denha	1662-1700	Kotchannes (Turkey)

Although the last patriarch formally recognized by the Pope, Simon IX Denha died in 1600, the communion with Rome was formally broken only in 1672, when Patriarch Simon XIII Denha severed all ties with Rome and founded the new 'Mountain Nestorian' Patriarchate at the Monastery of Kotchannes in the Hakkari Mountains (Kurdistan) in southeast Turkey.³ Thus at that time there were two 'Nestorian patriarchs' of the Assyrian Church of the East: the original hereditary Nestorian patriarch and the "Catholic Nestorian" patriarch. As regards the causes of the dissolution of union with Rome the well-informed author Suha Rassam observes:

[...] it was hard to maintain contact with Rome because of difficult political circumstances. Moreover, there was friction between Rome and this newly formed uniate community in Iraq regarding the East Syrian Church in India. When the Portuguese took control of India, they attempted to place the East Syrian Church under the jurisdiction of the Latin Church. Since the East Syrian Church of India had always been under the jurisdiction of the Church of the

Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, Tome XI-1, Paris 1931, 261-263; Eastern Christianity in India, 192-196; W. Baum und D. W. Winkler, Die Apostolische Kirche des Ostens, Klagenfurt 2000, 151-152; J. Kollaparambil, The Sources of the Syro-Malabar Law, 273-274. The period of governance of some Patriarchs varies according to the lists. We have compared them and put the most reliable years.

³ E. Tisserent, "L'Église nestorienne", 231-232; S. Rassam, *Christianity in Iraq*, 109; W. Baum und D. W. Winkler, *Die Apostolische Kirche des Ostens*, 108; M. Angold (ed.), *The Camridge History of Christianity, Volume 5: Eastern Christianity*, Cambridge 2006, 527.

East, such a move created negative repercussions for the newly-created union, and it was dissolved in 1672.4

The Catholic patriarchs generally demonstrated interest in the Indian community and this provoked contrast with the Portuguese authorities and later even with the Propaganda Fide and the Roman Pontiff himself. The "Nestorian patriarchs" usually did not intervene in the affairs of the Indian Church, perhaps because the Indian Christians were known to be Catholics.

In spite of the official dissolution of union, some wanted to remain in the Catholic communion and there were some negotiations with Rome. Even during the last period of the former union (Sulaga line) and afterwards the original 'Nestorian' patriarch of the Church of the East also endeavoured to establish communion with Rome and thus from 1681 onwards this main line became Catholic with official residence of the patriarchs in Amida (Diyarbakir or Diarbekir).5 Consequently from this time the Chaldean Catholic Patriarchate is constituted by the reunion of the principal line of patriarchs (hereditary line), where as the Nestorian Patriarchate is formed by the Sulaga line, whose patriarchs were Catholics for more than a century (1552-1672). This fact itself demonstrates that the real impediment for full communion of the entire Assyrian Church of the East with Rome was not doctrinal questions, but political rivalries and disputes with the Holy See on disciplinary affairs.

The history of the Chaldean Church during this period is very complicated, since there was much turmoil and changing of sides. For a certain period of time there were even two Catholic patriarchates, one in Amida (Diyarbakir) and the other in Mosul. In order to bring a little clarity we give a list of Catholic and 'Nostorian' patriarchs belonging to the period under the present study, distinguishing them respectively with the titles: Catholic patriarchs and Nestorian patriarchs (Sulaga line).

⁴ S. Rassam, *Christianity in Iraq*, 109.

⁵ E. Tisserent, "L'Église nestorienne", 238-242; S. Rassam, *Christianity in Iraq*, 110; W. Baum und D. W. Winkler, *Die Apostolische Kirche des Ostens*, 108-109. Amida is also called Amid and Amed.

Catholic		riarchs	Nestorian Patriarchs (Sulaqa
(Hereditary Residence		1838), Amida	line), Residence in Kotchannes
(Diyarbakir)	111 .	Aiiiua	Rotthamies
Joseph I principal line I Joseph II (169 Joseph III (175 Joseph IV (175 Joseph V knothindi (1781-1 John Horminhereditary succession Nicholas Zeia Joseph VI Augenta (1894)	becomes Ca 6-1713) 13-1759) 59-1781) own as Au 828) izd (1830 cession end (1840-1847) do (1848-18	gustine 0-1838, ed) 778)	Simon XIII Denha (1662-1700), he turned Nestorian and broke communion with Rome in 1672) Simon XIV (1700-1740) Simon XV (1740-1780) Simon XVI (1780-1820) Simon XVII (1820-1861) Simon XVIII (1861-1903)

For various ecclesiastical and political reasons Patriarch Joseph V (Augustine Hindi) was not confirmed by the Roman Pontiff. However, the communion with Rome cannot be considered as terminated. In fact in 1783 John Hormizd (Yohannan VIII Hormizd) of hereditary line made Catholic profession of faith and was recognised by Rome as patriarchal administrator and archbishop of Mosul. His ministry as patriarchal administrator was marked by a series of conflicts with his own bishops and also with the Holy See. Suspended from his functions in 1812 and again in 1818, he was reinstated by the Propaganda Fide in 1828. After the death of Joseph V (Augustine Hindi), on 5 July 1830 John Hormiz was formally recognized and confirmed by Pope Pius VIII with the

title of "Patriarch of Babylon of the Chaldeans". This event marked the origin of the modern unified Chaldean Catholic Patriarchate. Since then the Chaldean Catholic Church in Iraq was stable and communion with Rome was never broken in spite of tensions and conflicts especially on the question of jurisdiction in Malabar.

The Patriarch of the Chaldean Catholic Church initially resided in Diyarbakir, then in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in Alquosh,⁸ a small town to the north of the city of Mosul. Afterwards the patriarchal residence was moved to the city of Mosul itself.⁹ The Assyrian Church of the East, the counterpart of the Chaldean Catholic Church, continued with the patriarchal residence at Kotchannes in the Hakkari region (Turkey) until 1920 when it was transferred to San Francisco in USA.

After the death of John (Youhanan) Hormizd on 16 August 1838, Nicolas Zeia (Zaya, Zaja or Isaiah) was recognized as patriarch; he obtained confirmation and pallium on 27 April 1840.¹⁰ With his election ended the practice of hereditary succession of patriarchs in the Chaldean Catholic Church. During his governance, in 1844 the Church obtained recognition from the Turkish authorities as independent millet.¹¹ After seven years of governance, constrained by Propaganda Fide, Nicolas Zeia

⁶ S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 394-399; Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 276-277.

⁷ Cf. E. Tisserent, "L'Église nestorienne", 243-244; S. Rassam, *Christianity in Iraq*, 110; W. Baum und D. W. Winkler, *Die Apostolische Kirche des Ostens*, 109-110; M. Angold (ed.), *The Camridge History of Christianity, Volume 5: Eastern Christianity*, 528.

⁸ It is an important monastery of the Chaldean Catholic Church, founded in the seventh century (about 640) by Rabban Hormizd (Rabban is the Syriac word for monk). It is situated in the mountains about 2 miles from Alqosh, 28 miles north of Mosul.

 $^{^{9}}$ In the middle of the XX century the residence was settled in Baghdad, the capital of Iraq.

¹⁰ S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 402-405.

Millet indicates a religious community under Ottoman rule, which enjoyed some kind of self rule by the head of the community.

resigned in May 1847.¹² Then Joseph VI Audo (Audu), bishop of Amadiah since 1825, was elected by the Synod as Patriarch of the Chaldean Catholic Church on 13 December 1847. He officially communicated the fact of his canonical election to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, forwarding to it also his profession of faith. In the consistory of 11 September 1848 Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) confirmed the election of Audo and granted him the sacred pallium.¹³ The main events described in this book took place during the governance of Patriarch Mar Joseph VI Audo.

2. Latin Diocese of Baghdad and the Apostolic Delegation of Mesopotamia

The Latin bishops of Baghdad, at times also in their quality as apostolic delegates, intervened in the administration of the Chaldean Catholic Church and attempted to supervise its ecclesiastical affairs. We give only a brief account about the said Latin diocese and the apostolic delegation, in so far as it is necessary to comprehend some of the events referred to in the documents.

Although there were only very few Latin Christians in Iraq, especially emigrants from Europe, the Latin Diocese of Baghdad was erected already on 6 September 1632. Timoteo Pérez Vargas OCD (1595–1651) served as the first bishop of Baghdad from 1633 to 1639. The diocese, immediately subject to the Holy See, was elevated to the rank of an archdiocese already on 19 August 1848. Marie-Laurent Trioche, bishop of Baghdad from 14 March 1837, became its first archbishop on 19 September 1848.

¹² Cf. Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 278.

¹³ Cf. Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 315; bull of confirmation in S. Giamil, Genuinae Relationes, 406-413

¹⁴ Cf. Annuario Pontificio 2016, 71.

Since the thirteenth century the Latin missionaries, primarily Dominicans and Franciscans had been active among the faithful of the Assyrian Church of the East. However, organized Latin Catholic missions of Capuchins, Carmelites and Dominicans reached Iraq from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Capuchins opened the first primary schools in Baghdad in 1721, while the Dominicans started schools in Mosul and surrounding villages soon after their arrival in 1750. They introduced the first printing press into Iraq in 1873. The French Dominican nuns, officially known as the Dominican Sisters of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary, arrived in Mosul in 1873 and opened primary schools for girls. ¹⁵

The apostolic delegation of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Lesser Armenia was created by Pope Gregory XVI on 17 December 1832. Msgr. Marie-Laurent Trioche, Archishop of the Latin diocese of Baghdad (written also as Bagdad), was the first apostolic delegate in Mesopotamia. Since there were only very few Christian faithful, at that time distributed in four parishes, the Latin Archbishop of Baghdad could easily exercise the functions of apostolic delegate, despite the probable conflict of interests. Although these apostolic delegates had the obligation of administering the archdiocese of Baghdad, they resided at Mosul, where they could better discharge their duties as apostolic delegates in behalf of the Chaldeans, Syrians, and Armenians. 16 It is opportune to indicate that apostolic delegates of Mesopotamia were not always bishops or archbishops of Baghdad; occasionally other bishops were also appointed. In 1850 Trioche resigned his office as apostolic delegate and returned to France, retaining his title of archbishop of Baghdad until his death on 27 November 1887.

After the resignation of Trioche, Henry-Victor Altmayer OP was appointed titular archbishop of Chalcis in Syria and apostolic

¹⁵ Cf. S. Rassam, *Christianity in Iraq*, 100, 103 and 136; for more details, E. Tisserent, "L'Église nestorienne", 249-255; W. Al Khazraji, "L'oeuvre missionaire en Irak: un aperçu historique", *L'Afrique et Asie* 157 (1988) 103-116.

¹⁶ www.catholicity.com. Consulted on 25 January 2017.

delegate of Mesopotamia on 4 April 1884. He became coadjutor archbishop of Baghdad in 1884 and archbishop of Baghdad after the death of Trioche in 1887, always maintaining the office of apostolic delegate until his resignation on 28 August 1902.

Historically apostolic delegates are representatives of the Holy See usually sent by Propaganda Fide in mission countries with no diplomatic status and hence no power to deal with civil governments; his relations are with the ecclesiastical hierarchy of a country. They invigilate over the conditions of the Church in the territories entrusted to them and inform the Holy See or the Roman Pontiff of relevant ecclesial facts and events. Pro-apostolic delegates are appointed for interim periods, in the absence of apostolic delegates. We give a list of apostolic delegates and pro-apostolic delegates related to the history of the period under our consideration.

Name and Surname	Titles and Other Available Details
Archbishop Marie-Laurent Trioche	Latin Bishop of Baghdad from 1837 to 1848, first Latin Archbishop of Baghdad from 1848 to 1887, first apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia from 1832 to 1850.
Fr. Augustine Marchi SJ	Pro-apostolic delegate from 1850 to 1852.

 $^{^{17}}$ Apostolic Nuncios have, besides an ecclesiastical mission, also a diplomatic character, since from their origin they have been accredited to royal courts or governments.

¹⁸ The list is mainly based on, www.catholic-hierarchy.org and www.gcatholic.org. Consulted on 25 January 2017.

Fr. (then Archbishop) Benedict Planchet SJ	Pro-apostolic delegate in 1852; titular archbishop of Traianopolis in Rhodope and apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia from 10 June 1853 to 21 September 1859.
Fr. Vincent Ligiez OP	Pro-apostolic delegate from 1859 to 1860.
Archbishop Henri-Marie Amanton OP	Apostolic delegate from 25 May 1860 to 27 March 1865.
Dominican fathers	From 1865 to 1874 different Dominican fathers served as pro-apostolic delegates.
Archbishop Eugène-Louis- Marie Lion OP	Titular archbishop of Tamiathis and apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia from 13 March 1874 to 8 August 1883.
Archbishop Henry-Victor Altmayer OP	Coadjutor Archbishop of Baghdad (1884-1887), Archbishop of Baghdad (1887- 1902), Apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia from 4 April 1884 to 28 August 1902.

3. Propaganda Fide and Eastern Catholic Churches in General

The right of patronage which the popes granted to the kings of Portugal and Spain from the thirteenth century for missionary activity in "pagan countries" had many defects, the main one being the intimate interlacing of temporal and spiritual affairs, colonization and evangelization, as well as extension of the empire

and diffusion of faith. Hence from the second half of the sixteenth century many were considering the institution of a central office or even a congregation for the propagation of the faith in the newly "discovered countries", especially so as to be able to coordinate mission work undertaken by various religious congregations and diocesan clergy who often found themselves in conflict. As underlined by Velasio De Paolis, the Church in this period turned its attention to the evangelization of new peoples, urged in this work also by the desire to contrast the controversial methods to which the kings of Spain and Portugal resorted in the attempt to propose the Gospel to the new countries. 19

The aspirations of many for a central ecclesial organ of evangelization reached fulfillment when Pope Gregory XV erected the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) on 22 June 1622 by the apostolic constitution *Inscrutabili divinae*. The Congregation had the task of directing and supervising missionary activity all over the world and of appointing ministers to all the missions to preach and teach the Gospel and to watch over Catholic doctrine. At that epoch this Congregation, often called "omnipotent" in common parlance, had the full authority to take all the decisions necessary to accomplish the task assigned to it, namely the missionary activity all over the world. The Congregation had to promote the creation of native clergy, constitute local hierarchy, send adequately formed and competent missionaries, start the apostolate of printing and ensure the organization of world Catholic mission. 22

The Congregation of Propaganda Fide was erected mainly for the conversion of "pagans, heretics and schismatics", but from the

¹⁹ V. De Paolis, "La Congregazione per l'evangelizzazione dei popoli", in *La Curia Romana nella Cost. Ap. "Pastor Bonus"*, Città del Vaticano 1990, 361.

 $^{^{20}}$ Collectanea Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, vol. 1, Romae 1907, 2-4.

²¹ Cf. Collectanea Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, vol. 1, 4;
V. De Paolis, "La Congregazione per l'evangelizzazione dei popoli", 363.

²² Cf. J. Metzler (a cura di), Storia della Chiesa XXIV: Dalle missioni alle Chiese locali (1846-1965), Cinisello Balsamo 1990, 27-28.

very beginning the Eastern Catholic Churches also came under its authority. On 6 January 1862 with the Apostolic Constitution *Romani Pontifices* Pope Pius IX established a separate organism in the Congregation of Propaganda Fide for the Eastern Churches called 'Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide for the Affairs of the Oriental Rite'.²³ Thus from that time the Roman Department of Propaganda Fide became a complex organism containing two separate sections: one for the Latin Church and the other for the Eastern Churches. Both sections had the same Cardinal Prefect, but two archbishops as separate secretaries.²⁴

In the first millennium the Oriental patriarchal Churches enjoyed sufficient legislative, judicial, electoral and administrative autonomy. As the guarantee of true faith and communion, the Bishop of Rome intervened in the affairs of the Oriental Churches only to safeguard the true faith and morals or to restore peace and harmony in case of serious canonical disorder or to give his decision when appeals were made to Rome. Wilhelm De Vries, who made many rigorous scientific studies regarding the origin of patriarchs and their relationship to Rome, identifies the canonical autonomy of the first millennium as follows:

The Orient freely elected its own patriarchs, metropolitans and bishops and erected new dioceses or elevated their grade; the Orient itself regulated its liturgy and canonical legislation; the Orient itself moderated the discipline of the clergy and laity.²⁵

²³ Congregatio de Propaganda Fide pro negotiis ritus orientalis. On 1 May 1917 Pope Benedict XV declared it independent with the Motu Proprio Dei Providentis and named it Congregation for the Oriental Church (Congregatio pro Ecclesia Orientali).

²⁴ For details, M. Vattappalam, *The Congregation for the Eastern Churches: Origins and Competence*, Rome 1999, 41-51.

²⁵ W. De Vries, "La S. Sede ed i patriarcati cattolici d'Oriente", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 27 (1961) 318; for detailed explanation pages 316-325; cf. also W. De Vries, "The Origin of the Eastern Patriarchates and Their Relationship to the Power of the Pope", *One in Christ* (1966) 51-59; *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens*, 19-22; "Die Entstehung der Patriarchate des Ostens und ihr Verhältnis zur päpstlichen Vollgewalt", *Scholastik* 37 (1962) 339-366.

Based on the studies of De Vries, Clarence Gallagher writes: "It would appear, therefore, as a matter of history that during these first thousand years or so of the Church's history, the eastern Churches regulated their own liturgy and provided their own canonical legislation without the intervention of Rome. There was no requirement of confirmation by Rome". Legislation without the intervention of Rome. There was no requirement of confirmation by Rome". Legislation without the intervention of Rome in the relationship between Oriental patriarchates and Rome in the first millennium came to the same conclusion regarding the canonical autonomy of Oriental patriarchates.

In the second millennium, because of the development of monarchic ecclesiology in the West which attributed *plenitudo potestatis* to the Roman Pontiff, the patriarchal power began to be interpreted as a participation in the supreme power of the Pope. This resulted in the curtailment of autonomy to a certain extent in the domain of liturgy, canonical legislation, administration of

 $^{^{26}}$ C. Gallagher, "The Concept of Protos in the Eastern Catholic Churches", $\it Kanon~9~(1989)~105-106.$

²⁷ I. Žužek, "Animadversiones quaedam in decretum de Ecclesiis orientalibus catholicis concilii Vaticani II", Periodica 55 (1966) 276-278; "Oriental Canon Law: Survey of Recent Developments", Conciluim 5 (1965), 70 & 72; H. Marot, "The Primacy and the Decentralization of the Early Church", Concilium 1 (1965) 13-14; H. J. Schulz, "Dialogue with the Orthodox" Concilium 4 (1965) 68-69; V. Parlato, L'ufficio patriarcale nelle Chiese orientali dal IV al X secolo, Padova 1969, 65-68; O. Kéramé, "Les chaires apostoliques et rôle des patriarcats", Unam Sanctam 39 (1962) 266-268; L. Laham, "Le patriarcat d' Antioche au premier millénaire", in I patriarcati orientali nell primo millennio, Roma 1968, 122-128; W. F. Macomber, "The Authority of the Catholicos-Patriarch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon", in I patriarcati orientali nell primo millennio, Roma 1968, 181-196; M. J. Le Guillou, "L'experience orientale de la collégialité épiscopale", Unam Sanctam 52 (1965) 174; M. M. Wojnar, "Decree on Oriental Catholic Churches", The Jurist 5 (1965) 196-200; J. Chiramel, The Patriarchal Churches in the Oriental Code, Alwaye 1992, 32-76; K. Medawar, "De la sauvegarde des droits de l'Eglise orientale", Proche-Orient Chretién 9 (1959) 224; J. Hoeck, Primum Regnum Dei, Die Patriarchalstruktur der Kirche als Angelpunkt der Wiedervereinigung, München 1975, 276-278.

discipline and in the synodal governance of the Catholic Oriental Churches in general.²⁸

Under Propaganda Fide generally the Eastern Catholic Churches further lost its autonomy and liturgical, theological, spiritual and disciplinary heritage. During the period under our consideration the officials of Propaganda Fide, especially Cardinal Prefects Jacob Philip Fransoni and Alexander Barnabò, as well as the apostolic delegates and the Latin missionaries who operated under them, ignored the specific ritual identity of Eastern Catholic Churches, the Eastern discipline of administration of sacraments, as well as the rights and privileges of patriarchs and the tradition of collegial synodal governance.²⁹

Contrary to authentic canonical traditions, jeopardising the dignity and authority of patriarchs, even some apostolic delegates presided over patriarchal synods of the Catholic Eastern Churches.³⁰ For example, the pro-apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia, Benedict Planchet SJ, who was at that time a simple priest, convoked and presided over the Chaldean Synod of Rabban Hormizd, held from 7 to 21 June 1853.³¹ For reasons unknown,

²⁸ Cf. W. De Vries, "La S. Sede ed i patriarcati cattolici d'Oriente", 326-361; "The Eastern Patriarchates and their Relationship to the Power of the Pope", 130-133; *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens*, 247-296; "Die Entstehung der Patriarchate des Ostens", 339-336; H. Marot, "The Primacy and the Decentralization", 14; H. J. Schulz, "The Dialogue with the Orthodox", 69-70; H. Hajjar, "Les synodes des Eglises orientales catholiques et l'évêque de Rome", *Kanon* 2 (1974) 53-99; "The Synod in the Eastern Church", *Concilium* 8 (1965) 32-33.

²⁹ For details and documentation, J. Metzler, Storia della Chiesa XXIV, 194-205.

³⁰ Cf. J. Metzler, *Storia della Chiesa XXIV*, 195-196. Even before this period such practice existed. For example, the Maronite Synod of 1580 under the Apostolic Delegate (Jesuit) John Baptist Eliano, Maronite synod of Mount Lebanon on 18 September 1596, presided over by Apostolic Delegate Fr. Jerome Dandin SJ.

³¹ Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Codificazione Canonica Orientale (Prot. N. 494/37), *Fonti*, Serie II, Fascicolo XVII, *Caldei-Diritto nuovo*, a cura di J. M. Vosté, Città del Vaticano 1942, 13-23 & 80; C. De Clercq, *Histoire des conciles: conciles des Orientaux catholiques*, XI-2, Paris 1952, 545-546.

Benedict Planchet, by now promoted as apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia and ordianed bishop on 15 August 1853 was authorized by Propaganda Fide to preside over the Syrian Catholic Synod of Charfeh (December 1853-January 1854).³² Similarly the Maronite Synod of Bkerke, held from 11 to 13 April 1856 was presided over by the Apostolic Delegate Paul Bruroni.³³ The events described in this book should be evaluated in the light of such a historical and ecclesial background.

4. Malabar Church under Propaganda Fide Jurisdiction

We have already seen that the Chaldean jurisdiction was suppressed and Francis Ros, the first Latin bishop was appointed in 1599 for the St Thomas Christians in Malabar. 34 After his death in 1624, two other Latin Jesuit bishops, Stephen Brito (1624-1641) and Francis Garcia (1641-1659) ruled the St Thomas Christians. Gravely frustrated by the Jesuit Latin governance under the Portuguese *Padroado*, which jeopardised the autonomy, the ritual identity and the spiritual heritage of their Church, on 3 January 1653, the St Thomas Christians, under the leadership of Archdeacon Thomas Parambil and prominent priests, assembled in the Church of Our Lady of Life at Mattancherry and resolved with a solemn oath not to obey Archbishop Garcia or any other prelate from the Society of Jesus and not to admit any Jesuits to their churches. This is generally known as the Coonan Cross Oath (oath at the slant Cross). Afterwards on 22 May 1653 at the church of Alangad twelve priests imposed their hands on the Archdeacon calling him metropolitan Mar Thomas, who subsequently began to exercise episcopal ministry and jurisdiction.³⁵

³² Cf. C. De Clercq, *Histoire des conciles: conciles des Orientaux catholiques*, vol. XI-2, 571-573; J. Metzler, *Storia della Chiesa XXIV*, 195.

³³ Cf. C. De Clercq, *Histoire des conciles: conciles des Orientaux catholiques*, XI-2, 667-669; for the approval of the synod, see R. De Martinis (ed.), *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, vol. VI, pars 1, Romae 1894, 256.

³⁴ Cf. Introductory Article One, no. 4.

³⁵ For a detailed study of the causes of *Coonan* Cross Oath, J. Kollaparambil, *The St Thomas Christians' Revolution*, 10-105 & 217-243; J.

4.1. The Start of Propaganda Jurisdiction in Malabar

Even after the said oath and the "consecration" of Mar Thomas, Archbishop Francis Garcia governed the archdiocese of Cranganore until his death on 3 December 1659, although only a small group remained faithful to him. In any case the archdiocese of Cranganore was not suppressed and the *Padroado* jurisdiction continued. After obtaining sufficient information about the tragic events in the Malabar Church, Pope Alexander VII (1655-1667) sent two groups of Discalced Carmelites under the jurisdiction of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide - headed respectively by the Carmelite apostolic commissaries, Fr. Joseph of St Mary Sebastiani and Fr. Hyacinth of St Vincent - to investigate and settle the problems.³⁶ Before and after the arrival of the apostolic commissaries, realizing the fact that the consecration of the Archdeacon was not valid many abandoned him, but they were unwilling to accept Francis Garcia, against whom the oath was made, as their bishop.

In these circumstances on 7 January 1658 Sebastiani left for Rome from Cochin to give a comprehensive report to the Roman authorities and to propose appropriate remedies for the resolution of the crisis in Malabar.³⁷ On 22 February 1659 Sebastiani reached Rome and submitted his report about the Malabar Church to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide and, based on its

Thekkedath, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia S.J.*, *Archbishop of Cranganore* (1641-59), Roma 1972, 64-73; the articles of J. Perumthottam and M. O. John, in Joint International Commission for Dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church, *Papers and Joint Statements* 1989-2000, edited by X. Koodapuzha & J. Panicker, Kottayam 2001, 511-530; P. Pallath, *The Grave Tragedy of the Church of St Thomas Christians and the Apostolic Mission of Sebastiani*, Changanassery 2006, 3-13.

³⁶ For details, Giuseppe di Santa Maria Sebastiani, *Prima Speditione all'Indie Orientali*, Roma 1666; 1-11 & 90-167; P. Pallath, *The Grave Tragedy of the Church of St Thomas Christians*, 53-116; Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, *Il viaggio all'Indie orientali*, Venezia 1678, 163-164.

³⁷ Cf. Giuseppe di Santa Maria Sebastiani, *Prima Speditione all'Indie Orientali*, 163-167; P. Pallath, *The Grave Tragedy of the Church of St Thomas Christians*, 113-116.

recommendations, Pope Alexander VII appointed him titular bishop of Hierapolis. On 15 December 1659 he was secretly consecrated bishop in the private chapel of the Pope at the apostolic palace. With the apostolic brief "Iniuncti nobis" of 17 December 1659, the Pope appointed Sebastiani apostolic commissary and administrator of the whole province of Malabar, whether Archbishop Garcia was dead or alive, granting him ample faculties to deal with the situation.³⁸ This marked the official beginning of the jurisdiction of the Propaganda Fide over the St Thomas Christians in Malabar.

Later on 20 February 1700, upon the proposal of Propaganda Fide, Pope Innocent XII instituted the vicariate apostolic of Malabar for the St Thomas Christians, who accepted the jurisdiction of Propaganda Fide. As a consequence of the Western governance since 1599, by this time even the Catholic St Thomas Christians were divided between two jurisdictions. A group remained under the Portuguese Padroado jurisdiction in the archdiocese of Cranganore and in the diocese of Cochin. However, at that time vast majority who accepted the authority of the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic Sebastiani of the Propaganda Fide jurisdiction remained in the vicariate apostolic of Malabar. In brief, until 1886 the Catholic St Thomas Christians were divided between the ancient archdiocese of Cranganore under the Portuguese Padroado jurisdiction and the vicariate apostolic of Malabar (1700-1853), later called Verapoly (1853-1886) under the jurisdiction of Propaganda Fide, both of them were often in conflict and competition for the control of the grater number of St Thomas Christian parishes. Consequently during this period there was also frequent shift of parishes: sometimes all under Padroado, other times all under Propaganda, yet other times divided under both jurisdictions.³⁹ According to the well informed author Bernard Thoma, who can be considered as the father of the Church history

³⁸ R. De Martinis (ed.), *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, vol. I, Romae 1888, 314-317; P. Pallath, *The Grave Tragedy of the Church of St Thomas Christians*, 248-263.

³⁹ For details, P. Pallath, *The Catholic Church in India*, 125-140.

of the St Thomas Christians, at the dawn of the nineteenth century there were 66 *Suriani* parishes and only 18 Latin parishes in the vicariate of Verapoly, while in the Archdiocese of Cranganore there were 45 parishes.⁴⁰

4. 2. Suppression of Portuguese Patronage and the Enrolment of All the St Thomas Christians in the Vicariate of Verapoly under Propaganda Fide

At the time of the erection of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in 1622, the whole territory of the East Indies was divided among the four Portuguese Padroado dioceses: the metropolitan archdiocese of Goa, the suffragan dioceses of Cochin and Mylapore, and the St Thomas Christian diocese of Angamaly-Cranganore. 41 These four Portuguese dioceses covered canonically the whole of the East Indies, even though only a few centres were effectively occupied and controlled by the Portuguese ecclesiastical and civil authorities. According to the principles of ius patronatus it was the exclusive right of the Portuguese king to decide the erection of dioceses in the newly discovered lands and to present to the Roman Pontiff persons worthy of appointment as bishops in the dioceses thus erected and whenever they remained vacant. Since the whole of the East Indies was covered by the four Portuguese dioceses, the Holy See could not have erected dioceses nor appointed bishops in India without the consent of the Portuguese Crown and the knowledge of the metropolitan of Goa.

In these circumstances, without revoking the *ius patronatus* of the Portuguese Crown, the Holy See adopted the provisional and administrative measure of erecting vicariates apostolic and appointing vicars apostolic coming directly under the Holy See of the Pope. The vicars apostolic were titular bishops receiving

⁴⁰ Bernard Thoma, Mar Thoma Kristianikal, 707.

⁴¹ On 20 December 1599 Pope Clement VIII suppressed the metropolitan status of the ancient see of the St Thomas Christians, made it a suffragan of Goa and on 4 August 1600 imposed upon it the Portuguese patronage. For details, P. Pallath, *The Catholic Church in India*, 100-109.

jurisdiction directly from the Holy See to work in certain districts assigned to them within the existing *Padroado* dioceses. Thus, in India and South Asia the vicars apostolic directly appointed by Rome took full charge of the pastoral and missionary work in the regions, which at that time were juridically under the authority of the *Padroado*. 42

The appointment of vicars apostolic triggered longstanding conflicts between Propaganda and *Padroado*. In fact, such disastrous and scandalous jurisdictional conflicts between the vicars apostolic directly appointed by the Holy See and the Portuguese ecclesiastical and civil authorities adversely affected the progress of the Catholic Church in India. Finally, after many discussions, but without consulting the Portuguese Crown, with the apostolic letter *Multa praeclare* of 24 April 1838 Pope Gregory XVI suppressed the *Padroado* jurisdiction in India except in the archdiocese of Goa.⁴³

The Pope explicitly derogated from the apostolic letters of his predecessors concerning the erection of the dioceses of Goa, Cochin, Mylapore and Cranganore as well as their territorial boundaries. The Portuguese diocese of Mylapore was suppressed and its territory became part of the vicariate apostolic of Madras. The Portuguese *Padroado* sees of Cranganore (St Thomas Christian) and Cochin were annexed to the vicariate of Malabar (Verapoly). The territory of Malacca was allotted to the vicariate apostolic of Ava and Pegu. The *Padroado* jurisdiction was limited to the archdiocese of Goa. The apostolic letter *Etsi sancta* constituting the ecclesiastical province of Goa, was repealed and the metropolitan rights of the archbishop of Goa were suppressed

⁴² Cf. Dominic of St. Theresa OCD, "Latin Missions under the Jurisdiction of Propaganda", in H. C. Perumalil & E. R. Hambye (eds.), *Christianity in India*, Alleppey 1972, 105; J. Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, *Volume II*, 415-416.

⁴³ R. De Martinis (ed.), *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, vol. V, Romae 1893, 195-198; P. Pallath, *Important Roman Documents*, 114-125.

both inside and outside India. The vicars apostolic received exclusive and proper jurisdiction in their territories. 44

The apostolic letter only worsened the situation and gave rise to what some authors call the Goan Schism or Indo-Portuguese Schism. The vicars apostolic appointed by the Holy See wholeheartedly accepted the apostolic letter, while the Portuguese Crown, the Portuguese bishops and clergy, firmly and resolutely rejected *Multa praeclare* as an arbitrary and unjust encroachment upon their acquired rights. The Portuguese bishops, clergy, religious and the Christian faithful subject to them decisively and publicly disobeyed the apostolic letter. The Propaganda Fide labelled the followers of *Padroado* as schismatics because they disobeyed the supreme authority of the Pope, while these latter treated the Propaganda missionaries and vicars apostolic as intruders. The Propaganda missionaries and vicars apostolic as intruders.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century the vacant *Padroado* dioceses of Cranganore and Cochin in Kerala (also Mylapore in Tamilnadu) were put under the direct jurisdiction of Goa and thus at the time of the suppression of *Padroado* there were only non-episcopal governors. Fr. Manuel de San Joachim das Neves, administrator of Cochin at the time of the suppression, spearheaded the Indo-Portuguese or Goan schism in Kerala. However, in accordance with the apostolic letter the vast majority of the parishes of diocese of Cochin accepted the authority of Vicar Apostolic Francis Xavier of St Anna.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ R. De Martinis (ed.), *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, vol. V, 196-197; P. Pallath, *Important Roman Documents*, 118-121.

⁴⁵ For a balanced evaluation of the schism, A. Da Silva Rego, *Le Patronage portugais de l'Orient*, Lisboa 1957, 272-289; see also J. Puliurumpil, *A Period of Jurisdictional Conflict in the Suriani Church of India* 1800-1838), Kottayam 1994, 205-244.

⁴⁶ For more information about the jurisdictional controversy and the situation in the territories, see S. Neill, *A History of Christianity in India 1707-1858*, Cambridge 1985, 288-294; A. Da Silva Rego, *Le Patronage portugais de l'Orient*, 144-147; E. R. Hull, *Bombay Mission-History with a Special Study of the Padroado Question*, vol. 1, Bombay 1839, 249-490.

⁴⁷ Cf. J. Puliurumpil, A Period of Jurisdictional Conflict, 237-241.

As indicated above the archdiocese of Cranganore, the ancient see of the St Thomas Christians, was of Portuguese Padroado jurisdiction and hence it was also suppressed and all the Christian faithful were ordered to become members of the vicariate of Malabar. The then Portuguese governor of Cranganore, Fr. John Do Porto Peixoto died on 29 July 1838.⁴⁸ Also because of this, in accordance with the provision of the apostolic letter, all the parishes of the ancient Archdiocese of Cranganore under Portuguese patronage declared obedience to Bishop Francis Xavier of St Anna (1831-1844), the Propaganda vicar apostolic of Malabar; however, only 12 priests joined the aforementioned schismatic Joachim das Neves. 49 In brief, the Catholic St Thomas Christians, who had been divided under two conflicting jurisdictions, again came under one Latin bishop, under the authority of Propaganda Fide. However, some priests and Christian leaders, who belonged to the suppressed Padroado Archdiocese of Cranganore were not fully satisfied with the new arrangement and mainly they took initiative for obtaining a bishop from Chaldea, paving the way for Rokos schism.

The number of *Suriani* churches in the vicariate of Verapoly at that epoch varied according to the manner of counting adopted by various writers: some counted only canonical parishes, others all the churches including parishes, quasi parishes or filial churches and chapels. In the course of time some of the filial churches developed into parishes as well. Based on different reports it is possible to conclude that after the suppression of the Archdiocese of Cranganore and the entry of its parishes in the vicariate of Verapoly, there were about 154 Suriani parish churches in the vicariate, excluding only chapels. 50

⁴⁸ Fr. John (João) Do Porto Peixoto was appointed governor of the archdiocese of Cranganore on 24 November 1825 and he took charge of the office on 29 January 1826.

⁴⁹ Cf. J. Puliurumpil, A Period of Jurisdictional Conflict, 240-243.

⁵⁰ Cf. Documents 8, 17 and 26 in this book; cf. also Bernard Thoma, *Mar Thoma Kristianikal*, 726-728.

Gravely disappointed and frustrated by the suppression of the ancient archdiocese of Cranganore, the St Thomas Christians desired to obtain at least the title of "archbishop" for their vicar apostolic of Malabar. The Vicar Apostolic Francis Xavier of St Anna OCD himself presented this desire to the Propaganda Fide, pointing out that since very ancient times the St Thomas Christians had a head with the title of archbishop. With the apostolic letter of 10 April 1840 the Pope granted the title and dignity of titular archbishop of Sardes to Francis Xavier of St Anna. After his death on 7 December 1844, Louis (Ludovicus) of St Therese OCD (1844-1853) was appointed vicar apostolic of Malabar with the title of archbishop of Cyrrhus.

Since the vicariate apostolic of Malabar became very vast owing to the addition of the territories of the suppressed Portuguese *Padroado* dioceses, in 1845 it was divided into three, the vicariates apostolic of Quilon (Kollam in Malayalam), Verapoly and Mangalore. The vicariates of Quilon and Mangalore were exclusively for Latin Christians. In the vicariate apostolic of Verapoly, which maintained the title of archbishop, together with the St Thomas Christians, there were also Latins as in the former vicariate. The vicariate apostolic of Malabar, originally constituted for the Catholic St Thomas Christians under the authority of Propaganda Fide, in the course of time mutated into the vicariate of Verapoly belonging to the Latin Church, in which both Eastern and Western Christians were found.

On account of sickness, Vicar Apostolic Archbishop Louis of St Therese went to Rome in 1851. In his absence, after a brief governance of Bernardino of St Agnes as administrator, on 12 March 1853 Bernardino of St Therese (Baccinelli) OCD (pro-vicar apostolic of Quilon from 1845, titular bishop of Heraclea Pontica from 26 June 1847) was appointed administrator and coadjutor to the vicar apostolic of Verapoly with the right of succession. In

⁵¹ See the letter of 12 January 1840 in Rome, Archivum Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, *Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Indie Orientali*, vol. 7, fol. 345r.

⁵² R. De Martinis (ed.), *Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide*, vol. V, 228-229.

1855 Louis definitively resigned from office and on 20 June 1859 Bernardino of St Therese OCD (1859-1868) was appointed vicar apostolic of Verapoly, with the title of the archbishop of Pharsala.⁵³ In order to facilitate easy consultation we provide a list of the vicars apostolic of Malabar (Verapoly), whose names are mentioned in the documents of our period.

Name	Period of Governance
Francis Xavier of St Anna OCD	Vicar Apostolic from 1831 to 1844; he obtained the title of titular archbishop of Sardes on 10 April 1840.
Louis of St Therese OCD	Vicar Apostolic from 1844 to 1853 with the title of the archbishop of Cyrrhus; resigned from office on 20 June 1859.
Bernardino of St Therese (Bacinelli) OCD	Administrator and coadjutor vicar apostolic from 12 March 1853 to 19 June 1859; vicar apostolic with the title of the archbishop of Pharsala from 20 June 1859 to 5 September 1868.

The main events considered in this work took place during the governance of the last two vicars Apostolic, namely Louis of St Therese OCD and Bernardino of St Therese (Bacinelli) OCD.

5. Antiochian Jurisdiction in Malabar

The division in the Malabar Church and the origin of different Orthodox Churches of Antiochian tradition also

⁵³ Cf. Ambrosius a S. Theresia, *Hierarchia carmelitana seu series illustrium Praesulum ecclesiasticorum ex Ordine Carmelitarum Discalceatorum*, Fasciculus IV, Romae 1939, 338.

contributed to the aggravation of the situation of the Syro-Malabar Catholics. In order to comprehend the events narrated in this work a brief account of the Churches of Antiochian tradition is also necessary, since often the documents refer to them.

On 1 February 1663 the apostolic commissary Bishop Sebastiani publicly excommunicated the pseudo bishop Mar Thomas I from the Catholic Church, and thus the schism begun subsequent to the *Coonan Cross Oath* in 1653 was ratified and perpetuated. Afterwards Mar Thomas Parambil and his successors began to receive bishops from the Orthodox Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, who gradually introduced Orthodox Jacobite doctrines, Antiochian liturgy and canonical discipline among the faithful. Thus originated the Malankara Orthodox Church of Antiochian tradition in South India.

On the request of Mar Thomas V (1728-1764) in 1751 the Antiochian Patriarch sent bishops Mar Basilios, Mar Gregorios and Ramban Mar John, from whom the fifth pseudo bishop hoped to receive valid episcopal consecration. But the Antiochian bishops, who claimed jurisdiction over the Malankara Church, refused to consecrate Mar Thomas V; instead Mar Basilios consecrated Ramban John, who had come with him, as Mar Ivanios and appointed him the metropolitan of the Malankara Church in 1752. After the death of Mar Thomas V in 1765, he was succeeded by a nephew, who assumed the title of Mar Thomas VI. Due to the intervention of the king of Travancore the Antiochian prelate Mar Gregorios, assisted by Mar Ivanios, consecrated Mar Thomas VI at St Mary's Church in Niranam in the first week of January 1772. ⁵⁵ We give below a list of native heads of the separated community

⁵⁴ Giuseppe di Santa Maria Sebastiani, Seconda Speditione all'Indie Orientali, 144; P. Pallath, Grave Tragedy of the Church of St Thomas Christians, 211-212.

⁵⁵ For details, see C. Malancharuvil, *The Syro-Malankara Church*, Alwaye 1973, 35-40; C. V. Cheriyan, *Orthodox Christianity in India, A History of the Malankara Orthodox Church*, Kottayam 2003, 217-221; P. Pallath, *The Catholic Church in India*, 200-203.

and the Syrian Antiochian bishops who occasionally came to Malabar.

Native Heads	Antiochian Bishops	
Mar Thomas II (1670-1686) ⁵⁶	Abdul Jaleel Mar Gregorios (1665-1670) Eldo Mar Basilios (1685- died twelve days after his arrival) Hidatulla Mar Ivanios (1685-1693)	
Mar Thomas III (1686-1688)		
Mar Thomas IV (1688-1728) Mar Thomas V (1728-1765) Mar Thomas VI (1765-), received valid episcopal consecration in January 1772, assumed the name Mar Dionysius I		
		Sacralla Mar Basilios (1751-1764)
		Mar Gregorios (1751-1773)
	Ramban John or Youhanan (1751-1794), ordained as Bishop Mar Ivanios in 1752	

5.1. Origin of Thozhiyoor Church

Because of disagreements with Mar Thomas VI, before his death in 1772 the aforementioned Mar Gregorios also consecrated Ramban Abraham Kattumangattu as bishop Cyril or Kurillos, but he could not exercise any power in the Church. Because of the prohibition from the kingdoms of Travancore and Cochin, Mar Cyril, together with, Ramban Geevarghese (his brother) fled to Anjoor in the then British Malabar. Later in 1772 they established a church at Thozhiyoor in the present district of Trichur, which later became an episcopal see. In the course time Thozhiyoor Church, consisting even today of a single diocese, came to be known as *The Independent Syrian Church of Malabar*. This Church follows the Antiochian Syrian Orthodox or Jacobite

 $^{^{56}}$ Since the first successor of Mar Thomas I died eight days after his election, he is not often counted in listing the heads of the Malankara community.

tradition. Here we give a list of the bishops of Malnkara Orthodox Church after Mar Thomas VI and those of the Thozhiyoor Church.

Malankara Orthodox Church	Thozhiyoor Church
Mar Thomas VII (1808-1809)	Kattumangattu Mar Kurillos
Mar Thomas VIII (1810-1815)	(Cyril, 1772-1802)
Mar Thomas IX (1815)	Kattumangattu Geevarghese Mar
Mar Dionysius II (1816)	Kurillos (1802-1807)
Mar Dionysius III (1817-1825)	Geevarghese Mar Phileksinos (1811-1829)

5.2. Anglicanization of the Malankara Orthodox Church

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as a result of the establishment of British supremacy in South India, the Malankara Orthodox Church came into contact with the Church of England, engendering a process of Anglicanization. Members of the Church Missionary Society, who had begun to work among the Christian faithful of the Malankara Church since 1816, tried to reform the Church in attune with their faith and doctrines. In order to counter the Anglicanization, Mar Dionysius IV (1825-1846) held an assembly or synod at Mavelikara in 1836, which decided to end the work of the Anglican missionaries in the Malankara Church and declared that the Church was subjected to the supreme power of the Patriarch of Antioch.⁵⁷ In this synod the Antiochian liturgy and canonical discipline were formerly and officially accepted by the Malankara Church.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Codificazione Canonica Orientale (Prot. N. 494/37), Fonti, Serie II, Fascicolo IX, Fontes Juribus Canonici Syro-Malankarensium, a cura di P. J. Podipara, Città del Vaticano 1940, 26; P. Cherian, The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society, Kottayam 1935, 390.

⁵⁸ C. Malancharuvil, *The Syro-Malankara Church*, 91; C. V. Cheriyan, *Orthodox Christianity in India*, 330-332.

After the decision of the synod of Mavelikara in 1836, owing to the efforts of the missionaries over time several hundred members of the Malankara Church became Anglicans. 59 However. a minor section of the Malankara clergy and Christian faithful under the leadership of Fr. Abraham Palakunnathu of Maramon favoured Anglicanization, but did not want to leave the Malankara Church and join the Anglican missionaries. Fr. Abraham Palakunnathu started to correct the Antiochian liturgy, rewriting and reforming it along Protestant lines. In 1841 Abraham Palakunnathu sent one of his nephews, deacon Mathew Palakunnathu, to the Syrian Orthodox Jacobite Patriarch, Ignatios Mar Elias II with the request to be consecrated bishop. They did not reveal to the Patriarch their real intention of Protestant reformation, but pretended to safeguard the Orthodox faith. Without making any inquiry, the Patriarch consecrated Mathew Palakunnathu metropolitan of Malankara under the name Mathew Mar Athanasius, who returned to Kerala in 1843.

5.3. Conflicts between Jacobite and Pro-Anglican Metropolitans

Immediately after his arrival Mathew Mar Athanasius claimed the office of the Malankara metropolitan. The presence of two metropolitans in the Malankara community naturally engendered jurisdictional conflicts. Reports were sent to the Patriarch accusing Mar Athanasius of communion with the Anglicans. In 1846 the Patriarch sent his delegate Mar Cyril (Koorillos) Joachim (1846-1866) to make an assessment of the situation and to take whatever action he deemed necessary. On reaching Malabar, Mar Cyril Joachim declared himself metropolitan of the Malankara Church and Mar Dionysius IV abdicated in favour of Mar Cyril with the intention of impeding Mar Athanasius from taking possession of the office as the head of the Malankara Church. Mar Cyril completed the replacement of the Chaldean rite with the

⁵⁹ These "Syrian Anglicans" really became members of the Church of England and did not form a distinct Church. At present they are members of the Church of South India (CSI). See P. J. Podipara, *The Thomas Christians*, 227.

Antiochian rite and introduced West Syrian script among the Christian faithful of the Malankara Church.⁶⁰

Since both Mar Cyril and Mar Athanasius styled themselves heads of the Malankara Church, the intervention of the civil authority became necessary. In 1852 the Travancore Royal Court passed judgement and officially declared Mar Athanasius to be the metropolitan of the Malankara Church, in virtue of his credentials brought from Antioch. The Orthodox Syrians of Malankara were ordered to accept him as metropolitan and to obey him according to the previous custom. Since the Travancore government and the British officials supported Mar Athanasius, Mar Cyril could not exercise any effective jurisdiction, although he remained in Malankara. Practically Mathew Mar Athanasius continued as the official head of the whole Syrian Orthodox or Jacobite community in Malabar. Although he had Protestant leanings, he did not attempt to carry out the reforms planned by his uncle Abraham Palakunnathu.

In 1865 those who opposed Mar Athanasius sent Joseph Pulikkottil, a native priest of Malankara to the Orthodox Syrian patriarch of Antioch. The Patriarch consecrated him bishop under the name Mar Dionysius V and appointed him as the Malankara metropolitan to succeed the Antiochian Bishop Mar Koorillos. He returned in 1866, but did not succeed in ousting Mar Athanasius. In this context in 1868 Mathew Mar Athanasius, the official metropolitan of the Malankara Church, recognized by the Royal Court, decided to nominate a successor in advance. With the help of the bishop of the Jacobite sect of Thozhiyoor, on 31 May 1868 he consecrated one of his cousins called Thomas and declared the

⁶⁰ Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Codificazione Canonica Orientale (Prot. N. 410/37), Fonti, Serie II, Fascicolo VIII, De Fontibus Juris Ecclesiastici Syro-Malankarensium, a cura di P. J. Podipara, Città del Vaticano 1937, 63; E. Tisserant, Eastern Christianity in India, 150; C. V. Cheriyan, Orthodox Christianity in India, 331.

⁶¹ The Travancore Royal Court Judgment, no. 173; in Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Codificazione Canonica Orientale (Prot. N. 494/37), *Fonti*, Serie II, Fascicolo IX, 27.

new prelate his successor, under the name of Thomas Mar Athanasius.

5.4. The Church of the Reformed Party

Solicited by Mar Dionysius V, in 1874 Patriarch Ignatius Mar Peter III went to London, in order to voice his claims and to diminish the activities of Protestants in Malabar, and in 1875 he arrived in Malankara. After obtaining the support of the Travancore government and that of the British officials, from 27 to 30 June 1876 Patriarch Peter III convoked an assembly or synod of the parishes of the Malankara Church at Mulanthuruthy in which the supremacy and jurisdiction of the Antiochian Patriarch were accepted and acknowledged. An association of the whole Malankara community was formed, of which the patron would be the Patriarch of Antioch, while the ruling metropolitan was to be the president. Arrangements were made also for the collection of money (Ressisa) to be remitted to the Patriarch. 62 With this synod the Malankara Orthodox Church was definitively and completely brought under the absolute supremacy of the Antiochian Patriarch. In practical terms, the Malankara Church was annexed to the Antiochian Patriarchate and the Patriarch became the true and supreme head of the Malankara Church.

Due to the intervention of the Patriarch, the government of Travancore withdrew its support of Mathew Mar Athanasius, the pro-Anglican bishop and until then the official metropolitan of the Malankara Church. He and his would-be successor Thomas Mar Athanasius did not take part in the synod of Mulanthuruthy in 1876. Hence the Patriarch excommunicated Mathew Mar Athanasius and the pro-Anglican group from the Malankara Jacobite Church. Despite the excommunication by the Patriarch and the withdrawal of governmental support, Mathew Mar

⁶² For details, see C. Malancharuvil, *The Syro-Malankara Church*, 58-63; C. V. Cheriyan, *Orthodox Christianity in India*, 288-296; concerning the authority of the Patrairch see also Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Codificazione Canonica Orientale (Prot. N. 494/37), *Fonti*, Serie II, Fascicolo IX, 29-30.

Athanasius refused to leave his office or to recognize Metropolitan Mar Dionysius V and surrender the temporalities of the Church to him. As already planned, in 1877 Thomas Mar Athanasius succeeded Mathew Mar Athanasius as the Malankara metropolitan and took possession of the properties belonging to the said office.

In the long litigation that followed between Mar Dionysius V (appointed by the patriarch) and the pro-Anglican Bishop Thomas Mar Athanasius over the seminary and other temporal properties of the Malankara Church, the Travancore Royal Court of Final Appeal pronounced its definitive judgement on 12 July 1889, which was in favour of Mar Dionysius V and thus the pro-Anglican party was finally defeated. In fact, the Court recognized Mar Dionysius V as the metropolitan of the Syrian Jacobite Church in Malankara and ordered Thomas Mar Athanasius to surrender the insignia and office of metropolitan of the Malankara Church and give up possession of all the properties and moneys belonging to the Church.

The judgement of the Royal Court marked the final and definitive defeat of Thomas Mar Athanasius and the pro-Anglican group. In accordance with the judgement they had to give up all the churches and temporal properties. However, three parishes accepted the authority of Thomas Mar Athanasius. They decided to form an independent Church known as the "Reformed Party". Later they adopted the name "The Mar Thoma Syrian Church". This Church follows the Syro-Antiochian liturgical tradition, partially Anglicanized in harmony with Protestant doctrines.

⁶³ See, Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Codificazione Canonica Orientale (Prot. N. 494/37), *Fonti*, Serie II, Fascicolo IX, 30-34; see also V. Nagam Aiya (ed.), *The Travancore State Manual*, vol. 2, 218-219; A. P. Urumpackal, *The Juridical Status of the Catholicos of Malabar*, Rome 1977, 58-59; for details concerning the case and the final judgment, C. V. Cheriyan, *Orthodox Christianity in India*, 297-302.

⁶⁴ Over the course of time the Mar Thoma Syrian Church has spread to different parts of India and even abroad. At present it has seven dioceses, one metropolitan, one suffragan metropolitan, five bishops and about 700,000 members. For more about this Church, see X. Koodapuzha, *Christianity in India*, Kottayam 1998, 156-159.

As we have seen above, with the synod of Mulanthuruthy in 1876 the Antiochian Patriarch became the head of the Malankara Church with full patriarchal powers in both spiritual and temporal matters. He divided the Malankara Orthodox Church, which had remained one unit until then, into seven dioceses and consecrated six more bishops in order to govern them. Even after this division of the Malankara Church and the appointment of new bishops, Mar Dionysius V (1866-1909), the then metropolitan, continued to be the local head of the whole Malankara Syrian Orthodox Church, as *primus inter pares*.

Since our scope is only to present the historical background of the Rokos schism we do not continue with the history of the Malankara Orthodox Church. At the epoch of the events under our consideration (1845-1865) which culminated in the schism of Mar Rokos the separated community was already divided into three Churches: Malankara Syrian Orthodox Church under the authority of the Patriarch of Antioch, independent Thozhiyoor Church and the Reformed Party (protestant) which later came to be known as the Mar Thoma Syrian Church. We give a list of bishops in Malabar belonging to these three Churches during this period.

Name and Surname	Titles and Office
Mar Cyril (Koorillos) Joachim (1846-1866)	Antiochian bishop, delegate of the Syrian Patriarch, who came from Syria; through him the Catholic Malabar priests sent petitions to the Chaldean Patriarch for obtaining a bishop.
Mar Dionysius V (1865-1909)	He assumed the title of metropolitan of the Malankara

⁶⁵ Cf. Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Codificazione Canonica Orientale (Prot. N. 494/37), *Fonti*, Serie II, Fascicolo IX, 29-30.

⁶⁶ Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Codificazione Canonica Orientale (Prot. N. 410/37), *Fonti*, Serie II, Fascicolo VIII, 64-65.

Syrian Orthodox Church in 1876. Maliekkal Geevarghese Thozhiyoor Mar Bishops of the Kurillos (1829-1856)Church which was later called and Yauseph Mar Kurillos (1856independent Syrian Church of 1888) Malabar. Mathew Mar Athanasius (1842-Pro-Anglican bishops, the latter Thomas established 1877) and Mar formally Reformed Party, which later Athanasius (1877-1894) came to be known as the Mar Thoma Syrian Church.

6. Malabar Catholic Church and Re-establishment of Contacts with the Chaldean Catholic Patriarchate in the XVIII Century

Because of the long interruption of hierarchical succession in the ancient Archdiocese of Cranganore and the consequent absence of episcopal ministry, especially the priests of the Archdiocese strived to re-establish hierarchical relationship with the Chaldean Church. Even during the administration of John Hormizd, one of the main reasons of tension between Chaldean Patriarchate and Rome was the question of Chaldean jurisdiction in Malabar. After the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773 the administration of the last Jesuit archbishop, Dom Salvador dos Reis was terminated and afterwards there were only administrators in the archdiocese of Cranganore, who had no episcopal character. Although Joseph Cariattil was nominated archbishop of the vacant Padroado see of Cranganore on 16 July 1782 and was consecrated bishop in Lisbon on 17 February 1783, he did not reach the archdiocese because of his sudden death in Goa on 9 September 1786 during the return journey. In order to pacify the priests and people the companion of Cariattil, Fr. Thomas Paremmakkal was nominated administrator of the vacant *Padroado* archdiocese of Cranganore in 1786.⁶⁷ In order to provide a clear idea about the ecclesial situation in the Archdiocese of Cranganore we give a list of bishops and governors indicating the period of their governance.⁶⁸ The list also demonstrates that the see remained vacant for long intervals without any bishop to govern it.

Name of Bishops and Administrators	Period of Governance
Archbishop Salvador dos Reis SJ	From 1753 to 1773, in which year the Society of Jesus was suppressed.
Archbishop Joseph Cariattil (Syro-Malabar)	From 1782 to 1786, he did not occupy the See.
Fr. Thomas Paremmakkal (Syro-Malabar)	Administrator from 1786 to 1799.
Fr. Joseph Caetano da Silva Coutinho	Administrator, appointed in 1800, but he did not reach India.
Fr. George Sankurikkal (Syro-Malabar)	Administrator from 1800 to 1801.

⁶⁷ For details concerning the events connected with the journey from Malabar to Rome via Lisbon and back undertaken by Mar Joseph Cariattil and Father Thomas Paremmakkal, see T. Paremmakkal *The Varthamanappusthakam*, translated into English with an Introduction and notes by P. J. Podipara, Rome 1971; F. Thonippara, *Saint Thomas Christians of India: A Period of Struggle for Unity and Self-Rule (1775-1787)*, Bangalore 1999; J. C. Kollara, *Archbishop Joseph Cariattil. The Pioneer Ecumenist of the St Thomas Christians*, Rome 2010.

⁶⁸ The list is mainly based on C. C. De Nazareth, Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente, vol. 2, Goa 1924, 36-67; E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India*, 187-188; P. J. Podipara, *The Hierarchy of the Syro-Malabar Church*, 147-152.

Bishop Paul da S. Thomé d'Acquina OP	From 1821 to 1823.		
Fr. Joseph Joachim da Immacolada Conceição Amarante OP	Administrator, appointed in 1825, but he did not occupy the see.		
Fr. John Do Porto Peixoto	Administrator from 24 November 1825; he died on 29 July 1838.		
Archdiocese of Cranganore suppressed	From 24 April 1838 to May 1860.		

From our list it is evident that for a long time there was no one to perform episcopal ministry in the Archdiocese of Cranganore. Hence, after the failure of the attempts to obtain from the Portuguese Queen and Propaganda Fide the appointment of Thomas Paremmakkal as archbishop, ⁶⁹ in November 1796 the Christians of Malabar sent a delegation of four Christian faithful to the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch Joseph IV with a letter requesting him to grant a bishop, as was the custom before the sixteenth century. Mar John Hormez, archbishop of Mosul and the administrator of the patriarchate after the death of Patriarch Joseph IV in 1791 several times wrote to the Propaganda Fide asking for instructions and seeking permission to consecrate a bishop to be sent to Malabar, but received no reply. After sixteen months of waiting, considering the grievances of the Christians of Malabar, especially those of the Archdiocese of Cranganore, which remained without a bishop for such a long time, Mar John Hormez ordained Paul Pandari, a member of the delegation, to the priesthood and then consecrated him with the name Abraham, as titular bishop for the monastery of St Behnan near Mosul and sent

 $^{^{69}}$ Cf. Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 304-305.

him to Malabar together with two Chaldean priests to teach Syriac. 70

Bishop Paul Pandari (Abraham), accompanied by two Chaldean priests arrived in Malabar in March 1798, but Thomas Paremmakkal, the ecclesiastical administrator of Cranganore, did not permit him to exercise any jurisdiction, although he was a native bishop from the flock, since it became evident that he was ordained without the approval of the Roman Pontiff. However, after the death of Paremmakkal in 1799, Pandari began to exercise jurisdiction, pretending to be the head of St Thomas Christians and ordained some priests. The so-called Pandari schism, lasted only a few months and was terminated at the end of 1800 when the archbishop of Goa confirmed the election of a native priest, George Sankurikkal, as administrator of Cranganore.

Evidently the action of Archbishop Mar John Hormizd, the administrator of the patriarchate, did not please Propaganda, but when it was learned that he had acted in good faith he was given a conditional absolution. In order to resolve the problems in Malabar triggered by the absence of an Oriental bishop, as a compromise solution, the plenary assembly of the Congregation of Propaganda held on 27 September 1801 decided to send to Malabar Mar John Guriel, an old student of Propaganda College and Chaldean Bishop of Salmas. In virtue of the special faculty from the Holy See and according to its pleasure (*beneplacitum*) he should have been appointed by Archbishop John Hormizd as his vicar in Malabar with jurisdiction over all Syro-Malabar Catholics in those dioceses where Latin bishops were not present or even if

⁷⁰ J. Puliurumpil, *A Period of Jurisdictional Conflict*, 7-13; cf. also E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India*, 103-104.

⁷¹ For details concerning the progress and end of the "Pandari Schism", see J. Puliurumpil, *A Period of Jurisdictional Conflict*, 21-52.

⁷² Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 306.

present, they were unable to exercise jurisdiction. The decision was approved by the Pope Pius VII on 8 November 1801.⁷³

However, because of scruples, instead of the original title 'vicar of the Patriarchal Administrator John Hormizd', Guriel was called in the decree of 28 August 1802, "Delegate of the Apostolic See and according to the pleasure of the Sacred Congregation". ⁷⁴ In the first decree John Hormizd was authorized to establish his vicar in Malabar, while in the second the name of Hormizd was not even mentioned and the provision depended exclusively on the Holy See. Although the second decree was sent to Mar Hormizd, for reasons unknown he did not send Bishop Mar John Guriel to Malabar.

As we have already seen the ancient St Thomas Christian Archdiocese of Cranganore was suppressed on 24 April 1838 with the apostolic letter *Multa praeclare* together with the other Portuguese *Padroado* dioceses of Cochin and Mylapore. Although the Eastern priests and faithful became members of the vicariate apostolic of Verapoly, according to the order of the said apostolic letter, they were dissatisfied with the new arrangement, also because of the discriminative comportment of the missionaries and authorities of Verapoly. Hence, mainly the priests of the suppressed Archdiocese of Cranganore took initiative to obtain a bishop from the Chaldean Patriarch, although the longing for bishops of their own rite was common to all the priests and Christian faithful. The progress, execution and tragic consequences of such initiatives constitute the specific theme of the present work.

 $^{^{73}}$ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 307.

⁷⁴ Cf. Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 307-308; E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India*, 104.

Part One

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF DOCUMENTS

In part one we present the English translation of 86 documents, which are continuously numbered, but which are divided into nine sections in order to facilitate reading and to provide logical order and coherence.

Section One

QUEST OF ST THOMAS CHRISTIANS FOR BISHOPS OF THEIR OWN RITE AND REQUESTS TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH

Introduction

Even after several years of Latin governance the St Thomas Christians still nurtured a strong desire for bishops of their own rite and liturgical language and used to send petitions and requests to the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch and to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. Because of various reasons in the nineteenth century the desire for bishops of their own rite became irresistible and intense. Hence requests and supplications also became frequent.

As we have already seen, ever since the erection of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith the Catholic Eastern Churches and patriarchs were also subjected to its authority. At the period under our consideration the Catholic Eastern Churches were under the Oriental section of the department called 'Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide for the Affairs of the Oriental Rite'. After the resignation of Cardinal Carlo Maria Pedicini on 21 November 1834, on the same date Cardinal Jacob Philip Fransoni was appointed as Prefect of Propaganda Fide; he continued in the same office until his death on 20 April 1856. At that time Fr. Augustine Marchi SJ, the Prefect of the Dominican mission in Baghdad was also pro-apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Lesser Armenia.²

¹ Cf. Introductory Article Two, no. 3.

² Cf. Introductory Article Two, no. 2.

In Chaldea, after the resignation of Patriarch Nicolas Zeia in 1847, Joseph Audo (Audu), bishop of Amadiah since 1825, was elected Patriarch of the Chaldean Catholic Church on 13 December 1847.³ In Malabar, after the death of Francis Xavier of St Anna (1831-1844), Louis (Ludovicus) of St Therese OCD (1844-1853) was appointed vicar apostolic of Malabar (Verapoly), with the title of archbishop of Cyrrhus.

From the very beginning of his ministry, Patriarch Audo took great interest in the affairs of Malabar and endeavoured to reestablish Chaldean jurisdiction there. In fact a short time after his enthronement as patriarch he received three letters from Malabar: a letter addressed to his predecessor Patriarch Nicolas Zeia (document 1), another letter to the bishops, priests, deacons and all the Christian faithful of the Chaldean Church (document 2), requesting Chaldean bishops for the Malabar Church. Upon request of the Malabar Christians of the Chaldean rite these letters were sent to the Patriarch by Mar Cyril Joachim, Syro-Orthodox Archbishop of the Jacobite Church in Malabar with his own forwarding letter (document 3). After reading the said three letters Patriarch Audo also wrote a letter (document 4), addressed to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, requesting permission and faculty to send one or two Chaldean bishops to Malabar. The pro-Apostolic Delegate Augustine Marchi SJ forwarded all of them to Propaganda, recommending the requested permission (document 5).

The Congregation did not consider the matter seriously and responded to the pro-Apostolic Delegate Augustine Marchi and to the Patriarch (documents 6-7) without providing any precise decision. Meanwhile with the letter of 23 July 1850 the Prefect of Propaganda Fide asked Bishop Louis of St Therese, vicar apostolic of Malabar to provide a report about the question. He responded on 4 November 1850 minimizing the problems and indicating that the troubles were created by a very few wicked priests who were adherents of the Indo-Portuguese schism (document 8).

³ Cf. Introductory Article Two, no. 1.

LETTER OF SOME MALABAR PRIESTS TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH NICOLAS ZEIA REQUESTING CHALDEAN BISHOPS

Malabar, 28 July 1849; the petitioners briefly presented the situation of their Church under Western governance and then requested the Patriarch to send a Chaldean bishop or consecrate a priest from Malabar (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 495-496).

To our very reverend and illustrious Father Nicolas, Patriarch of the Syro-Chaldeans of Babylon. Be with us his benediction. Amen.

We, the poor and dispersed Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar, make known to Your Lordship; the Church of Our Lady of Kuravilangad and all the 150 churches (parishes) with all their entourage, priests, deacons and the Christian people, with sobs and pain write and let Your Lordship know that before this letter to you we already wrote (to the Chaldean Patriarch) explaining our need and asking to send us bishops and teachers to assist us according to our own rite. So a short time later Bishop Abraham and two priests, Hormisdas and Joseph came and assisted us, but soon they died.⁴ Then Italian bishops came and dominated us by force. These instruct us as wolves in the figure of shepherds and they have dispersed the flock because they, mercenaries and wolves, do not have mercy on the sheep. So we are lost, not having a shepherd, real imitator of Christ, who teaches us rightly. For this about 7 or 8 years ago we sent you a letter with the courier "Muraga of Telkifa" and we asked you to send us Bishop Peter, and the primate constituted by the Pope of Rome in your regions. Immediately Your Lordship sent us a reply and after reading it, we rejoiced and the pain of our heart passed; hence we did not hasten to write you other letters,

⁴ Here the writers refer to the past history. For information about Archbishop Mar Abraham, see Introductory Article One, no. 3.5.-3.6.

particularly because we do not know the way and the dispatch of the letters cost us a lot. In those days a bishop sent by the Antiochian Patriarch of the Syro-Jacobites came here and having questioned him about you, he responded to have seen you in Constantinople in the year 1844. We have begged him to send you the present letter and he has favoured us. Now therefore we beg you again and ask that if you yourself can come to us, it would be our desire, otherwise send us Bishop Peter, who is in Amadiah, with other masters to teach us, giving faculty to the said bishop to be able to consecrate bishops from among us. As regards the expenses of the journey we will correspond to all that they will spend.

Exalted Father, for love of God, you accept our prayer and send us a real shepherd or you yourself come to us and raise your right hand and bless us. Immediately send us a reply to this letter, so that we know (the situation) and prepare ourselves to receive the bishop whom you will send us. If then you will not send anyone here, we will elect one from here and we will send him to you so that he be consecrated bishop and on return he will take with him teachers according to our need. Of these two proposals, choose one and execute it, and immediately send us a reply; otherwise you will give account to God on the day of the right judgment and we will be immune (safe) from the guilt of sin.

Given by the Church of the Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar, on 28 July 1849.

The signatures: Fr. Thomas Baliabantil, Fr. Paul Inivel, Fr. George Nitididel, Fr. Joseph, Fr. Paul, Fr. James Scita, Fr. Joseph Flibitil, Fr. Joseph, Fr. Emmanuel. We have not been able to read the other names.⁶

⁵ Here the writers refer to the Antiochian Bishop Mar Cyril (Koorillos) Joachim (1846-1866).

⁶ [Note of the translator]. We have transcribed the surnames exactly as they are found in the Italian original, which itself is a translation from Syriac.

REQUEST OF SOME MALABAR PRIESTS TO ALL THE CHALDEANS FOR THE SAME PURPOSE

Malabar, 28 July 1849; in this letter some Malabar priests requested the archbishops, bishops, priests and the Christian faithful of the Chaldean Church, to do everything possible so that their Patriarch might send a Chaldean bishop to the Malabar Church (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 496-497).

To our brothers in Christ, the Syro-Chaldean archbishops, priests, deacons and Christians of the Church of Babylon. Peace be with you.

We, the Syro-Chaldean priests and deacons, together with all the Christian people of Malabar, inform you. Now as we have written to our Father, Patriarch of Babylon to send us an archbishop, we beg your brotherhood for the love of Christ to do everything possible and to send us a good archbishop, learned, well-versed in the sacred books and in the rites of our Chaldean Church, as we are dispersed (scattered), because of the absence of a shepherd. We live near Bombay and from Bombay to Cochin there are 5 days of journey: all of us are in the district of Cochin. From Bombay to Babylon there are 11 days by the steamer and from Bombay to Cochin there are also 3 days by the steamer. Therefore when the archbishop, whom you will send, will come, he will not have to inquire about the way to people of other beliefs, or to reveal the purpose of his journey, he shall ask only for Bombay and Cochin and we will be awaiting his arrival.

When you will send us letters, address them to Cyril Joachim, archbishop of the Syro-Jacobites, so immediately they will come to us. Therefore who will know the content of this letter and who will not strive hard to send us a real shepherd, he will have to render account to God for us on the day of the last judgment.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all of you for ever and ever. Amen.

Given by the Church of the Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar, on 28 July 1849.

The signatures: Fr. George Nitiridel, Fr. Paul, Fr. Joseph Filibitel, Fr. James Schita, Fr. Joseph, Fr. Thomas Buniabantil, Fr. Paul Tnibil, Fr. Emmanuel.⁷

DOCUMENT 3

LETTER OF MAR CYRIL JOACHIM TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH PRESENTING THE REQUESTS OF MALABAR PRIESTS

Cochin, 30 July 1849; the Malabar priests sent their request for Chaldean bishops to Patriarch Nicolas Zeia through Mar Cyril Joachim, Jacobite archbishop in Malabar, who in his forwarding letter also recommended the Patriarch to grant the request (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 497-498).

Greetings to Nicolas Zeia, Patriarch of the Syro-Chaldeans of Babylon.

We make known to you that these days two Syro-Chaldean priests, Fr. Joseph and Fr. George of the Church of Our Lady of Kuravilangad, have come to us and they have delivered us these two letters begging us to send them to you, since they do not know how to send them. The aforesaid priests have especially recommended to us the dispatch of these letters, which hereby we enclose to you and they desire very much to have an answer from you about what they ask you. If you send a response to the aforesaid priests, you shall write the following address: "To the archbishop of the Syro-Jacobites, Cyril Joachim in Cochin", so it will arrive soon and we will deliver it to them. There are very many Syro-Chaldeans here in Malabar and they have many churches, but an Italian bishop from the family of the Carmelites

⁷ We have transcribed the surnames exactly as they are found in the Italian original, which itself is a translation from Syriac.

has been governing them since a long time until now,⁸ because they did not have Syro-Chaldean archbishops. Therefore I have written to you these words of friendship, so that you may grant their request: after all I have no other affair except this.

The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you for ever and ever. Amen.

From the Episcopal Residence of the Syro-Jacobites of Cochin in Malabar, on 30 July 1849.

DOCUMENT 4

LETTER OF THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE SEEKING PERMISSION TO APPOINT CHALDEAN BISHOPS IN MALABAR

Alquosh, 24 December 1849; the Chaldean Patriarch Joseph Audo received the three letters (documents 1-3) addressed to his predecessor Nicolas Zeia. He faithfully translated the said letters written in Syriac and sent them to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, together with his own presentation, in which he asked permission to send one or two bishops to Malabar (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 493-495).

Most Eminent Prince,

Your Most Reverend Eminence is made aware that, while we were indefatigably occupied with and were evaluating the manner and ways to edify and direct, indeed to stop the great openings and many far and near perturbations, which have been and are found in this Chaldean Church here (to calm them our weak strength would not be enough if it were not fortified by the divine power, for which everything is easy, and by the effective help of Your Eminence), letters from our Chaldean sons of Malabar reached us.

⁸ The Italian bishop mentioned here is Louis of St Therese OCD, vicar apostolic of Malabar from 1844 to 1853.

In such letters they implore us warmly asking to appoint a good bishop for their churches there, which are devoid of a Chaldean pastor (bishop) for a long time for reasons well evident and known to Your Eminence. For this reason we have been moved to pity, both with respect to the faith and with respect to the nationality, and leaving aside other cares in a certain way, we have started to think about the manner in which we can correspond to their request. However, since our wish and our authority depend on Your Eminence, and without the correct scales of the Holy Apostolic See we cannot weigh anything, we have wished to report this matter to Your Eminence also enclosing the letters which reached us from the priests of those aforementioned regions in the name of Msgr. Nicolas Zeia, together with the letter of the Jacobite bishop, who sent them, so that Your Eminence might understand their content.

The late Msgr. Coupperie⁹ had already obtained from the Holy See for our predecessor Msgr. John Hormizd the permission (to be able) to elect two worthy subjects, to consecrate them bishops and to send them for the governance of those aforesaid churches. Therefore we have the trust that also this time a similar apostolic permission be given again, so that these churches return under the governance of the Chaldean Patriarch, who is commissioned (confirmed) by the Apostolic See as he was in the past. We ask this not for our immoderate mind, God forbid, but because we see that it would be a great advantage, especially for the aforesaid churches, which, as we know from literature and from the narratives of our forefathers, suffered corruptions. They were dispersed because they missed their own shepherds (bishops) and they would also continue with suffering this, as it seems to us, if they remain in the present situation. It would not be of importance to Your Eminence if they are governed by us or by others. If they are governed by us, the government would be only one, namely the

⁹ Pierre-Alexandre Coupperie was Bishop of the Latin diocese of Baghdad (1820-1831) and at the same time apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia.

one originating from the Holy See,¹⁰ of which we are just unworthy helpers and servants. Therefore we have submitted not only this matter, but also what concerns us, to the correct decision of Your Eminence from whom we await a prompt reply.

The aforesaid letters of Malabar reached us unsealed after having made a long tour in many places, passing from hand to hand of people, adversaries and enemies of the Holy See, namely Protestants, Methodists and Jacobites, who make every effort to prevent the return of schismatics to the bosom of the compassionate Roman Church and to estrange the Orientals from the faith, telling them: if you follow the Pope, the Latins will dominate you and they will abolish your rites. They always confirm this idea, and as in fact we have understood, they often repeat these words which have now become a proverb among the people of Malabar. Therefore to close the mouth of these forgers, it seems right and very opportune that now Your Eminence orders that the Malabars return to their own rite.

I have had two letters of Your Eminence concerning Bishop Elijah Taddul, to whom an assignment has to be given, and concerning the late Joseph Hasan, who died here. As regards Bishop Elijah, we have written him to come from Babylon and so far he has not come, saying that because of his present infirmity he cannot leave until the winter will not be over. Then as regards the late Joseph Hasan, we have received reply from our agent, who says that one hundred Ghazwas¹¹ were sent to him with the Carmelite Father Joseph, but we will write again about this in detail and we will inform Your Eminence of it.

On 27 November of the current year we sent Your Eminence another letter in which we told you that Msgr. Delegate Merciai had not reached us yet.¹² that we did not know when he would

¹⁰ Here the Patriarch seems to especially remember those St Thomas Christians under the jurisdiction of Portuguese *Padroado*.

¹¹ [88 colonnades].

¹² Apostolic Delegate Msgr. Anthony Merciai OP, who was appointed titular archbishop of Theodosiopolis on 11 December 1848, died on 22 October 1850.

come, that so far we have not received the "Firman of the Great Lord" from Msgr. Salvian, who asked us for 23 thousand piastres and that we do not have the possibility to give him this sum. Therefore asking from Your Eminence a prompt reply about this matter, we pray the Lord to preserve your life for a long time. Amen.

Joseph Audo, for Grace Patriarch of Babylon for the Chaldean Nation,

Alquosh, 24 December 1849.

DOCUMENT 5

LETTER OF THE PREFECT OF THE DOMINICAN MISSION IN MOSUL TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Mosul, 6 January 1850; Father Augustine Marchi OP, prefect of the Dominican mission of Mosul and pro-apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia with his own letter informed the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda Fide about the petitions from Malabar (documents 1-3) and forwarded them to him together with the letter of the Chaldean Patriarch (document 4). After presenting the context of the petitions Fr. Marchi highly recommended the Propaganda to grant the Patriarch permission to send one or more Chaldean bishops to Malabar (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 533-536).

Most Eminent Prince,

Two letters dated 28 July 1849 written on behalf of all the Chaldean Catholics of Malabar, signed by five priests of that rite, one of them addressed to the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon, and the other to the Chaldean-Catholic Christianity of Babylon, Mosul, Amadiyah, Mardin and of Diyarbakir (Diarbekir), have reached just now in the hands of the Chaldean Patriarch Monsignor Joseph

 $^{^{13}}$ Firman is an official edict obtained from Ottoman authorities allowing an official mission of business to be carried out within the realm of the Ottoman Empire.

Audo, through the Jacobites of Mosul. These letters have aroused here and in the surrounding area, as it happens in all extraordinary matters, an alternate of judgments and discourses as extravagant as the concepts and ideas of the one who pronounces them. The Patriarch sent me exact copies of these letters in Mezur (where I was in Mission), imploring me to join him immediately, in order to advise him on the manner of handling this thorny matter. Having abandoned without hesitation the Mission, which I undertook with joyful hope of conversions, and after absolving, on the solemnity of Christmas, eight Nestorians already sufficiently instructed, on 29 December I reached the Patriarch in Telkef, and we arranged in the manner that I am going to explain.

Since the Chaldeans of Malabar (arguing in those letters to be 'hated, oppressed and dispersed, because they do not find in Italians, who govern them, shepherds, but mercenaries and wolves', according to their gentile expressions) request the Chaldean Patriarch to personally go to them if he can, or to send them Archbishop Peter of Diyarbakir accompanied by priests wellversed in holy books, or to give them the faculty to elect one of themselves to be sent here to be ordained bishop, and they hasten a response. I considered it necessary to inculcate the idea in the Patriarch that he should refrain from acquiescing to any of these instances before having informed and consulted that Sacred Congregation, in order not to provoke (excite) a manifest schism. So I persuaded him to submit exact copies of the letters in literal Chaldean to Your Most Reverend Eminence, and in the meantime (pro interim) to content himself with responding to the Malabars that he took into account their concerns, admonishing them to be obedient and respectful to the decisions taken and to be adopted by the Holy Father through the Sacred Congregation for the spiritual benefit of that Christianity. From the enclosed envelop which I send to Your Most Reverend Eminence, you could pointedly know the content and the spirit of those letters. However, relieving me from saying more, I submit to Your Eminence some observations that I believe essential, especially considering the fact that we do not know when the new apostolic delegate will arrive and where he is now.

And first of all I observe that those letters sent through a Jacobite bishop, accidentally or maliciously lost the trail, went to London, whence they continued the journey to Mosul and came to the hands of the Jacobite bishops of this town, then to the hands of other pastors of every sect, and finally reached the hands of the Chaldean Patriarch, but they were open. Since the content of those letters, being already known to those who are less fitting, the counsel given by me to Monsignor Joseph not to show them to all curious will become useless. Secondarily it should be observed that not long ago the known Myster Bagger, already missionary here six years ago as a minister of the Anglican Church, now a military chaplain of the (East India) Company of Indies, is back in Mosul from Bombay, and if I well understood, he is a *Puseist*. In addition, a few days later a Methodist from Aleppo arrived here, and having taken a room he has already begun to preach in his house, and a twenty or more Jacobites are his only and venal listeners. It is to be afraid of that these two heterodox ministers and the Jacobites of these parts and of Malabar, in more guises catch the opportunity to excite the turbulent spirit of the Chaldeans of Malabar, each of them favouring their own sect. And those Chaldeans, knowing of being exposed and thwarted in their designs, are likely to adopt a decision that might destroy the apostolic endeavours of many years in one day, and give a very outrageous example to other Catholics in Asia. It is hard, but it seems necessary to say it again: all the Christians of the East, of all sects and of every class, up to the Catholics, preserve old rust, a mind (spirit) ill-disposed for the Latin Church. This sad truth cannot be unknown in Rome, but it is beyond doubt that it is not known in all that extension as should be. For this, as arrogant as my actions may seem, I should not relieve me from proposing to the Sacred Congregation, that in the case cited here the healthiest expedient, it seems to me, is to give bishops of the Chaldean rite to the Christians of Malabar. I and all my fellow missionaries know what the thought here is about this subject, since these Christians are not so cautious to conceal their mind. The Sacred Congregation will still recall that a decision

adopted by it three years ago at the resignation of the Chaldean Patriarch Nicolas Zeia (di Giacobbe) to appoint for interim Monsignor Trioche, 14 then apostolic delegate in Mesopotamia as the vicar of the diocese of Baghdad and Mosul, produced a kind of schism; at the head of which were the Chaldean priests, and among them the one who at the apex was a student of Propaganda. And if the Sacred Congregation knew how hard it was to fix that mess, which dismayed the same delegate and our prefect Merciai, I am sure that you would not hesitate at all, also considering this fact alone, to grant this Chaldean Patriarch the faculty to ordain and send one or more bishops of this rite and the same nation to Malabar. Patriarch Joseph also very humbly recommends me to favour him at the Sacred Congregation. I myself and Father Cecchi, the only companion we have now in Mosul, recommend this cause, not for the Patriarch or others, but for the good cause of the Catholic faith, of which we are undeserving custodians. Thus bad consequences will undoubtedly be avoided, and the disinterestedness of Rome will make much honour to you in Western and Eastern Asia.

[Mosul, 6 January 1850,

Father Augustine Marchi OP, Pro-Apostolic Delegate of Mesopotamia].

¹⁴ Marie-Laurent Trioche (born in Marseille in France on 28 February 1801), bishop of the Latin diocese of Baghdad from 14 March 1837, became its first archbishop when the see was elevated to the rank of archdiocese on 19 August 1848 and died on 28 November 1887. The Latin Ordinary of Baghdad at times served also as the apostolic delegate.

REPLY OF THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO THE LETTER OF AUGUSTINE MARCHI

Rome, 24 March 1850; the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide replied to the letter of Father Augustine Marchi (cf. document 5), prefect of Dominican mission in Mosul and pro-apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia, approving his wise counsel to the Patriarch not to make any innovation until a judgment on the question would be emanated by the Holy See and promising to examine the Malabar question as soon as possible (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 536).

The requests of the Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar will be submitted to the examination of this Sacred Congregation with the possible solicitude, together with the observations added by Your Paternity in your letter of last 6 January. Meanwhile, I cannot but approve the prudent and wise counsel given by you to Monsignor Patriarch of Babylon to refrain from any innovation until the relative judgment is emanated by the Holy See, and to exhort, rather in the meantime, those people to remain docile and submissive to the authority of the Latin vicar apostolic, on whom they depend.

Rome, 24 March 1850, [Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect].

REPLY OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH CONCERNING CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR

Rome, 5 July 1850; in this reply Propaganda Fide simply informed Patriarch Joseph Audo that the Congregation had already begun to examine the request of the Malabars for bishops of their own rite and that the matter necessarily would require time and patience (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 533).

Rome, from Propaganda, 5 July 1850

In reply to your letter of last 24 December I inform you that the Sacred Congregation has already been working on the request made by the Surianis of Malabar to have some bishops of their rite. As soon as there will be some resolutions in this regard, I will not omit to inform Your Lordship immediately. Meanwhile it is necessary that you inform those postulants and especially make them understand that both for past events and for the nature of the request, the matter necessarily requires time and patience.

As regards the other instance made to me in another your letter about the faculty for dispensing in some matrimonial cases, let Your Lordship know that the aforementioned faculty was already granted to the new apostolic delegate, so if you apply to him you can easily achieve the same objective. I pray the Lord, etc.

[Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect].

REPORT OF THE VICAR APOSTOLIC TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE CONCERNING THE PETITIONS OF MALABAR PRIESTS

Verapoly, 4 November 1850; in the meantime with the letter of 23 July 1850 Jacob Philip Fransoni, Prefect of Propaganda Fide asked Bishop Louis of St Therese, vicar apostolic of Malabar to furnish a report about the petitions of the Malabar Christians for bishops of their own rite. Bishop Louis informed that the Syro-Malabars did not desire a bishop of their own rite and that the supposed petition was the result of the machinations of a few malicious and criminal priests who wanted to propagate schisms and divisions. He refuted the arguments in favour of the appointment of Chaldean bishops and sustained that the government of the vicar apostolic of Verapoly under Propaganda Fide was the best means to maintain the Catholic faith and unity of the Malabar Christians (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 498-505).

Most Eminent and Most Reverend Prince,

In reading the esteemed letter of Your Most Reverend Eminence of last 23 July about the supposed petition, which one likes to assert, to have been sent to the Catholic Syro-Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon by the Catholic Syro-Malabars of this vicariate, I cannot omit, also in the expressed name of this Catholic nation, and especially of its numerous priests, to manifest to you the surprise of this proposal and at the same time to protest against such clandestine petition in their name as well. They want to reassure the Holy See that they have never desired a bishop of their own rite, nor they knew that in Babylon a Catholic Syro-Chaldean Patriarch existed. Moreover they oblige me to inform you that if by chance they ever longed for or afterwards they would long for a so benignant concession, they would ask only the Holy See directly for this through the vicar apostolic, as they put forward the desire

that the said vicar apostolic be endowed with the dignity of an archbishop. Therefore they beg the Sacred Congregation to be willing to consider the supposed petition, as a malicious product of a few followers of the Indo-Portuguese schism, who – under the veil of convenience, reunion and religious good – wanted, if it was possible, to perpetuate the deadly schism also with the supreme authority, but the Lord has disconcerted their unworthy plots.

They are far away from desiring a bishop of their own rite: they know, and they foresee easily, that such a concession, although it would be convenient, would lead well-soon to disorders, groups, revolutions and schism, and also to the ancient heresy. The Nestorian Syro-Malabars, 16 even if very few in proportion to the Catholics who being more than 136.000, while the former not even amounting to 23.000, are divided into four parties, each group having as head a bishop, called metran, two of them are natives and two from Chaldea. 17 They lacerate (tear) among themselves; each one tries to strengthen his party. They are more gentile than Christians: priests are like bishops, because it is against their nature to submit to one of their own known extraction. The same would happen to the present Catholics if they be ever presided over by a native bishop of theirs. It is true that now they are exemplarily attached and devoted to the Holy Apostolic See and this beautiful union and attachment, in my opinion, will continue as long as they will be governed by a vicar apostolic, since they consider themselves much more honoured to be governed immediately by the Holy See through him (vicar apostolic), than through the mediation of their own bishop.

¹⁵ Here the reference is to the request made by the Malabar Christians to Propaganda the Fide, asking it to grant their vicar apostolic the title of archbishop. The request was granted on 10 April 1840. For more information, see Introductory Article Two, no. 4.2.

¹⁶ The vicar apostolic is very much confused about the divisions in Malabar. He designates "Nestorian Syro-Malabars" those who received the Antiochian tradition and what was called at that time "Monophysite" faith, which was diametrically opposed to Nestorianism.

 $^{^{17}}$ Not really from Chaldea, but from Antiochia; for details, see Introductory Article Two, no. 5.

However, it is advisable that the vicar apostolic be cautious and prudent, not showing more deference for the Latins, but he has to behave equally with both rites, although he follows the Latin rite. This is my opinion about this matter, with due regard for better judgement.

This being so, I pass on to explain the mystery of that supposed petition, which – it is said – is advanced by the Catholic Syro-Malabars of this vicariate, and it seems to have obtained some favourable consideration, even before well-ascertaining the truth of the exposition and the sincerity of the exponents. However first of all, Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lordship, forgive the liberty I take to warn the Sacred Congregation not to easily believe the petitions of Indians, if they are not confirmed by respective superiors or verified in other way, since by nature they are very inclined to lie, deception, exaggeration, calumny and revenge. They have no sincerity, that is why they very easily represent a particular writing in the name of the entire population, affixing to it arbitrary signatures and exposing all that seems opportune to them to win their cause according to their passions, interest or revenge. I say this from my own experience almost daily.

Here is the solution of the mystery. In virtue of the apostolic brief *Multa praeclare* the entire Catholic Syro-Malabar Nation with its numerous clergy submitted exemplarily to what was disposed in it wisely. ¹⁸ Only ten or twelve of those priests with some of their lay relatives refused to obey. These priests, who were not certainly the best, having already been suspended or excommunicated for crimes by the late archiepiscopal governor of Cranganore of that time, had been received and absolved against every good right by the famous De Neves, ¹⁹ episcopal governor of Cochin, now he too dead. Under his schismatic flags and under his immediate direction they toured the parishes of their rite to stir up disorders and schism in them. However, since they were generally

¹⁸ Cf. Introductory Article Two, no. 4.2.

¹⁹ Fr. Manuel de San Joachim das Neves, administrator of Cochin at the time of its suppression on 24 April 1838, spearheaded the Indo-Portuguese or Goan schism in Kerala.

hated by all, every effort of theirs was useless; therefore they turned towards the stratagem at issue. According to the suggestion and dictation of the same De Neves those "worthy priests" wrote a letter to the aforementioned Patriarch, asking for a bishop of their own rite (because the hope of the arrival of Portuguese bishops for the extinct dioceses was lost by now). It is said: he (the Patriarch) responded that if they really longed for a bishop of their own rite, a petition given in the name of all the churches was necessary. Those unnameable priests together with about fifteen of their relatives, who were from different parishes, extended the petition not only in the name of the parishes to which they originally belonged, but also in the name of all the others. They affixed to it a good number of false signatures and with a recommendation-letter of a Nestorian archbishop called Bava, 20 they sent it to a friend of the latter in the East, through a Chaldean, who was here for collecting alms. To this petition they have not yet received a reply. This is reported to me by those priests themselves, who undersigned that petition and now are submitted to my obedience. Of those priests, who forged that petition, only 3 still remain obstinate in disobedience, the others are either submitted or dead. Their intention was nothing but to perpetuate the schism and so to demonstrate the triumph of their commitment under specious pretexts of convenience, reunion, and religious good.

Then on the point regarding the possibility of facilitating the return of the heretical Nestorians to the Catholic unity with such provision, it seems to me humanly impossible and the means is inadequate. Only a rain, rather a deluge of the powerful divine grace could move, generally speaking, those ignorant hearts, but very obstinate in their opinion. Too many are the lashes, with which the devil keeps them tied: the blindness of heart, stubbornness, the persuasion to be the first Christians, the erroneous, but deep-rooted opinion that the heretical Patriarch of Antioch is the real successor of St Peter; consequently the innate hate towards the Pope and the Apostolic Holy See; then the

 $^{^{20}\,}$ Not really Nestorian archbishop, but Antiochian "Monophysite" archbishop.

marriage of the clergy; living in the manner of cattle (more pecudum) as regards the customs and then the venal interest; the usual open simony for ordination, for obtaining rich parishes and for the administration of sacraments; the status of being born heretics and other thousand things are almost insurmountable. After all they know very little or nothing about the errors of Nestorius; that is why their conversion is very difficult. The most opportune means to reduce them to the Catholic unity is to convert the families, especially through their Catholic relatives. In fact annually less than 300 of them are converted. Then it is devoid of any foundation the affirmation of those who say that the Protestants attract to themselves a great portion of them, while they have seduced very few of them and these only for interest of some lucrative employment, and also concerning this, the proportion of those who come to us or to them is of 100 to 1 or 2, that is if 1 or 2 go to them, at least 100 come to us. It is true that in 1813, if I am not wrong, they tried a reunion, which apparently seemed to be accomplished. They built common colleges, seminaries and other buildings, but the union was not really accomplished; they separated themselves again and expensive lawsuits are still pending in the courts over the properties of the aforementioned buildings. It is impossible that these Indians, who very much love appearances, can follow an entirely spiritual sect, as the Protestant one.

It is not the lack of bishops of their own rite that forms a very great difficulty for the heretical schismatics to return to the bosom of the Catholic Church, nor the Protestants' attempts to create the impression in them that if they become Catholics, they have to subject themselves to the Latins, not without damage to their native rite. As regards the first difficulty I would answer that if these bishops will come from the heretical Patriarch, whom they say to recognize, such bishops will really be recognized by them; but if they will come from the Pope, they will always be at the beginning for the aforementioned reasons. Then in my opinion the second seems a beautiful invention. Are not perhaps the same Protestants considered Latins? Therefore with such insinuation, if it were also real, they would set an impediment also to themselves; but I can assure that the said Protestants insinuate only hate against the

Pope, the Holy See and against all that comes from it. So if a Syro-Chaldean or Malabar bishop – who to be Catholic, comes either directly or at least indirectly from the Holy See – were granted. they would say that he comes from the Pope and this would be enough for not recognizing him and for remaining hardened in their stubbornness. I am inclined to believe that every human remedy be inadequate to move those hearts accustomed to indifference and prejudices. To maintain the Catholic Syro-Malabars united and devoted to the Apostolic Holy See and also to lead back little by little the heretical schismatics, the most certain thing is to uphold the present religious system already sanctioned, to use their expression, by custom. Among the Indians the custom has more strength than the Gospel itself. Already since centuries, they have been governed by Latin prelates and now they are proud to be governed immediately by the Holy See through a vicar apostolic. Hence in my opinion it would be out of all religious prudence to alter the system appreciated by them. Except the sacred ordinations, which are conferred also on them according to the Roman rite – but the admonitions are repeated to them in their native language - for the rest they are molested in nothing, they freely follow their rite and in public assemblies a perfect equality with the Latins is maintained.

From the things already stated until now one can easily form an opinion about the refined malice of the petition, about the supplicants in question, and about what is more convenient for the maintenance of the Catholic unity in this most important vicariate apostolic.

Now I proceed to answer the other question about the state of the churches, their locations and how they are administered both in the spiritual and temporal fields. The parish churches of Syro-Malabar rite are 113 and the chapels subject to them are 86, all under the immediate jurisdiction of Verapoly. Except 4 parishes and 5 chapels, which are situated in the territory immediately

²¹ This is the total number of churches after the suppression of the archdiocese of Cranganore and the incorporation of all churches in the vicariate of Verapoly.

subject to the honourable English Company, all the remaining are situated in the territories belonging to the kings of Travancore and Cochin, who are tributaries to the said Company and directed by it in the government through a Resident, who has much more power than the kings themselves, who – to say the truth – are only salaried holders.

Every parish is administered in the spiritual sphere by a parish priest, or a vicar, subject to transfer according to the wish (of the vicar apostolic),²² and by other two or more priests proportionate to the number of parishioners. Also the chapels are stably provided with a worthy priest for hastening to the spiritual necessities of the faithful of those proximities. In some of them baptisms, marriages and burials of the dead are still permitted considering the difficulties, both of the distance and of the dangerous roads for reaching the parish.

The salary, which these receive, is generally obtained from the half of the contribution for burials, from the tithes on the dowry of marriages, from the feasts and from all that the right of stole appeals. Then some are salaried from the vestry, and in this case, except the right of stole, the rest is deposited in the fund of the vestry. Other few are maintained by a subscription of the people, with some other amount added by the vicar apostolic. These last churches are very poor, located on the mountains among animals of every species; for this not rarely it happens that elephants destroy a small church or chapel and then the bishop has to rebuild it entirely or at least to contribute with a considerable sum. And here it seems to me opportune to manifest to you the ancient custom, which is still in force among these Catholic Syro-Malabars, which would be excellent if considered in itself, but very harmful for the improvement of the clergy in practice, namely the

²² According to the law of Thomas, the priests and clerics were permanently attached to a parish and were maintained by the respective parish *yogam*. Transfer of priests according to the wish and arbitrary decision of the bishop without following any objective criteria began only after the Synod of Diamper in 1599. The practice still continues, even in violation of canons 1388-1400 of the *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches*.

monthly distributions (of stipends), almost according to the manner of the cathedral chapters in Italy. All the ecclesiastics of a parish, starting from the tonsured, receive an equal distribution, which is obtained from the tithes, marriages, funereal services, etc. These distributions were established anciently in order to maintain honestly the clergy, but as it usually happens in all the human institutions, although they be excellent, for the malice of humans they turn out to be corrupt, spoil and then become so harmful to the good itself for which they were established. Now these distributions are also very harmful for the harmony among the parishioners, a source of endless disputes among the clergy and between these and the people, and then both of them torment the prelate. Moreover, for the greed of those distributions, the relatives instil vocation in their children, to embrace the ecclesiastical state, not for serving God and the Church, but their stomach. And since the custom of the parishes to give adoption to these postulants is still in force, when such adoption has passed the bishop finds himself coerced to admit them to the tonsure, etc., which can hardly be denied without endless discords and revolutions. These adoptions are also a perennial source of dissensions, quarrels as well as perpetual and interminable enmities among the families; therefore my opinion would be to set a bulwark against both these cases, which at present can turn to be abuses.

The most opportune means, and also the easiest to carry out, if the Sacred Congregation approves it, is to abolish the adoption of the parishes completely and to leave full liberty to the bishop to choose his clergy. At the same time the aforementioned distributions can be continued with this difference, that is in the future all of them be deposited in a common fund in the hands of the prelate, who then distributes them to those who will better deserve them for their exemplary behaviour and service.²³ In this manner, the aforesaid vocations will decrease, the priests will

²³ The maintenance of the clergy attached to a parish from the income of the parish itself in an autonomous manner was a very laudable custom of the St Thomas Christians from time immemorial. The proposal of the vicar apostolic to render the clergy financially dependant on the bishop alone was to obtain complete subjection of the priests, as servants in relation to a monarch.

become better, the worthy ones will be much better provided and the dissentions and enmities broken off, at least for these grounds. I wait for due instructions on this.

Then the temporal administration of the said parishes is stabilized in the following manner now. Two or three vestrymen (churchwardens) with the priest receive all the incomes: both the rents of lands and burials, tithes and other items. They meet the necessary expenses for the maintenance of churches, chapels, etc., and every year they have to render a statement of account to the people, then to the prelate for his approval. New administrators are appointed by the people and they are confirmed by the bishop, if they deserve to occupy that important office. In that year the said administrators are considered leaders of the people. Under the Portuguese bishops they remained in the administration for many years; every vestryman acted separately from the others, they took everything to their home and the goods of the church served to ruin the families: all stole as much as they could. I have given appropriate regulations: everything has to be done in common and everything has to be preserved in a box (cofre) having three keys, one of which should be in possession of the priest in the name of the bishop. Now by the grace of God the things have started well. Many parishes have some funds in cultivable lands for rice or coconut; some are maintained with subscriptions of the people and others with eventual burials and tithes. This is the state of the Syro-Malabar churches both in the spiritual and in the temporal fields.

I believe to have answered the questions contained in the mentioned letter of Your Reverend Eminence; it remains to me to request you to be willing to obtain for me the faculty to be able to set up the stations of cross and to apply to them appropriate holy indulgences and also to be able to grant the same faculty to my missionaries, because this devotion spreads very much in this vicariate, since the images come from France and the churches are furnished with them and they ask me to erect them, but I have not such authority; and moreover if this were inherent to the vicar apostolic *pro tempore*, it would be well.

I have had the very great pleasure to enjoy, for more than a month, the lovable company of Msgr. of Prusa, ²⁴ vicar apostolic of Coimbatore, who came to Verapoly at the beginning of last August, also to recover health. He is an excellent prelate, full of zeal and good wish, but the portion of the vineyard committed to his cultivation is very sterile. I have treated him as better as I could, as his weakened organism deserved and his high dignity required from an affectionate brother.

With the deepest respect and deference, reverently kissing you on the sacred purple I have the honour to remain,

Of Your Most Reverend Eminence,

Most humble, most devout and most obedient servant and subject,

Friar Louis of St Teresa, Discalced Carmelite, Archbishop of Cyrrhus, Vicar Apostolic of Malabar.

Verapoly, 4 November 1850.

²⁴ Bishop Melchior-Marie-Joseph de Marion-Brésillac MEP, titular bishop of Prusa was vicar apostolic of Coimbatore from 1850 to 1855.

Section Two

FURTHER REQUESTS FROM MALABAR AND THE REACTION OF THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AND THE PROPAGANDA FIDE

Introduction

Since no definitive decision was given by Propaganda concerning the Chaldean jurisdiction in Malabar, the uncertainty continued. A group of the Malabar priests also spearheaded their project for obtaining Chaldean bishops. They already knew that Patriarch Nicolas Zeia resigned and Joseph Audo was enthroned as the Patriarch of the Chaldean Church. So they decided to send other letters to the new Patriarch for obtaining a bishop of their own rite.

Consequently another letter dated 28 January 1852 reached the Chaldean Patriarch, in which the grievances of the Syro-Chaldeans were reiterated (document 9). This letter was also forwarded to the Patriarch by the same Syro-Jacobite Archbishop Cyril Joachim (document 10). After reading the said letters the Patriarch was troubled and irritated; he was sincerely determined to resolve the problems in Malabar. He wrote again to the Propaganda promising that, after obtaining permission, he himself would go to Malabar for resolving the difficulties (document 11). Father Augustine Marchi SJ, the prefect of the Dominican mission in Mosul and pro-apostolic delegate dispatched the aforementioned letters also to the Propaganda Fide (document 12). Fr. Lawrence Puccinelli SJ, missionary in Madurai, perhaps being informed of the endeavours of the Malabar priests for obtaining a bishop of the same rite or nation, on his own initiative informed Propaganda Fide that the Malabar clergy proved to be completely unworthy of episcopate (document 13).

In the meantime Fr. Benedict Planchet SJ, who was appointed pro-apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia, Persia and Lesser Armenia on 18 January 1851, reached Mosul. The interested Malabar priests continued their campaign for obtaining a bishop of their own rite and sent one more letter to Patriarch Audo describing their grievances (document 14). The new pro-Apostolic Delegate Planchet reported to the Propaganda about the arrival of new letters, requesting it to give a prompt response regarding the question (document 15). Patriarch Audo also wrote another letter to Propaganda, seeking a positive decision (document 16)

In the background of such continuous letters from Malabar and from Patriarch Audo, Propaganda asked the opinion of the aforementioned Fr. Lawrence Puccinelli, Jesuit missionary in Madurai, who according to the judgment of the Congregation was well informed of the affairs of Malabar. On 5 July 1852 he sent a comprehensive report concerning the liturgy, abuses and status of the clergy (document 17). On 5 July 1852 the Congregation also wrote to the pro-Apostolic Delegate Benedict Planchet informing him of the position of the Congregation concerning the Malabar affairs and asking him to gradually tranquillize the Patriarch (document 18). With the letter of 1 February 1853 the pro-Apostolic Delegate Planchet informed Propaganda Fide that the Patriarch began to comport in a strange manner because he did not receive an expected positive response about the Malabar question (document 19).

DOCUMENT 9

LETTER OF SOME MALABAR PRIESTS TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO RENEWING THEIR REQUEST FOR CHALDEAN BISHOPS

Kuravilangad, 19 January 1851; as we have already seen in the previous section, after the reception of letters from Malabar, Patriarch Audo wrote to Rome asking permission for appointing Chaldean bishops in Malabar. In a letter the Patriarch also informed the concerned priests of the progress of the affair. In the present reply the priests of Malabar informed Patriarch Joseph Audo about the situation in Malabar after the vicar apostolic had come to know about their contact with the Patriarch and renewed their request for Chaldean bishops (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 541-542).

To the very honourable Mar Audo, Patriarch of the Syro-Chaldeans of Babylon; his prayer may protect us, amen.

We, the Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar from the Church of Kuravilangad and from other 157 churches, priests, deacons and Christians all united and jointly make known to Your Excellency and ask to briefly listen to our own affliction. Already before the present letter we let you know the situation, so that you might send us some bishops and some teachers as it was before. You responded us that you received the patriarchal dignity by the order of His Holiness Pope Pius IX, succeeding to the see of Mar Nicolas Zeia; so you made known to us and you wrote to us on 18 January 1850. Moreover you wrote to us that you had made known (the matter) to the Pope and had asked him permission to send us some bishops and some teachers. Immediately from Rome the order came to the Italian vicar apostolic, who dominates over us with violence nowadays, so that he might observe well the matter about which you wrote to the Pope. Then the said bishop iniquitously wrote that there are not Syro-Chaldeans in Malabar and we have known this with certainty. Moreover you sought information about the language we speak in Malabar: the language of the Country is Malabar language (Malayalam); however the priests, deacons

(ecclesiastics) speak the literal Syro-Chaldean language. In Malabar there are 157 Chaldean churches; the Church of Kuravilangad, which is the main one, just contains in its district 13 thousand houses and they are very rich.

Therefore we beg you to send us a bishop, who is full of the holy fear of God and who flees from evil; staying among us and observing everything rightly, he will know our intention. With manifest signs we will write to the bishop, whom you will send us; from Cochin to Bombay there are 3 days of journey by the steamer and the seat for a person costs 18 rupees, from Bombay to Bassorah (Bassora o Basra) there are 11 days of journey and it costs 150 rupees; then we do not know the way from Bassorah to Baghdad. However as soon as the bishop, whom you send us, reaches Cochin, we will deliver him 1000 rupees; but if apart from a bishop, you send us some priests or any other Christian, there will be no benefit. We want a bishop, who observes the truth well, and according to our strengths we will honour him and give him some gifts and presents. From now on, as you wrote, "we send someone", he will be of no use, but he will be of affliction of spirit. And if you will not send us a bishop, as we wrote to you, on account of this you will be co-responsible for us before the tribunal of God on the Day of Judgment.

Address the letters, which you send us, to Mar Cyril Joachim, bishop of the Syro-Jacobites in Malabar, and he will arrange them to be delivered to us immediately; we do not want that you write to us with the address of another person: so we desire.

This letter has been written in the Church of the Mother of God in the town of Kuravilangad on 19 January 1851.

Fr. Emmanuel, Fr. George., Fr. Joseph, Fr. Paul, Fr. Joseph, Fr. Cyriac, Fr. James, Fr. Thomas, Fr. Emmanuel, Fr. George, Fr. Paul, Fr. Joseph, Fr. Pinaco, Deacon George, Deacon Luke.

¹ [It is an Indian coin, which corresponds to a Roman Testoon (note of the Translator D. Joseph Guriel)].

DOCUMENT 10

LETTER OF THE SYRO-JACOBITE ARCHBISHOP IN MALABAR TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH

Cochin, 21 January 1851; as before, the aforementioned letter (document 9) was also sent by Malabar priests to Patriarch Joseph Audo through Cyril Joachim, Syro-Jacobite Archbishop in Malabar. He also described the situation of the Malabar Chaldeans and asked the Patriarch to go personally to Malabar or to send a bishop as requested by the Malabar priests (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 540-541).

In the name of almighty God to whom be glory, etc.

To very honourable Mar Joseph Audo, Patriarch of the Chaldeans, Cyril Joachim, Syro-Jacobite metropolitan in the Indies and Malabar; after a cordial (substantial) greeting, I make known to Your Excellency that your letter has come, which you sent to Father Joseph, Father George and to other priests, deacons and Christians of the church of Kuravilangad and of other churches; and as soon as it reached my hands I immediately delivered it to them. It was convenient that you wrote rather to me about all these things, since I was the cause of this matter and you know the way. In any case I briefly write and tell you that I am really a Syrian and there is no custom to intermingle in the affairs of other nations. However, there is always room (exception) that a prayer, made by many, be received, as it was done by Fr. Joseph from the church of Kuravilangad and by other priests as I told you above. You asked the Malabars to send you a person, who might inform you of the affairs of these churches; and these asked you to send them a bishop to investigate the truth. So here there are many Chaldean churches and an innumerable population; and if you knew these things, you yourself would personally come to Malabar. Now this Chaldean population of Malabar is divided into two groups: one group is united to the Italian Bishop (Bernardino), and then the other group has remained without a pastor (bishop).² Then now the ordination of priests and deacons is made by the vicar apostolic of Verapoly and some are ordained by the Portuguese metropolitan. However all desire that you send them a bishop and when you send him and this bishop comes, he has to pay attention well not to observe the practices of the Romans (*missionary friars*) because they are contrary. And when he comes to Cochin, let him ask for me since I am always in the same town; so I will lead the priests of the church of Kuravilangad to take him with great honour. Therefore if you send letters, address them to my name and give them to Mr Rassam,³ a very honourable person, and he will send them by Alexandria and so they will reach us very soon; then do not send us letters by Babylon, because they do not come to us soon.

Be fine and behold, this letter of theirs comes to you through the mentioned person.

From our bishop's palace of Cochin and Malabar, 21 January 1851.

² Metropolitan Cyril seems to refer to the division of the Malabar Catholics under two Latin jurisdictions: Propaganda Fide and Portuguese *Padroado*.

³ [This is the English Consul, son of a Nestorian Priest, and he is enemy of the name of the Roman Church. Note of the translator G. Guriel].

DOCUMENT 11

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Mosul, 25 April 1851; the Chaldean Patriarch wrote again to the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide presenting the letter of Malabar priests together with that of Archbishop Cyril Joachim, promising that, after obtaining the permission of the Congregation he would personally go to Malabar and settle the affairs (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 538-539).

Most Reverend Eminence,

I forwarded two requests to Your Eminence, one dated 19 September 1850 and the other written on 5 February 1851, containing different matters. I still wait for a response to them, mainly as regards the affairs of the Christians of Malabar, whose request I clearly exposed to you and I submitted the copies of their letters to you on 1 December 1849. Now other letters have reached me from the aforesaid persons, in which they especially ask me to send them a bishop for examining their religious matters in detail and other things indicated to me by them twice, as you will learn from their enclosed letters. Although I knew well the necessity of applying an effective remedy for their healing, I have not dared to take care of so serious an affair without the permission and the counsel of Your Eminence. For this reason hereby for the second time I submit the copies of their letters, which reached me, to you so that you may meticulously and fully know the things that happened and still happen in Malabar and the harms which the Christians could suffer from the delay of a suitable and prompt remedy; seeing that because of the commotion and the tumult, which are increasing among them, they could relapse – God forbid – into the errors of the Jacobites or into another heresy of those by which they are surrounded. Until now I have not given them any (favourable) response, although daily I am bothered by many to send them a bishop or to go to them personally; yet I consider myself as obliged to wait for receiving a prompt reply from Your

Eminence to know which provisions could be taken as regards these Chaldeans, who form a part of our Nation by the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ. As you are persuaded of the care and solicitude which you always demonstrate for the good as well as the general and particular advantage of the Christians of the whole universe, I do not prolong in giving you explanations for this so serious and important matter. If Your Eminence will judge advantageous to entrust me with the management of this affair, I tell and assure that certainly I do not intend to send any bishop there, but I myself intend to go there to see, examine and to organize, with the grace of God, everything according to the opinion, approval and counsel of Your Eminence. It is true that the journey is long and very difficult, but it does not matter, being for the glory of God and for the good of the faithful.

It is not yet unknown to Your Eminence my request once made to know in detail which are the privileges of the Patriarch of Babylon as regards the grant of indulgences and how far his power extends in dispensing from impediments to marriage originated from consanguinity or affinity and which are the items that he can grant and dispense by himself with his patriarchal authority in the cases of necessity. Then Your Eminence submitted the matter to the late Delegate Monsignor Anthony Merciai, who passed on to me the privileges, which had been granted to him, to use them during his lifetime. Now that he is dead in the Lord, I have been deprived of them since it was for the past. So now I beg again the solicitude (promptness) of Your Eminence to send me a special rescript containing all the things that I can grant and dispense conforming to the one given to the aforesaid delegate or to the Dominican friars, because in all the cases of necessity I cannot resort to the aforesaid missionaries or to Your Eminence to have them; (I ask this) mainly for my government in dealing with matters and not for doing things against the canons of the Church.⁴

⁴ In the second millennium especially under Propaganda Fide, the patriarchal authority was considered as a participation in the supreme power of the Roman Pontiff. The Catholic patriarchs had only those faculties granted by the

I also asked for permission to send one of my priests to make a tour in the tranquil parts of Europe for collecting alms from the faithful there for the needs of this poor nation, to indemnify some ruined churches, to open some schools in places which need them. I hope to have an answer. At last I recommend myself devoutly to Your Eminence, who deserves all submission and respect.

Mosul, 29 April *Oriental* (the ancient Calendar) 1851, Joseph Audo, for Grace Catholic, Patriarch of Babylon over the Chaldean Nation.

DOCUMENT 12

LETTER OF FR. AUGUSTINE MARCHI TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Mosul, 6 May 1851; Father Augustine Marchi OP, the prefect of the Dominican mission in Mosul and pro-apostolic delegate dispatched the aforementioned three letters (documents 9-11) to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, recommending him to respond to the Patriarch without any delay (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 536-538).

Most Eminent Prince.

After the conclusion of my last mission in Mezur at the end of the Easter season, I hurried to go to Mosul, where I learned that the known Chaldeans of Malabar have sent, just now, new letters to Patriarch Joseph Audo, insistently asking him a few actions to free themselves from the presidency of the Latin pastors. I will not say how many and who of these blessed Chaldeans here, not only have tempted me, but also harassed me in various ways, lest I may impede the Patriarch from gratifying the wishes and the repeated instances of that large Christianity. The Patriarch himself had a long talk with me about this subject, but, since he did not bring the

Propaganda Fide. At times the apostolic delegates and Western apostolic missionaries enjoyed more powers than a patriarch.

letters of the Malabars, I responded him that I would express my opinion only after examining them. Yesterday I went to his residence, and knowing the content of those letters. I persuaded him not to hesitate to resolutely protect himself from these nuisances, who treat him as a worthless man, and from restless Malabars, saying to some and writing to others to insist upon (demand) duty. I also persuaded him not to put his hand in something of this nature, independently of the Holy Apostolic See, which has the way and means to understand better than all others the real state of those dissensions, and wisdom to settle them. I urged him to make an exact copy of those letters, taking upon myself the task of enclosing them in a letter of mine and forwarding them to the Sacred Congregation, so that it can examine them and resolve according to its well-known prudence. Adhering to my counsel, the Patriarch submitted to me the aforementioned letters with one of his that I include in this message to Your Most Reverend Eminence, so that from the tenor of the same letters you may ascertain what measure is more seemly to be adopted.

If I remember correctly, when I submitted the first letters of the Chaldeans of Malabar to the Sacred Congregation in the previous year, I let myself add a few observations to those letters, which dispense me from replicating them in this circumstance. With all that, I think I can add, that the letter of the Jacobite bishop deserves some considerations, both in relation to the division of that Christianity into two parties, as he mentions, and with regard to the complaints he makes with this Patriarch, who has not honoured him with a few lines, as a person who has nothing at his heart but the good of the supplicants; finally on inculcating in the Patriarch (the idea) of sending his responses through this British Consul and by the most rapid way of Alexandria.

Precisely in view of these precautionary considerations, it is desirable that the Sacred Congregation gives a prompt response to this Patriarch in the manner it considers more convenient, though he too, like all the other Easterners of these countries, is very impatient of these delays.

I will say moreover, that today I have thought well to direct Patriarch Joseph not to give any response to the Malabars before obtaining the counsel of that Sacred Congregation.

I recommend me and my mission to Your Eminence, professing myself to you,

Most devoted and most obedient son, Father Augustine Marchi of Friar Preachers.

DOCUMENT 13

LETTER OF FR. LAWRENCE PUCCINELLI TO PROPAGANDA FIDE ABOUT THE STATE OF THE CLERGY IN INDIA

Verapoly, 8 December 1851; Father Lawrence Puccinelli SJ, missionary in Madurai informed the Propaganda Fide about the deplorable state of the Indian clergy in general and that of the Suriani clergy of Malabar in particular. It seems that he came to know about the endeavours of some Malabar priests for obtaining Chaldean or native bishops of the same rite. Hence in this report he strived to establish that the native clergy were absolutely unworthy of episcopate (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 526-532).

Monsignor,

I know that you would desire also some observations of mine about the present native clergy in these countries. It seems to me that all the philosophical sentiments, deduced from the temperament, nature and the habits (customs) of Indians, from the condition of the country and from all the other circumstances, have not as much strength on this matter or problem (which one wishes to treat) as the facts which the daily experience puts under our eyes and makes us to touch and feel with the hands. For example, consider the case of Madurai a little, the field of my mission: there are also 14 native priests or of Goa; the least evil that they do is perhaps the schism. I have said the *least evil* because someone could excuse them, presuming in them such a conviction or an invincible ignorance. Certainly the life that they lead there is not

the most exemplary: idleness, laziness and lasciviousness do not permit them to action, other than that to which, not the grace or the love of Christ or the zeal for the souls, but the love of money (silver) or cheap profit or the ambition or the spirit of party leads them and renders them almost animals attracted by the natural instinct. I challenge whoever has known and has been in touch with such priests to note in them generous actions dictated by the right reason or by the supernatural motion of grace. To sleep, lying down almost naked on a bed or an armchair smoking a cigar or a pipe with a bottle of arrack nearby, surrounded by their friends in continuous conversation about the most stupid objects and materials, and not rarely about the most dishonourable for the modesty or for the reputation of the neighbour, to smear themselves with ointments, to bath, to eat and so to alternate such vegetative and animal actions form and close the circle of their 24 daily hours. And what else! Will not there be perhaps space in such circle for the breviary, readings and prayers for the Mass and for the other services of the sacred ministry? It is rare to find among ten native priests one who punctually recites the breviary every day, especially if he does not understand anything of it. As regards the readings, for them, there is not money more sacrilegiously spent than in books; they abhor even seeing books and beware well of not allowing their entrance in their house. It is true that they celebrate the Mass on Sundays and every time money strains in their hands. To confess, to assist at marriages, to make festivals, in which the whole religion of India consists, they run and indeed quickly, because these are the blessed fountains which toss money as they like. After all to preach, to catechize the children, to be zealous for the salvation of neighbours in other ways, are figures of the Arabic alphabet for them, with which then they do not intrigue much for understanding the significance. Then to move them from their houses, to lead them to give the extreme unction to some moribund (dying), will they ever want? While that poor one is breathing his last, the priest consults and debates at his home about the necessity or not to go to the moribund immediately or within two hours or more: and so many times before the priest has finished his debates and has decided to go there, before he has had a wash, has spat the pack (adacka) and the betel he was chewing,

has dressed and the bearers of the palanquin have arrived, the poor person has already raised his soul to God (died) without confession and extreme unction. Let him rest (*Requiescat*). The funeral yields enough to the priest; oh yes, he hastens to it with precision. What I have said until now is enough; I leave all other reflections, which could be made.

Perhaps someone will tell me that I have exaggerated a little. No, rather I affirm that I have not said even one third of what the fact evidently demonstrates us in these priests; and above all of their libido (lust) and incontinence, with which I do not wish to stain my pen. After all to those who do not wish to believe I will repeat, come and see. It could be deduced that this fact exists only among the priests of Goa, who are schismatics at last.⁵ I answer that for my misfortune I had to reside and to cohabit for 9 months last year among the Latin and Syriac priests of Malayalam (Malabar), who are also Roman Catholics, and now already since around twenty days I have been obliged to return among them, and I should be here as long as it will be pleasing to God. I affirm that India is India so much in Madurai as in Malayalam, rather it seems to me that these Malabars do not surrender to, but they triumph over the Goans in idleness, laziness and lasciviousness; and that the 24 hours of a cathanar (Suriani priest) with the big belly (abdomen) and those of a Latin priest with the black bosom do not pass better than those of the schismatic Goans. 41 Latin priests and 397 Malabar priests could well take care of 228,006 Christians; how much good they could do in catechizing children, listening to their confessions, teaching them, preaching and in other similar ministries! However, in these countries the Christian religion does not already consist in things like these. Therefore in what will it consist? All, completely all consists in uproarious festivals, marriages, and in funerals. In Malabar Latin and Suriani churches together number 241; and in each of them one or more times a year

⁵ In the first part the missionary wrote about the priests under the Padroado jurisdiction of Goa, who were considered schismatics, since they disobeyed the apostolic letter *Multa praeclare*. Cf. Introductory Article Two, no. 4.2. In the second part he related precisely about the Latin and *Suriani* priests of Malabar (Kerala).

a great festival has to be conducted, it has to last 10 or more days with illuminations, fireworks, crackers, concerts, processions, sung Masses and magnificent lunches on every day. The more the priests who have rendered their services and have participated in the festive banquets, the more glory the president of the confraternity gains, who meets the expenses, and the more the eloquent eulogy that he obtains on the last day of the festival between the solemnities of the Masses. The main solemnity of marriages and funerals, which are not few in a year among a so great number of Christians, consists all in sumptuous lunches. The priests should not be absent there, otherwise all the splendour of the festivity fails. It is true that the Latin priests would be obliged to abstain from nuptial banquets, but there they are able to take part in them, without the superiors knowing it. Some days ago a priest of a very large parish near Cochin told me that so many were the lunches, which he was obliged to honour for feasts and above all for funerals, that only a few times it happened that he had to switch on the fire in his kitchens. Last year a rich Malabar showed me 26 invitation cards for the same number of priests for a solemn banquet, which he had to offer within a few days for the inauguration of a chapel, which he had built in a palm-grove of him. What has to be done? These are customs and to pretend to abolish them would mean to provide occasion for revolts and schisms.

After all there would be much worse things, which would be better to curb: the sodomy – I say – the fornication, the solicitations in the act of the very Confessions. But what?, willing or unwilling, the superiors have to swallow bitter pills and they have to be satisfied to suspend and punish, for these situations, only those against whom the people complain, more for other motives of interest or of group, than for the very notoriety of the scandal. Then to conceal their incontinence, their extraordinary malice never reaches so far? Oh God! I am horrified to think about it. In the forges of the hell they are really able to forge the most disgusting calumnies against the very integrity of the most irreproachable and the most unblemished of their own superiors. The stupid people, who usually believe what they hear from the

mouth of a priest, for reason of the same authority of the one who says it, are not amazed anymore at any unctuous dishonesty, which they can witness in them.

Then it is normal that the spirit of duplicity, rivalry and spites, so naturalized in an Indian that it not at all sleeps or remains inactive in these priests. And behold one of their occupations is to forge plans and projects for revenges: to ruin the ones against the others, to form groups and therefore to put the poor superiors in anxieties, and to sue some laymen.

Their pride does not allow them to have a high regard for bishops and European missionaries. They would also like to govern themselves: the Surianis by a separate bishop of their own caste and the Latins by a native bishop elected from among them. They already form plans, already write letters and petitions, filled with and crammed of the most fascinating reasons; the former to Babylon and Rome, the latter to the Propaganda. However, when they come to debate about the person to be appointed, here is the crux of the matter: everyone would like to be a bishop and he does not absolutely want to be governed by his peer or rival. Hence secret clubs have been formed to gain votes; behold battles are being uncovered. Signatures are declined and here that the letters and the petitions, already put in a fair copy, fall through. "We cannot come to an agreement among us here", some tell me, "but now goodbye to bishops and European missionaries". The Nestorian Church, which counts about 40,000 people here, has 4 bishops or patriarchs and each one claims to be its unique and absolute shepherd. So they anathematize each other and they wage furious war among themselves, both in the courts of the English Company, and in those of the pagan king of Cochin, and of the king of Travancore. The Resident of the company took one of them under his protection; the king of Travancore keeps another of them in Trivandrum, to whom he already gave his word to make him triumph over his rivals; the other two, who reside in the direction

⁶ Here Fr. Puccinelli really induts to say the Malankara Orthodox Church of Antiochian or Monophysite tradition. For information about the bishops of different fractions of the said Church, see Introductory Article Two, no. 5.

of (close to) mountains, debate before the king of Cochin.⁷ Thus the affairs of mitres on the heads of the native priests proceed. What beautiful histories would be seen, if on a day a mitre comes to rest on a beautiful Malabar head! Certainly it would become a seed of schisms, heresies, discords, wars, and that one bishop would – God knows – produce many.

One could tell me then that what I describe will not regard all the priests. It is understood well that I speak of the majority, not of all mathematically. But those few, who are not so eccentric, count on the fingers, their goodness consists in a mediocrity, that is in not to go too far; and yet it costs them a lot to have to be seen exposed to ridicule and persecuted by the majority, so sometimes they lose courage.

I do not believe that it is not possible to remedy so much evil: but what can only one prelate and three European missionaries do? One of these directs the seminary of Verapoly, the other a parish, and the third learns Malabar language. These persons are the most distinguished that can be desired, for knowledge, prudence as well as for all religious and apostolic virtues. The illustrious Order, to which they belong, namely that of St Therese, is one of the most exemplary and observant (strict) institutes that embellish the Church of Christ and therefore the most appropriate and suitable for the reform of the Malabar Church. They ardently desire, and the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda is ready to acquiesce to their desires, to reorganize themselves here according to the ancient system before the suppression of religious orders. At that

⁷ Bishops in Malabar in 1851: Maliekkal Geevarghese Mar Kurillos (Thozhiyoor Church), Mar Cyril (Koorillos) Joachim (Syrian Antiochian Bishop), Mathew Mar Athanasius (native pro-Anglican Bishop) Mar Dionysius IV (native head of Malankara Orthodox Church, abdicated in favour of Mar Cyril (Koorillos) Joachim.

⁸ After the Portuguese Civil War with a decree of 28 May 1834 Minister Joaquim António de Aguiar nationalised the land of over 500 monasteries. Similarly in Spain between 1835 and 1837, a series of decrees from Minister Juan Álvarez Mendizábal was published, which confiscated, without compensation, monastic land estates. Around this period religious orders were suppressed also in other European countries.

time about fifteen or more Discalced Carmelite missionaries directed these missions and the clergy. Every missionary presided over ten or more parishes as great vicar and over the priests who governed them, being a model to them in catechizing children, teaching the people, receiving their confessions and in every other work of apostolic zeal. The missionaries were those who presided over the Suriani seminaries and who taught there Syro-Chaldean language, philosophy and theology. They also gave spiritual exercises (retreats) to the clergy in three or four shifts once a year, and so yes, then the business ran with the holy fear of God. On the occasion of the suppression of religious orders, one wished to have an experience of leaving the native clergy of India to itself, except for the bishop who was always European. The experience has been had: this is the result! If there is not an immediate remedy, returning to what our saintly forefathers did, the Church of Malabar will not be very late to experience a deadly eclipse, which will very much frighten the whole of India.

Another great pretext, which could give us occasion to make serious considerations about the formation of a native clergy in India, is what the missions of Pondicherry of the "Cernate of Bangolar" show us. From the time of the suppression of the Jesuits until today,9 how many efforts did not they make, how many skills did not the French missionaries of that illustrious Congregation – which has the specific charism of forming native clergy in the missions and of placing the mitre on the head of the most distinguished among the persons they form to the priesthood employ? For 70 and more years how much they troubled for this in the seminary of Pondicherry! But what are the results of all these? I let you, Monsignor, to contemplate on them; you know that mission better than I. Are the priests formed in so many years at least five? One of these is in Trichinopoly (Tiruchirapalli) and his name is Arokia-nader, schismatic, suspended, excommunicated and brigade-head of schismatics, with a wife publicly by side and with some sons or daughters as they say. The other two, whom I

⁹ On 21 July 1773 Pope Clement XIV suppressed the Society of Jesus (Jesuit Order) by the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*.

saw in Pondicherry at my arrival from Europe nine years ago, did not displease me very much, but always among the zealous European missionaries, it is not surprising that they know how to contain themselves.

I would not finish anymore and perhaps I should fill some volumes if I wished to include all the facts here, to which I was witness in only seven years in India, about this unpleasant argument. Now tell me if it is worthwhile or not to institute native clergy where they have not existed until the present. I do not wish, Monsignor, to respond to this question. Reverend Father Valerga, Discalced Carmelite, rector of the seminary in Verapoly, a person of no ordinary science, experience and holiness, will respond to you. Absolutely no, he says, where there is not, it should not be done. "In these calamitous times of schism, in these countries where every apostolic vicariate is only in a state of infancy, so to say, where still live mostly Christians, already ruined by the ancient priests of Goa, where no mission is organized in a satisfactory manner, such an effort should not be undertaken; certainly it is the most difficult and scabrous of many others which can ever be planned. Therefore it is convenient to wait for better times, that is, when each mission has subjects (persons) of expert experience of the country, customs and the character, as well as of whatever else necessary to direct and govern an Indian clergy, how it should be".

Verapoly, 8 December 1851,

Most Humble Servant in Christ, Lawrence Puccinelli SJ.

DOCUMENT 14

NEW LETTER OF SOME PRIESTS OF MALABAR TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH JOSEPH AUDO

Malabar, 28 January 1852; the Malabar priests acknowledged the receipt of a letter from Patriarch Joseph Audo and presented the deplorable state of their Church under the governance of the vicar apostolic who fulminated censors and punishments even against those priests who signed the letters addressed to the same Patriarch (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 505-508).

Most Blessed Mar Joseph Audo, Patriarch of the Chaldeans,

We have received your letter which we have read with great pleasure giving praise to God for the care you have taken of us, having promised to send us an archbishop and two teachers. Now we have heard of the arrival of an archbishop and a priest in Bombay, who have sent us a letter through an Italian priest, but not only he has not delivered it to us, but also he makes fun of us and he jokes saying that your fathers wander here and there in Bombay: today they come, tomorrow they will arrive and help you, for this we are very upset.

We inform you also that the archbishop (vicar apostolic) of Verapoly, Msgr. Louis an Italian, having known that we wrote to you through the schismatic Jacobite Mar Cyril, was very regretful and immediately he unjustly suspended all the priests who signed the letters which we had written to you, especially our director Fr. Jacob, called Cutbascira (sic), who was suspended by him for seven years in the past; and now he has been suspended for two years and all this only for having written to you and for impeding that nobody has correspondence with you. This is not enough, but he has taken away the new Church from him and he has given him that of Alcalel. That is why there was a great confusion and all

 $^{^{10}}$ Alcalel may be Anakallel or Anakallunkal, present parish of Bharananganam.

make fun of this: for this the aforesaid archbishop has suspended all the priests who wrote to you together with the mentioned priest Jacob, as said above.

Earlier Bishop Francis did like this; he suspended two priests for 12 years. And so now Bishop Louis does the same, that is to say, he suspends the priests for two, seven or for ten years. For these suspensions and for numerous excommunications, some of our priests became Protestants and they married. One of these died and the other remains with his wife. Many other priests are still under this sort of suspension, that is, for two or four years. If the Italian priests have to assist our population, all will certainly become Jacobites and Protestants within a short time.

Blessed Father, we are in great anxiety and inexpressible affliction for the derision and insult provoked to us by others, both nationals and foreigners. Some of us, having followed the Italians and abandoned the communion of the Church, publicly say that we are schismatics and excommunicated. For this we are afflicted and for the insulting words of those persons, confusions and quarrels arise and we are dispersed as the sheep without a shepherd among greedy wolves. Only God knows the works of the Italians, their conduct and their envy; we avoid mentioning all this to Your Paternity.

Blessed Father, we beg you with tears in our eyes to send us a bishop with some teachers to satisfy our needs, to educate us and to free us from the sea of sadness as soon as possible. If the Pope, our Lord, does not permit you to send us a bishop, first send us two teachers so that they stay here and educate us in what is necessary and then everything can be arranged with love, and after organizing our population and churches we will request Rome to let come a bishop. If you do not send a bishop and teachers who know Chaldean language to govern our Chaldean churches as the Latin bishops govern theirs, you will be responsible for our sins on

¹¹ Bishop Francis Xavier of St Anna was vicar apostolic of Malabar from 1831 to 1844.

the last day when our Lord Jesus Christ will come to judge the living and the dead and we will be innocent.

Blessed Father, we prostrate ourselves at your feet and we warmly ask you to respond to our request as soon as possible and so we hope to be preserved, through your prayers, from the darts of our malignant adversary. We kiss your holy hands and those of all the bishops of Babylon together with the priests, greetings also to the deacons and the laymen of Babylon and Mosul.

Let it be known to you: the territory of Malabar is under the dominion of two infidel kings: one of Cochin and the other of Travancore, and both are subject to the king of England and they pay tribute to him. There are more than 300 big churches for the Chaldeans, besides the small ones. From Quilon to Scebihet (sic) two bishops are required; one is necessary for the South and another for the North. Among these there are only 38 churches for the Latins. Many are the Chaldean priests in Malabar. The schools are not more than 6 or 8. The majority of the priests speak Chaldean a little and they celebrate the Mass and the Office in Chaldean, but their native language is Malabar (Malayalam). Few priests speak Chaldean. From Baghdad to Kochi there are 15 days of journey by steamer.

Blessed Father, write to us and send us a satisfactory response concerning the expedition of the bishop and the teachers. Put the following address on the letters which you will send us: To Mr. D. Bot, *Periodotes* of the Church of Pettor, Alleppey; or to the *Periodotes* of the Church of Cator; or to Cutim, to Mr. D. Philip of the Jacobites; like this the letters will come to us safe.

Given in the Church of St Thomas the Apostle of Pelli (Palai?) on 28 January 1852.

This letter is signed by 39 priests, who have put the name without the surname and they are: Mark, Peter, Joseph, Zechariah, Matthew, Sebastian, Augustine, Mark, Joseph, Philip, Antony, Abraham, James, George, Thomas, James, Zechariah, Mark, Matthew, James, James Abdiso, Thomas, George, Cyriac, Matthew, Luke, Alexander, George, Thomas, Simon, Thomas, Joseph, Paul, Emmanuel, Geo, Phillip, Thomas, Joseph, Thomas.

DOCUMENT 15

LETTER OF PRO-APOSTOLIC DELEGATE PLANCHET TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Mosul, 25 April 1852; the pro-apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia Msgr. Benedict Planchet SJ informed the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide about the arrival of new letters from Malabar and of the change in the comportment of the Patriarch after the reception of the said letters. He suggested to the Congregation to give a decisive reply, expressed his opinion about the extension of the Chaldean jurisdiction over Malabar and indicated the opportunity to send an apostolic visitor to Malabar (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 508-509).

Eminence,

Today the Chaldean Patriarch is in Baghdad, where he recently received new letters from Malabar in reply to his letters. The Chaldeans of that country grumble very much and they do not wish to submit to the Latin Ordinary and to have relationship with the missionaries anymore. The Patriarch writes to me that he has sent a copy of these letters to Rome and he exhorts me to help him to obtain his objective from the Sacred Congregation. He yells and shouts very much, he supposes that the whole Chaldean nation be in movement and excitement and that if Rome does not allow him to extend his jurisdiction also over the Malabars, the whole nation will consider this as an unjust and hard oppression of the Holy See and more and more the common voice will be confirmed in the East that the Latins wish nothing else than to draw towards themselves all the rites to make them Latin; evident foolishness. If there is some revolt in the nation, he (the Patriarch) is its cause and he tries to foment it, thinking like this to better realize his purpose. And a proof is that he, who cannot deal with Fr. Bar-Tatar and who considers him as a dangerous subject, made the letter of the Malabars reach him so that he might create troubles with his

intriguing spirit. And in fact the said priest did not break the expectations of the Patriarch: he immediately made assemblies of laymen in which he spoke and spoke ill, saying that Rome had confiscated a part of their nation, that they were oppressed, tyrannized and he already prepared to make such a discourse before the people in the church, but he was stopped by the (patriarchal) vicar, whom the Patriarch, departing, left here.

Luckily enough the Patriarch has only a small group favourable to him among the people, but as regards certain points and certain affairs, these spirits (people) easily assemble when they find a common purpose. This matter of the Malabar Chaldeans could easily snatch greater proportions and to avoid some extreme resolutions, it seems to me necessary that the Sacred Congregation gives a decisive response before too late.

It seems to me that the main point is to verify whether those Chaldeans of Malabar have some founded reason to complain and whether it would be opportune for the good of those people that they be submitted to the Patriarch of Mesopotamia.

Your Eminence knows more than I as regards the complaints. I hear to say only that those Chaldeans are in a deplorable state as regards the religion and that there is extreme corruption of people and the clergy. However, it is also recounted to me that the missionaries of those parts have a little edifying life or at least little apostolic life because of the luxury in which they live. Then as regards placing those Chaldeans under the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch, I do not know whether there is any impediment because of some particular provisions for those places, but it is certain that even if there is not great inconvenience, I believe, there will be little advantage. The Patriarch has no subjects to send there; we have had difficulty to find, in the election of new bishops, two subjects not too short of what requires that dignity and here in many places there are not priests.

In the light of these reflections I would not know whether it would be opportune that the Sacred Congregation may send an

apostolic visitor to better observe the state of things of both parties and to give right and precise information about it.

I am with deep respect, kissing your sacred purple,

Of Your Eminence,

Humble Servant, Benedict Planchet SJ, Pro-Apostolic Delegate.

DOCUMENT 16

ANOTHER LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Mosul, 18 June 1852; Patriarch Joseph Audo presented to Cardinal Fransoni, the Prefect of Propaganda Fide various needs and problems of the Chaldean Church for solution, among which prime importance was given to the unresolved question of granting Chaldean bishops to Malabar, according to the requests of the Malabar priests (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 545-546).

Most Reverend Eminence,

I expose to Your Most Reverend Eminence that with the date of the last days of March, I presented to you a cover containing the profession of faith of the two bishops consecrated by me for the dioceses of Amadiyah and Gazirah, with the copy of a letter of the Chaldeans of Malabar.

I exposed to you also that I ordained the aforesaid two bishops with the counsel of Msgr. Delegate and of the bishops of the nation. Moreover I informed you that I made provision for Bishop Elijah, giving him the diocese of Elaakr, which he has to govern not as an ordinary bishop, but as patriarchal vicar. Finally I requested you to be deigned to grant us a subsidy for completing the works of the new church in Mosul.

With regard to the Chaldeans of Malabar I implore Your Most Reverend Eminence to listen to their requests and also to take into account my complaints and those of the whole Chaldean Nation,

which does not cease to humbly beg you so that you may be deigned to permit me to ordain some bishops for the governance of the said Chaldeans of Malabar, since their desire is not to wish to follow the other rite for a longer time, but only that of the Nation to which they belong. This petition is not opposed to the canonical laws; rather it is in conformity with the decrees of the Holy See, which orders that everyone should remain in the rite of his own Nation. I have read a letter sent by the late Bishop Peter Coupperie to my predecessor Msgr. John Hormizd, exhorting him saying: "The Sacred Congregation has written to me enjoining to exhort Your Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Lordship to ordain a good bishop as soon as possible and to send him to govern the abandoned dioceses of the Chaldeans of Malabar, etc". The Patriarch did not take care of accomplishing this at that time for reasons, which I omit to expose for brevity. If at that time it was the wish of the Holy See that a bishop be sent to Malabar for the government of the Catholics of the Chaldean nation, why is it now this denied to me and to the whole nation? The said nation, knowing the danger in which the aforesaid Chaldeans are (as also Your Most Reverend Eminence will have known from the copies of their letters which I sent you), begs warmly to obtain the desired permission. Therefore I request Your Most Reverend Eminence to grant me the permission to ordain bishops for the aforesaid purpose and at the same time to prohibit the Carmelite bishops to govern the Chaldeans: otherwise I beg you to make known to me the reasons for which this permission is not granted to me, so that I can give a response to their continuous petitions.

Greetings,

Baghdad, 18 June 1852,

Humble Servant Joseph, Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon.

DOCUMENT 17

OPINION EXPRESSED BY FR. PUCCINELLI TO PROPAGANDA FIDE REGARDING MALABAR ISSUE

Madurai, 5 July 1852; Msgr. Alexander Barnabò, at that time secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide asked Fr. Lawrence Puccinelli SJ, apostolic missionary in Madurai, to make an impartial evaluation of the Malabar affairs. He was also given the necessary documentation, namely most of the letters which we have already presented. In his report first of all, he made a critical evaluation of the letters of Malabars to the Patriarchs of Babylon and of those sent by the Patriarch to the Malabars and to the Propaganda. Then he proceeded to provide a historical assessment of the Church of Malabar - obviously a typical Western version of it – praising the Synod of Diamper and the 'notorious purification' of the Malabars from the so called Nestorianism and their subjection to the Latin prelates. Contrary to truth he sustained that the Malabar Church never had any kind of relationship with the patriarchs of Mesopotamia. He presented all the possible arguments for not granting a Chaldean or a native bishop to the Syro-Malabars. In this report also certain confusion reigns as regards Syria (Antiochia) and Chaldea, Nestorianism and Monophysitism, etc (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 509-521).

Your Excellency,

I received your very venerable letter of 12 June (1852), in which you enclosed two letters of the Syro-Malabars to Msgr. Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon, another of the same Patriarch to His Eminence Lord Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, the reply given to the interpellation of the Sacred Congregation by the vicar apostolic of Malabar, as also the new appeal of the same Syro-Malabars of last 28 January to the same Patriarch and at last a paragraph of the letter of the pro-apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia to the Sacred Congregation on 25 April of the current year.

After having made a clear and fine exposition of the state of the present question, in the esteemed letter Your Most Reverend Excellency goes on to express me the desire that "I give exact information on what has been exposed above by both parties, also indicating, with complete impartiality, what would be my sentiment about the requested favour".

The main points of the mentioned questions are two: first of all, exact information about what has been exposed by both parties; and for greater clarity I will divide it into two articles. In the first article I will annotate some observations, which I need to make on what has been exposed by the Syro-Malabars. The second article will be about the appeal from the Syrian Patriarch¹² and from the pro-delegate to His Eminence Lord Cardinal Prefect.

In the first article it is to be observed: 1) The quality of the persons, who undersigned the three letters, one to Patriarch Nicolas Zeia, the other to the Syrian Church on 28 July 1849 and the third to Msgr. Joseph Audo, Patriarch of Babylon on 28 January 1852.

Certainly these are not the best people of Malabar: in their signatures I found some of those mentioned in third article of my previous response to Your Eminence. More than ten among them, led by a certain priest Jacob (nicknamed Jakketto), since they were under the jurisdiction of the Governor Fr. Peixoto of the ex-diocese of Cranganore, had begun to upset and entangle the entire order so that partly for this and partly for their evil conduct in the sphere of morals (customs), they were suspended and excommunicated by him. Moreover they found in Fr. Joachim Neves, governor of the ex-diocese of Cochin, one who absolved them. After the death of Fr. Peixoto, when all the Syrian churches in virtue of the bull *Multa praeclare* were submitted to Verapoly, still they, these rebels with their churches, surrendered themselves simulating repentance perhaps because of some of their private interests. However they were not late to annoy also the patience of Msgr.

¹² [That is Chaldean].

¹³ Fr. John Do Porto Peixoto, who was governor of the Archdiocese of Cranganore at the moment of its suppression, died on 29 July 1838.

Francis Xavier of St Anna, who was forced to renew the ecclesiastical censors over them. Then they turned again to Neves and it was for his suggestion and under his dictation that they wrote to the Babylonian Patriarch for the first time. This happened in 1841.

In the second place the date of these letters must be noted. In the letter of 1849 they say like this: "For this about 7 or 8 years ago we sent you a letter with the courier 'Muraga of Telkifa' and we asked you to send us Bishop Peter ...". This was in 1841, that is two or three years after the promulgation of the bull Multa praeclare (which happened in 1838) and after the union of the diocese of Cranganore with Verapoly. As it appears from what follows, the Patriarch responded: "Immediately Your Lordship sent us a response and after reading it, we rejoiced etc...". Here it is said more than what the mentioned Patriarch indented to tell them: if they really longed for a bishop from Babylon all the Malabar churches had to make a request. It is unbelievable how much those rebels agitated, crossing the parishes to arouse disorders and schism and to get signatures for this purpose; but since they were generally detested by everyone, after 8 years of serious difficulty under the influence of the schismatic Neves, they came to gather from undisciplined and suspended priests that number of signatures, which are read in the two letters of 30 July 1849. After the death of schismatic Neves, who lived only a few months after the date of that letter, there took place the conspiracy of the exattorney of Verapoly, Don Francis de Crux, about whom I spoke in my previous report in the aforementioned third article. It did not seem true to those rebel priests to find in him a supporter perhaps braver than the dead ex-governor and through the famous calumny of the widow and the others; they enlarged their party with few other dissolute or stupid priests. The last letter of 28 January 1852 circulated in the district of Cochin together with calumnies against the excellent archbishop at the end of last year and at the beginning of the present, while I was there and I heard some of those rebels to say that with serious difficulty they could gather signatures because as they affirmed to me, "we can neither intend nor unite

and there is division among us" which I annotated also in the third article of aforementioned report.

In the third place the number of the undersigned priests must be considered. In the two letters of 1849 only 8 or 9 names are read; the others (the translator annotates) "we have not been able to read the other names". From the Syro-Chaldean text of the letter appears that very few remained. The letter of January 1852 (this year) "is signed by 39 priests, who have put the name without the surname and they are...". Excellently and with much judgment! The poor had been too harmed by the previous two letters of 1849. Eh! To remain suspended and to dry up immediately the beneficent vein of the stole is the same thing there: but it is also the most effective means to make one grow in wisdom, who lacks of it. Supposing that all these signatures be truthful, something that I cannot and I must not admit, what would 39 individuals ever pretend against 609, counting among the Catholic Syro-Malabar clergy subject to Verapoly 397 priests and 251 in minor orders?!... The number 39 must be considered as the sum of affirmative votes to obtain a Chaldean bishop; would not it have 609 against? On the contrary seeing so numerous clergy to intrepidly resist the efforts of those four meddlers, who have tried everything, nothing omitted, for separating the clergy from Verapoly, it seems to me that this is the most valid reason that forces us to lay aside every thought to satisfy them.

In the fourth place let us note the number of churches in the name of which the letter is pretended to be written. In that of 1849 it was said: "The church of Our Lady of Kuravilangad and all the 150 churches with all their entourage, priests, etc...". In the other letter of 1852 it is read: "There are more than 300 big churches for the Chaldeans, besides the small ones...". Now the fact is that the big Catholic Syro-Malabar churches number 111 and 76 chapels are affiliated to them, so altogether 187, and never 300 besides the small ones. Therefore it seems that the conspirators, to throw a bait to attract the desired bishop from Syria, have included in the 300 churches also all the Jacobite and Nestorian churches. Perhaps at the arrival of a Catholic bishop from Babylon will the four *Bava* or Jacobite bishops of Malabar, give up all the pretensions over those

few churches of their sect, which they already contend for so many years and with so many expenses?

In the fifth place the slanderous observations must not be omitted, since lie and calumny will always be the characters of iniquity. In the letters of 1849 they affirm: "Then Italian bishops came and dominated us by force. These instruct us as wolves in the figure of shepherds and they have dispersed the flock since they are mercenaries and wolves..."!! Then in the letter of 1852 they do all they can to affirm that the Italian Bishop Louis and Bishop Francis suspend and excommunicate priests for 10 or 12, for 2, for 7 years, etc., and that "The aforesaid archbishop has suspended all the priests who wrote to you together with the mentioned Fr. Jacob" and moreover "For these suspensions and for numerous excommunications, some of our priests became Protestants and they married!!" Only God knows the works of the Italians, their conduct and their envy; we avoid making them known to Your Lordship. Firstly it could be answered, "What is gratuitously asserted, is gratuitously denied". They have to prove their assertions. After all these slanderers are not certainly worthy of the benefit that the Lord has done to the Malabars granting them, in the Discalced Carmelite fathers, really apostolic men. "They dominate by force!" Where do they use the whip? "They instruct us like wolves!" But the bishop or the missionaries of Malabar not even collect half a penny neither from the clergy, nor from the Christians, and they live with a few funds of the mission and with the subsidies of the "Propagation of Lyons". "They suspend and excommunicate...", very certainly not even one third of those who would deserve it! Rather they close the eyes almost often. "The archbishop has suspended all the priests who wrote to you together with the mentioned Fr. Jacob", evident lie! The abovementioned Jacob or Jakketto had opened a subscription of 500 rupees (1250 francs) for paying the journey-expense to a Syrian priest ordained bishop by the heretical Patriarch of Babylon and, as it was said, he would arrive in Malabar within few days. Since some priests complained with the archbishop of that monetary extortion, he started to threaten ecclesiastical censors for whoever had joined the project. It is said: "Some priests of our priests became Protestants",

but it is added: "One of these died and the other remains with his wife". Therefore they were only two. What a surprise that among 648 priests and clerics, only two have not resisted the charms of the Anglican ministers, when they tried a complete fusion of the Syro-Malabar Church and the Protestant one with enormous expenses, efforts and cabals!! And then it remains to be seen whether those two priests, who became Protestants, were Catholics or Jacobites. Of the last sentence cited, having removed the term 'envy', that has to be addressed to the slanderers, I will use some of their own words repeating with them: "Only God knows the works of the Italians, their conduct...", also the respected and honest men know them, but only to God, to whom they are known better than whoever else, they will be submitted as it is right, and in the same manner the activities of the slanderers will not escape from his divine tribunal.

In the sixth place the questions (demands) are to be noted: they ask for a bishop "to teach us, giving faculty to the said bishop to be able to consecrate bishops from among us. If then you will not send anyone here, we will elect one from here and we will send him to you so that he be consecrated bishop", thus in the letter of 1849. Here is the scope of their restlessness; here is the truth of the facts. They want a bishop, who governs them in their way; they cannot have him from Italy. So they look for him in Babylon, just to make the whole Malabar a real Babylon; firstly because this bishop would be received only by Jacob and perhaps by about ten of his companions. Therefore the confusion would be sowed for everything; since if Jacob aims at the mitre, also the others will desire the mitre: from this emerge groups, divisions, schism, as they are always present among the Jacobite Malabars.

At last in the seventh place the mediator of correspondence between them and Babylon is to be noted, that is the heretical Jacobite archbishop of Malabar. I myself am witness that not only the good priests and deacons of Malabar, having been horrified of it, highly disapproved such behaviour, but even the less good people, and rather the same licentious ones condemned it, having seen the intrinsic dishonesty of the action and the reasons of emulation and spites between them and the Jacobites. The character of the inequity in tending to the aims through lawful and unlawful ways is the same everywhere.

For these seven observations, or rather information, Your Most Reverend Lordship already can imagine what to do with the present affair.

The second article concerns some observations about what has been exposed by the Patriarch of Babylon and the pro-apostolic delegate.

From the letter of Msgr. Patriarch dated 24 December 1849 I take three affirmations, which are almost suppositions that can be denied: 1) He says: "For this reason we have been moved to pity, both with respect to the faith and with respect to the nationality". Here His Excellency supposes that the Syro-Malabars are like a Syrian colony. 2) He continues: "So that these churches return under the governance of the Chaldean Patriarch, who is commissioned by the Apostolic See as he was in the past". He supposes that in the past these churches were governed by the Catholic-Chaldean Patriarch. 3) Then in the course of the letter he supposes that the Protestants have an argument for drawing towards themselves the Syro-Malabars from the fact that the latter have Latin bishops. Also the pro-delegate supposes: 1) that those Malabars are Chaldeans; 2) that they are in a deplorable state as regards the religion and that there is extreme corruption of the people and the clergy; 3) that the missionaries of those regions have a little edifying life because of the luxury in which they live".

With good peace of both of them, in order that the truth may have its place, all these affirmations or suppositions have to be denied. First of all it is to be denied that those Malabars are Chaldeans or a Syrian colony. They are natural, pure, clean Indians without any mixing of Chaldean blood, just as the Brahmins, Nairs, Kshetrias and the other Malabar tribes are Indians. They are Syrians or they belong to Syria, as for example, the Chinese are Romans or a Roman colony. It is not necessary to have sailed there to be convinced or to be persuaded of it; it is sufficient to consult Bartoli, Raulin, Maffei, 'The Christian India' by Fr. Paolino and Fr. Kirker or any other history of India, which has spoken of the St

Thomas Christians, to understand immediately that those abusively called Syro-Malabars here, are known under other name there, namely Nazarenes, the name given them by St Thomas the Apostle or St Thomas Christians. They are a ruin, a fragment, a remnant of that big colossus of Christianity, which the great Apostle founded and raised there, to which he gave bishops, priests and the entire hierarchy together with the Syro-Chaldean liturgy of St James of Jerusalem. So these Malabar Christians have not had the liturgy from Babylon or from Chaldea, but immediately from their Apostle St Thomas. And not only the mentioned histories, but also many other documents, which I have had occasion to collect, being there among them, evidently instruct us that only after the eighth century rapacious wolves or Oriental bishops came from Syria (Chaldea) to separate them from the Catholic unity and to corrupt them with the heresy of Nestorius and Dioscorus. From that time on, that is, after 800 up to 1597, two or three of them never renounced to come now and then to ordain ministers of the sacred altar, to preach their wrong Gospel and to reform the ceremonies and the rites proper to their sect. In 1597, after the death of the last Nestorian Bishop Mar Abraham, the eminent Augustinian Aleixo Menezes, archbishop of Goa, convoked the Synod of Diamper near Cochin in 1599 by the order of Pope Clemente VIII and Philip III, king of Spain. In this Synod 153 priests and 671 elected representatives of the people belonging to 164 villages, abjured the delirium of Nestorius and the patriarchal see of Babylon, became attached to the pure Roman faith and with unanimous consent swore not to be willing anymore to receive or to recognize bishops or patriarchs other than those of the Latin rite. From this period up to the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the archiepiscopal diocese of Cranganore had almost always Jesuit prelates. Then up to 1838 it was administered by Governors designated by the king of Portugal, but not consecrated bishops, although since 1659 about forty of its parishes were subjected to Verapoly. By the publication of the brief Multa praeclare, all this Christianity of St Thomas paid due obedience to the same archbishop of Malabar. And for now this is enough to demonstrate how much were wrong: 1) who would think that the Malabars are Chaldeans; 2) who would suppose with Msgr. Audo

that these Churches were governed by the Catholic Chaldean Patriarch in the past.

So in the entire history of this Malabar Catholic Church it is not read that it has ever had any *mediate* or *immediate* communication or relationship with the Catholic Patriarch of Mesopotamia. As I have said above, the schismatic Don Joachim Neves, having already lost any hope for the appointment of Portuguese bishops in those extinct dioceses, was the first one who recommended and promoted it, perhaps for the purpose of revenge both against the Discalced Carmelites and against the Sacred Congregation.

The third supposition seems to me rather ridiculous. Would the Protestants perhaps favourably accept the Chaldean liturgy? Then how would they be Anglican Church or another sect, which excludes any liturgy, which is not in native language? The native language of those Christians is also Malayalam. It is true that in 1815 they made enormous attempts and expenses to attract especially the Nestorians or the Jacobites, but they lost all their reputation.

Moreover I observe that the pro-delegate seems to be badly informed in supposing in his letter that "there is extreme corruption of the people and the clergy", since it being neither more nor less than what I could note in article two of the second report. Certainly it does not reach that degree of extremity, in which it would be found now, if the Syro-Malabar Church were presided over and governed by Chaldean prelates.

It is not necessary to repeat what I demonstrated at great length in the two previous articles, in order to point out that the same pro-delegate commits an error on the basis of sinister information, in believing "that the missionaries of those regions have a little edifying life because of their luxury". Perhaps only one missionary could be accused of such scandal and so the Sacred Congregation removed him from the vicariate of Bombay two years ago.

In the second title I expose the answer to the question of Your Excellency in the following form: "mentioning still in your

impartiality what would be your sentiment (opinion) as regards the favour requested". For love of brevity and clarity I will mention it in three articles. In the first I will note the disadvantage in mediately or immediately subjecting the Syro-Malabars to the Chaldean Patriarch. In the second, what could be done with them. In the third, what would be advantageous to do with the Chaldean Patriarch and with the pro-delegate of Mesopotamia.

In the first article about the disadvantages, it is to be noted that the same pro-delegate has almost foreseen and anticipated them, writing in his letter: "Then as regards placing those Chaldeans under the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch, I do not know whether there is any impediment because of some particular provisions for those places, but it is certain that even if there is not great inconvenience, I believe, there will be little advantage". Therefore it seems to me that "there is some impediment" because of the oath taken by all that clergy in the Synod of Diamper, Session II, Decree 1, § XVII: "I also promise, vow and swear to God, this cross, and these holy Gospels, never to receive into this Church and bishopric of the Serra any bishop, archbishop, prelate, pastor or governor whatsoever, but whom shall be immediately appointed by the holy Apostolic See, and the Pope and the Roman Pontiff, and that whomsoever he shall appoint, I will receive and obey as my true pastor, without expecting the consent or any appointment by the Patriarch of Babylon". Here it is clear that a Catholic bishop sent by the Patriarch of Babylon, even though Catholic, would not be anymore immediately appointed by the Roman Pontiff and consequently against the first part of this oath. In the second part of the formula of oath it is not expressly said about a heretical bishop sent by the heretical Patriarch of Babylon; it is to be intended in subjecta materia, that is of a Catholic bishop immediately constituted by the Pope, to whom they swear to obey without expecting the consent or any appointment by the Babylonian Patriarch. For this it seems that the oath was expressly proposed to the Malabars to make them forget and to have horror of Babylon. So there is a third part in which the heretical Patriarch of Babylon is rejected, condemned and anathematized as

Nestorian, etc. Therefore it seems to me that the impediment, which the pro-delegate suspected, really exists.

However there is still little advantage from the side of Mesopotamia, because as the same pro-delegate observes: "The Patriarch does not have subjects to send there; we have had difficulty to find, in the election of new bishops, two subjects not too short of what requires that dignity and here many places lack priests". Then from the side of the Malabars: if so very little they benefited in the past and now they profit from the direction of capable teachers, as well as wise and zealous prelates, what advantage do they hope for under a Chaldean bishop less learned than what is required for that dignity?

I will briefly touch here other additional inconveniences, which would emerge:

- 1. from the ignorance which, with the decrease of education, would increase among them;
- 2. from insolence and triumph which the audacious would gain; once succeeded in this upsetting, they would become more courageous in trying insurrections in their way when the passions or the parties would demand this;
- 3. from the discouragement in which the good would fall, and all others who did not wish to get involved in the insane intrigues of this half a dozen of disturbers;
- 4. from the refusal which obviously they would make to detach those forty or more parishes from Verapoly, which for a century have been united to it, and many other parishes, which for affections or human reasons or interest would not come in handy to separate from it;
- 5. from the disorder that would be provoked in several parishes, which are mixed of Latins and Surianis in the same church and directed by two priests, who live in the same house. Then in the same village, in the same church, in the same house or home two jurisdictions, two bishops, two authorities would be necessary.

6. It is to be added that the ultimate or rather the real purpose of all these intrigues, as aforesaid, is finally none other than the ambition for mitre, which, if put on the head of a black one there, it is befitting to put it also on the head of all and so to multiply the mitres in proportion to the black heads, consecrated to the priesthood. Otherwise there would break out a war similar to, and perhaps more implacable than the one that now exists among the Malabar Jacobites or Nestorians, which would seem incredible to be narrated if it did not happen under the eyes of all. There were already four mitres among them, although they do not count more than 32.000 souls; now it is said that also a fifth one has arrived from Babylon (Syria). All quarrel together; of the two who fight against the two Chaldean (Antiochian) Bavas, one is assisted in the battle by the pagan king of Travancore, the other by the Resident of the English Company. The other two, whom two powerful Indian families, rival between themselves, nominated as their head with their own authority, wrangle in a continuous war among themselves and with the other two Babylonians (really Antiochians), having the one as his escort the idolatrous king of Cochin, the other a select band of noble and rich families. Because of all these it seems that those heroic and fabulous times still exist there, when "Mulciber stood against Troy, Apollo for Troy; Venus was fair to the Teucrians, Pallas unfair". ¹⁴ And still behold, to what a situation the whole Syro-Malabar Catholic Church of 158.826 souls, 187 churches, 397 priests and 251 clerics would be reduced, if the Sacred Congregation tried to open a little this beautiful door of Babylon.

In the second article I will report what I consider opportune to do with these Syro-Malabars.

¹⁴ This is a citation from the Roman poet Ovid (43 BC-17 AD), *Tristitia* I, verses 5-10: "Often when one god is oppressive, another brings help. Mulciber stood against Troy, Apollo for Troy; Venus was fair to the Teucrians, Pallas unfair. Saturnia, closer to Turnus, hated Aeneas: he however was safe thanks to the divine power of Venus. Often cruel Neptune attacked prudent Ulysses: Minerva often snatched him away from her uncle". The author of the present report cited this poem to ridicule the quarrelling bishops.

With regard to the rebels I do not judge it opportune to adopt direct measures in order to weaken their pride, but rather it would be useful to carry out some indirect means, with which the growth of their party would be impeded and what has already been formed, would be reduced.

These measures are in addition to the three mentioned in the second report, article two: 1) a sufficient number of Carmelite missionaries; 2) the unification of the 14 small seminaries into two major seminaries, directed in letter and spirit by the same fathers; 3) the organization of the two convents of priests, which are forming now. In addition to these, here I add other two:

- 1) To disperse the darkness of ignorance concerning dogma and morality, to which that clergy are subject and which is the main cause of their present disturbances and of the most serious damages, which will get the upper hand, if they are not stopped immediately, I say that it is necessary that the Sacred Congregation, without much delay, sees to the publication in Malabar language the translation of a select compendium of moral theology and dogmatic theology, as well as an epitome of the history of the acts and canons of the Synod of Diamper celebrated by Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes in June 1599.
- 2. It would still be discussed whether it is worthwhile or not that, in the place of the ancient archbishopric of Cranganore, the present prelate of Verapoly be established as archbishop of Malabar in his own see; and that subsequently a Carmelite religious coadjutor, consecrated for the Syro-Malabar rite be granted to him, who should follow Syro-Malabar liturgy, confer the sacred orders in it and be as the great vicar of the archbishop for the Syro-Malabar Church; but without the right of succession to the vicariate apostolic, seeing the precedence that the Latin rite should always have (maintain).

In the third article, as regards what could be done with the Chaldean Patriarch and with the pro-delegate: it seems to me that it is opportune to undeceive them about the Syro-Malabars, as no relationship, either of nationality or of religion, has ever existed between Syria (really Chaldea) and Malabar, except that since

some centuries first the Nestorian patriarchs of Babylon then the Jacobites sent bishops there now and then to maintain the heresy in a small fraction of them. After all neither it is read in the histories. nor it results from documents of any sort, that the Chaldean Catholic patriarchs have had some interference on the Malabars; neither that India received the Syro-Chaldean liturgy from Babylon, since St Thomas the Apostle delivered it together with the faith and the hierarchy which he established there. This liturgy, then deformed and contaminated by the Nestorians of Babylon, was purged and amended in the Synod of Diamper in 1599. A brief exposition of this fact would be well-suitable for the scope. And in the meantime, in order that this matter of the Malabars may not take more serious proportions in Chaldea and may not require some extreme resolution, it seems to me necessary to inform the pro-delegate of these or similar remarks, so that he may prepare the Patriarch little by little, who seems rather hotter, to keep calm about the Syro-Malabars and to open the eyes about the false steps, in which few disturbers of that numerous Christianity have put him, thus compromising his honour and that of the whole nation.

Certainly it will be worthwhile to use more attention in writing to the same Patriarch in order to caution him from any precipitous action. And since Your Excellent Lordship gives me full liberty to open to you my sentiments in everything, I dare to trace the formula of such a letter here.

To the Chaldean Patriarch, etc.

"I do not omit to inform you for your calm, that your letter of 24 October 1849 (or the letter of the pro-apostolic delegate dated 25 April 1852), which accompanied the papers (letters) coming – as said – from the Chaldeans of Malabar was received. Therefore, while the said papers remain under examination and proper consideration, it would be convenient that Your Most Illustrious Lordship abstains from active correspondence with those petitioners, also to spare (avoid) concerns, which the Holy See has reserved to itself".

Here is, Most Reverend Excellency, what in my insufficiency I have been able to annotate both about the signs (hints, gestures)

you asked me and about my sentiment (opinion) with regard to the present affaire. If I have delayed this letter more than due, I beg not to accuse me of negligence, but to accuse a lot of other occupations, which stole all my time in the previous days. I again exhibit you my servitude and kissing your hands I pass on to conclude with full veneration, esteem and affection,

Of Your Most Reverend Excellency,

From Jesus (Jesuit House), 5 July 1852,

The humblest servant in Christ, Lawrence Puccinelli SJ, Missionary Apostolic of Madurai.

DOCUMENT 18

REPLY OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO FR. PLANCHET SJ, PRO-APOSTOLIC DELEGATE OF MESOPOTAMIA

Rome, 3 July 1852; though dated 3 July, as it is evident from the content, this letter was written after the reception of the report of Fr. Lawrence Puccinelli. Based on the said report, though not corroborated by any documentation, the Prefect of Propaganda Fide maintained that the Malabar Church never had any hierarchical or liturgical relationship with the Chaldeans of Mesopotamia. He also referred to the profession of faith made by the St Thomas Christians in the Synod of Diamper that they would never receive any pastor (bishop), if not immediately sent by the Roman Pontiff. The content of this letter corresponds to what Fr. Puccinelli suggested to the Propaganda concerning the apostolic delegate and the Patriarch (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 544-545).

Rome, 3 July 1852

Having omitted (greetings) etc.

Now coming to the request of the Syro-Maronites (sic), in the letter written to the Patriarch I deliberately stuck to the general characters of this point, knowing unfortunately that I would have given more cause to the same for insisting on his pretensions and

for promoting them again if I had entered into the minute details. The Syro-Malabars never had any relationship either of nationality or of religion with the Chaldeans of Mesopotamia, only that for some centuries now first the Nestorian patriarchs of Babylon and then the Jacobites sent (bishops) there now and then to maintain the heresy in a small fraction of them. After all neither it is read in the histories, nor does it result from documents of any kind, that the Chaldean Catholic patriarchs have had some interference on the Malabars. It does not seem either that India has received the Syro-Chaldean liturgy from Babylon, but St Thomas the Apostle bequeathed it to them together with the faith and the hierarchy which he established there. The said liturgy, which was deformed and contaminated by the Nestorians of Babylon, was purged and amended in the Synod of Diamper in 1599, in which all that clergy swore that they would never receive any pastor (bishop), if not immediately sent by the Roman Pontiff. I intend to give him a longer exposition of these facts, if it will be necessary. Meanwhile, in order that this affair of the Malabars may not take more serious proportions among those Chaldeans and may not provoke any extreme resolution, I have thought well to inform you of the dispositions, which are contrary, also for many inconveniences (drawbacks) that would emerge if the request is granted; some of them are also mentioned by Your Paternity. Hence you prepare the Patriarch little by little, who seems rather burning, to keep calm about the Syro-Malabars and especially to open the eyes about the false steps, in which few disturbers of that numerous Christianity would have put him, thus compromising his honour and that of the entire nation. Then I am going to write to the same in the form that Your Paternity can read in the sealed letter, which to that effect I enclose; and here I remain, praying the Lord, to preserve and prosper you.

[Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect].

DOCUMENT 19

LETTER OF FR. PLANCHET SJ TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Mosul, 1 February 1853; Father Benedict Planchet SJ, the pro-apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia reported to Cardinal Fransoni, the Prefect of Propaganda Fide that the Patriarch had begun to comport in a strange manner, acting arbitrarily and autonomously. In fact, the Patriarch was troubled and irritated, mainly because he did not receive any definitive decision about the Malabar question, despite repeated petitions and requests (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 547-548).

Most Reverend Eminence,

It seems that the Chaldean Patriarch unfolds a new character or rather new ways of action. He has returned from Baghdad completely changed. From what I hear, he would be very dissatisfied about the outcome of the affair of Malabar and it seems that he wants to take it against me. Meanwhile his known antipathy against the Latins appears more than ever, he does not wish to listen to any suggestion and he pretends to govern in an absolute way, always threatening to retire if his wish is not realized.

Today he is involved in an affair, which can become serious. Considering the requests of his people – this year there is a difference of five weeks between our Easter and theirs – and the proximity of the Synod, in which he thinks that the new calendar (already adopted in many dioceses of the Chaldean nation) will be adopted for all, the bishop of Gazirah had granted (permission to) his diocesans to start the Lent according to our tradition. The Patriarch got angry for this strongly as if this endangered the holy faith and he wrote a letter to the bishop ordering him to withdraw his concession and another letter to the people forbidding them to use the permission given them by their own pastor (bishop). The disgraces which could happen from so imprudent a move have been pointed out to the Patriarch, but he has not wished to listen to anyone, nor to the pro-delegate, and he has sent the letters which

will arrive two or three days before our Lent; and therefore he also writes that if his order is known only after the start of the fast, they must interrupt it and wait for its time. The funny thing is that he pretended that I also wrote in the same manner. I cannot foresee well what will happen. May be the people, all or some do not wish to follow the voice of the Patriarch; and on the other hand I do not believe that in such circumstances the bishop is ready to surrender so easily. I wait for the outcome.

The Patriarch enjoys very little esteem among his people. In him the thing, which stands out more, is his singular presumption and the greed for scraping together money for right and wrong (fas et nefas). Recently the Turkish government has obliged him to reimburse a certain sum, which he had been accused to have taken, more than the due, from the Christians in collecting the tribute, which they must pay at the 'Door' in their quality as Christians. And I know that – thanks to the measures taken from the partisans of the Patriarch interested in the affair – the sum has been much lower to that in justice he should have paid out.

Before that tribute was collected by Turkish officers; but as the people shouted for the oppression, the 'Door' entrusted the collection to the same Christian leaders. The people find their condition much worse.

For the moment I do not wish to enter into more details; but from this Your Eminence will see that it will not be possible to always stand on ceremony with that Patriarch. His provisions for the future Synod are not of a good augur; he pretends to enact laws there and to impose his opinions on the bishops. He does not yet know that I have to be its president. ¹⁵

I am with deep respect, kissing the sacred purple, of Your Most Reverend Eminence,

The humble servant Benedict Planchet SJ, Pro-Apostolic Delegate of Mesopotamia.

¹⁵ Here the mention is to the patriarchal synod to be convoked in June 1853. Pro-Apostolic Delegate Benedict Planchet SJ, at that time a simple priest was authorized to preside over the synod.

Section Three

ESCALATION OF THE MALABAR MOVEMENT FOR BISHOPS OF THE SAME RITE AND NEW PETITIONS

Introduction

In order to understand the documents presented in this section we have to keep in mind also the hierarchical changes in the vicariate apostolic of Verapoly. On account of sickness, vicar apostolic Archbishop Louis of St Therese went to Rome in 1851. On 12 March 1853 Bernardino (Bernardo) of St Therese (Baccinelli) OCD, titular bishop of Heraclea, was appointed administrator and coadjutor to the vicar apostolic of Verapoly with the right of succession. In 1855 Louis definitively resigned from office and on 20 June 1859 Bernardino (1859-1868) was appointed vicar apostolic of Verapoly, with the title of the archbishop of Pharsala. ¹

In 1853 upon the request of some priests a Chaldean priest by name Denha Barjona reached St Mary's Church Kuravilangad (Kerala). Denha Barjona assured that he would fetch a bishop from Chaldea if a memorandum addressed to the Patriarch had been submitted. A meeting of some priests, the majority of whom belonged to the former *Padroado* Archdiocese of Cranganore, was held in Kuravilangad, in which Fr. Antony Kudakkachira also participated.

Fr. Kudakkachira, a native of Palai, learned Syriac, Latin and Portuguese languages under the guidance of different priests and after priestly formation under *Malpan* Kattakkayam, received ordination to the priesthood from Vicar Apostolic Louis, who

¹ Cf. Introductory Article Two, no.4.2.

appointed him vicar of the Aruvithura Church. With the permission of the vicar apostolic, Fr. Kudakkachira bought a plot of land in Plassanal (Pala, Kottayam district) and constructed a church and a monastery or Ashram, where stayed a few priests and young boys, in imitation of the religious discipline of St Antony. However, the vicar apostolic refused to ordain the said boys and to consider the Ashram as a seminary.²

The aforesaid meeting drew up a memorandum and selected Fr. Kudakkachira and some other priests to get the same signed by the priests and the people of the Malabar parishes. Availing himself of the permission he obtained from former Vicar Apostolic Louis to collect money for the construction and maintenance of the Ashram in Plassanal, Fr. Kudakkachira also requested not only signatures but also money from the parishes. The whole matter was reported to the current vicar apostolic of Verapoly Bernardino. He convoked Kudakkachira to his residence, forbade him from collecting any money and threatened him with suspension, if he disobeyed the order. The vicar apostolic also sent a circular letter to the parishes under his jurisdiction forbidding them to give any money to Kudakkachira and to sign the memorandum. Notwithstanding such prohibition Kudakkachira continued his work still for sometime.³

During this period in Chaldea the most important event was the celebration of a patriarchal synod. As we have seen, under Propaganda Fide, often patriarchal synods were also convoked and presided over by apostolic delegates and even by non episcopal pro-apostolic delegates. The laws, decisions and decrees of such synods had juridical value only if they were revised and approved by Propaganda Fide. Such a patriarchal synod of the Chaldean Church presided over by the then pro-Apostolic Delegate Fr.

² Cf. Bernard Thoma, Mar Thoma Kristianikal, 718-719.

³ Cf. Bernard Thoma, Mar Thoma Kristianikal, 719-720; A. Pareparambil, An Account of a Very Important Period of the History of the Catholic Syrian Christians of Malabar, Ernakulam 1920, 6-7.

⁴ Cf. Introductory Article Two, no. 3.

Benedict Planchet SJ was conducted from 7 to 21 June 1853 in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd (martyr) in Mosul.⁵

The Synod treated the faith, election of patriarch and bishops, liturgy and administration of sacraments, calendar, feast and fast discipline, monastic life etc. The decision was also taken to erect a seminary for the good formation of priests and the task was entrusted to the pro-apostolic delegate. Although the acts and decrees were sent to Propaganda Fide, they were not approved and promulgated, because of the opposition of Patriarch Audo, who it seems, considered the synod non-canonical, since presided over by the pro-apostolic delegate, who was at that time a simple priest.

As we have seen above, during this period the movement for obtaining bishops of the same rite reached momentum after the arrival of Denha Barjona. Under the leadership of Fr. Antony Kudakkachira, the Malabar priests began to send letters directly to Propaganda Fide as well, requesting a suitable remedy for the deplorable state of their Church. Thus on 23 May 1853 two letters were sent from Plassanal to Propaganda Fide, one signed by Antony Kudakkachira alone and the other signed by 30 priests (documents 20-21).

With different letters coadjutor Vicar Apostolic Bernardino informed Propaganda Fide of the arrival and departure of Denha Barjona and the "shameful plots" of Antony Kudakkachira for obtaining a bishop of the same rite (documents 22-24). Since no response was given for different letters sent to the Pope through the Chaldean Patriarch and then directly to Propaganda Fide, on 2 July 1854 Kudakkachira again wrote to Propaganda lamenting about the

⁵ For a brief history, decrees and documentation concerning the synod, see Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Codificazione Canonica Orientale (Prot. N. 494/37), *Fonti*, Serie II, Fascicolo XVII.

⁶ Cf. Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Codificazione Canonica Orientale (Prot. N. 494/37), *Fonti*, Serie II, Fascicolo XVII, 41-76; C. De Clercq, *Histoire des conciles: conciles des Orientaux catholiques*, vol. XI-2, 546-557.

⁷ Cf. Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 321-322. See also the letter of the Patriarch to his procurator dated 17 January 1855 in pages 564-565.

problems in Malabar and requesting solutions (document 25). Because of such frequent requests and lamentations Propaganda asked coadjutor Vicar Apostolic Bernardino to provide a report about the Syro-Malabar Christianity, which he sent on 7 April 1856 (document 26).

DOCUMENT 20

PETITION OF FR. ANTONY KUDAKKACHIRA TO THE PROPAGANDA FIDE

Plassanal, 23 May 1853; in the petition addressed to Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of Propaganda Fide, Fr. Antony Kudakkachira provided information about the monastery which he constructed in Plassanal and lamented about the maltreatment he suffered from the vicar apostolic of Verapoly Msgr. Bernardino and especially about the prohibition to collect money for the completion and maintenance of the monastery (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 548-550).

Humble petition submitted to the kind, benevolent and very honourable paternity, Lord Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, from priest Antony Kudakkachira, the most miserable of human beings, whose name does not even deserve to be pronounced before Your Most Reverend Eminence (etc.), Superior of the church and house situated in the territory of Plassanal, approved by the metropolitan Most Reverend Msgr. Louis. In the communion of Our Lord, greetings!

The petitioner, Antony Kudakkachira, crying with much humility, sadness and sighs, makes known to Your Benevolent and Lovable Paternity, that four years have already elapsed since the petitioner (after obtaining the special permission of the aforesaid Msgr. Louis) has started to construct a house for indispensable need, for the utility of the Catholics and for the propagation of the faith, in a country dominated and inhabited by infidel sovereigns

and subjects of Malabar. And although the petitioner was devoid of possessions, poor and pilgrim on this earth, he obtained much money from his own father; and with this money, and with the alms collected from these Christians with much fatigue, he spearheaded the building of the said house to such a point that some priests, deacons, novices and laymen could stay in it. And all this was done during the governance of the aforesaid Monsignor Louis, to whom what the petitioner did was made known; and he permitted that alms be begged for this purpose and for daily life, but for the lack of means the said house has not yet been completed. Then today, the petitioner gives up hope to see completed this miserable work of him. Msgr. Bernardino, who governs this Christianity at present, not only denies any subsidy to the petitioner, but also persecutes him publicly and privately in every manner, also forbidding him to beg for alms to live. He would rather wish that more than thirty people, who live with the petitioner and who live on alms, be expelled from the said house. And the petitioner thinks, the cause of this hostility is that Msgr. Bernardino has known that the petitioner joined the priests and the superiors of the churches of Syro-Chaldean rite of Malabar (who have asked the Supreme Pontiff and Your Eminence for bishops, learned priests and colleges of Chaldean rite with reiterated petitions) and has undersigned those petitions with them. The petitioner did this only for the immense need for pastors and wise minds to remove the Christians of Malabar from a horrible state of ignorance, which induces them to commit errors and sins as regards education, rites and sacred prayers.

Therefore the petitioner requests Your Kind, Benevolent (etc.) Paternity to be deigned to give orders with your most reverend letters, commanding the aforesaid Msgr. Bernardino to put an end to such enmity and hate, permitting the petitioner to beg for alms (etc.) and the rest. With the intense desire to receive a favourable response, which will be for the petitioner more acceptable than an immense treasure, in order to liberate himself from this state of inconceivable torments and extreme need (etc.), prostrated at the feet of Your Paternity he respectfully asks for Your Blessing upon

him and on those who are with him, being the most miserable and unworthy sinner (etc.).

Written from Plassanal on 23 May, in the year of Our Lord 1853,

Fr. Antony Kudakkachira, miserable son of Jesus Christ, superior of the Church of Plassanal.

DOCUMENT 21

PETITION OF SOME PRIESTS OF MALABAR TO THE PROPAGANDA FIDE

Plassanal, 1 June 1853; in the petition addressed to Cardinal Fransoni, the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide the Syro-Chaldean priests of Malabar expressed their grievances, especially about the lack of Chaldean rite formation for priests and the need for a bishop of their own rite. The letter was signed by 30 priests, heads of so many parish churches (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 550-553).

The second humble petition submitted to the kind, benevolent and very honourable paternity, Lord Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide (etc.), from the priests, deacons and Catholics of Syro-Chaldean rite in Malabar and from the superiors of the churches of Plassanal, Palai, Arakuzha, Kuravilangad, Changanacherry and of other churches and houses. In the communion of Our Lord, greetings!

The undersigned petitioners respectfully expose the real desolation of the Christianity of Syro-Chaldean rite in Malabar to Your Most Honourable (etc.) Paternity with tears and sighs. The laymen lack education – so to say – of the necessary things to know for the salvation, because the priests, who should educate them, do not know these things other than from an inexact, often wrong, tradition. As regards theology, rites, liturgy and the pronunciation (of language) itself, the variety is such that, as many are the priests who celebrate, so many are the rites in which the

Masses are celebrated and this variety is more notable on the days preceding Easter and on other solemnities recurring in the year.

The causes of this great ignorance are the following ones. The Catholics of Syro-Chaldean rite: 1) do not have a bishop of their own rite; 2) have neither public nor private schools of Chaldean language; 3) do not have learned priests to teach; 4) do not have theological, liturgical, ascetic (etc.) books, and those few, which are found, are very expensive because they are manuscripts and with errors.

Yet in Malabar the Catholics of Syro-Chaldean rite are more than 200.000; they have more than 150 churches, which are officiated by more than 1000 priests and deacons. And such a great number of Catholics has not bishops, nor seminaries, nor learned priests to teach (etc.). The Catholics of Latin rite are not abandoned as those of the Chaldean rite. Though they are not more than about 20.000 and they have just a few priests, deacons and religious, and not more than 20 churches, yet they have bishops and vicars apostolic (in Verapoly Msgr. Louis, in Quilon Msgr. Bernardino of the Roman Province and in Mangalore Msgr. Bernardino of St Agnes of the Neapolitan Province).

Moreover the petitioners wish to remind Your Paternity that the Patriarch of their Chaldean rite was informed of this and he responded to have reported these complaints to Rome; but he is so far away from the petitioners that he does not see the needs nor listens to their voices. Then the bishops of Latin rite, who have not even the intention to learn Chaldean language, are constrained to use lay interpreters, who ignore theology, liturgy, Latin language and even literal Chaldean language itself. These interpreters, who understand nothing but the vernacular spoken language, most times give the judgment about the science and abilities of those persons who must be promoted to the sacred Orders, or to the offices of pastoral care or to the regime of the churches. At last these interpreters betray their compatriots and the bishop himself for greed of money.

And therefore the Catholics of Syro-Chaldean rite can be called a flock without a shepherd and without a pastor (bishop),

dispersed sheep, rather maliciously segregated from their head and shepherd. So if the petitioners ask for the permission to move to Rome to be instructed or to expose these spiritual needs, such permission would not be granted to them, although they would be ready to overcome the not small obstacles of very long and expensive journey. Rather if someone would insist for coming before Your Paternity, he could expect the hate and also the bishop's persecution!!! Therefore the petitioners, who have no other way to make their weak and grieved requests to reach Your Eminence, repeat them again (in this letter) to Your Eminence for relieving their souls (consciences), declaring themselves free before God from what could happen to this Christianity, for not granting it bishops and priests, erudite in Chaldean language, in the rite (etc.).

If these repeated requests do not deserve faith, they implore Your Eminence to be deigned to send a bishop and priests, erudite in Chaldean language so that they may evaluate if the need of what they beg subsists.

This is the imploring prayer which they submit to Your Eminence with sighs and floods of tears as Magdalene at the feet of Our Redeemer Jesus, crying mercy, mercy, mercy on the petitioners and on all the Catholics of Malabar, who are also children of the Church of Jesus Christ; now they are really orphans and famished of spiritual food. For love of God, of Jesus Christ, of the Most Holy Mary Mother of Dolour, of St Thomas, the Apostle of Indies, obtain for us – O Most Eminent Prince – the aforesaid spiritual things from the Pope. We kneel and prostrate before Your Kind Paternity; deign to bless, together with the undersigned, all the Christians of Syro-Chaldean rite, who pray God to grant long and very happy life to Your Paternity.

Petition was written in Plassanal on 1 June, in the year of Our Lord 1853.

[The signatures: 28 priests, vicars or superiors of so many parishes signed this letter with their names only, indicating also the parishes, to which they belonged. We have omitted the list, because our attempts to identify the names of parishes (with the exception of some) failed. However, those who are interested, can see the list at the end of the original text in the second part of this book].

DOCUMENT 22

LETTER OF THE COADJUTOR VICAR APOSTOLIC OF VERAPOLY TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Verapoly, 28 January 1854; in this letter addressed to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide the coadjutor vicar apostolic of Verapoly, Monsignor Bernardino provided information about the arrival and initial activities of the schismatic priest named Denha Barjona in Malabar (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 553-554).

Most Reverend Eminence,

Now I have to inform you of the arrival and the plots of a Chaldean Priest called Denha Barjona well-known to Your Eminence. This worthy minister of Satan, no sooner came down to this coast, has immediately introduced himself to and got involved among the Syrian clergy, demonstrating certificates, (counterfeited) recommendations of his Patriarch, also letters of Your Eminence, faculties obtained (by fraud) from different bishops, as also from Msgr. Hartman, apostolic commissary of Bombay. He did so, declaring to be a student (doctor) of that Sacred Congregation, hence to know this and that, to know well that there is not any obstacle, if not from our part, that they have a bishop of their own rite and he intends to endeavour for the coming of such a bishop within a short time. With other tricks, lies and stupidities he has made every effort to provoke a new schism and to prepare the way for his heretical companion who I think, – I do not know where – is waiting for a favourable result and a message of his precursor. However, thanks to the Lord, his efforts have been useless, the poison has remained only in him and I know that now he has also desperately left from the place where he lived, although with a cathanar, that is a Syrian schismatic priest (a devil in the

flesh), and he has gone to Cochin. I will report to you what he will do later on or what will happen of him.

At last I warmly recommend myself to the prayers of Your Eminence, meanwhile with deep veneration, kissing the sacred purple, I have the honour to be of Your Most Reverend Eminence,

Very unworthy and very humble servant, Friar Bernardino of St Teresa, Discalced Carmelite,

Verapoly, 28 January 1853.

P. S. Now the reply of the aforesaid Msgr. Hartman reaches me, in which he informs me of how he was cheated by the mentioned Barjona who, as uncovered later, joined the schismatics to defend the patronage right of the Queen of Portugal, etc. He also sends me the counterfeited certificate of the Patriarch, a letter of notification addressed to him by the order of the same by Father Maurice, vice-prefect of our missionaries of Mesopotamia and Persia (and by means of this he found out the counterfeiter) and a letter which he recently received from the Patriarch himself regarding this unhappy subject. With all these documents and with another letter from the aforesaid Patriarch within a short time, for which I wait, I will prove the already given information and therefore I hope that he will have to go out from this vicariate.

DOCUMENT 23

LETTER OF MSGR. BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Verapoly, 31 May 1853; Monsignor Bernardino, the coadjutor vicar apostolic of Verapoly informed Cardinal Fransoni, the Prefect of Propaganda Fide about the activities of the Chaldean priest Barjona and of Fr. Antony Kudakkachira in Malabar. Moreover he notified the Cardinal about the petition of priests to Propaganda and collection of money for sending a delegation to Chaldea. He also explained his strategic act to defeat the project of Fr. Kudakkachira and his collaborators to obtain bishops of their own rite under the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 554-557).

Most Eminent Lordship,

The Chaldean Priest Barjona, fugitive from his country and from his Patriarch, unfortunately landed on this coast, as I already reported to you in another letter of mine, after striving in every manner to trouble and heave up all this vicariate, especially the clergy and the people of his own rite; after having vomited a thousand insults, calumnies and maledictions against us everywhere, accused me also before the British Resident of publicly slandering him with my circulars. However, he could not carry out anything sinister with all this and to obtain anything with his malignant efforts, rather I have made the same Resident to exile him from the two kingdoms of Travancore and Cochin as an impostor and a disturber of public peace. At last I have learned that he desperately left for Colombo, a town on the island of Ceylon (Sri Lanka). However some of the most perverse, scandalous and ill-disposed priests of Syrian rite (here they are also called with the Syriac name cathanars and also I will call them like this in the course of this report) who, as soon as he came here, devoted themselves to him, as well as supported and promoted his party with every effort. Now having remained shameless and angry for having missed the target, they have believed to be able to

straighten it and to purge themselves from the infamy of the committed crime through the specious petition, which is about to reach there – as I have said above – if it has not vet already arrived: with which as under a good cloak they want to cover, hide and to carry out their iniquities and guilty intentions. Then the leader of these "gentlemen", the main author of the said petition and of all the rest, is a certain Antony Cathanar, one who pretends sanctity and attributes to himself the title of founder for a small chapel with an enclosed house, which he (appropriating the money of the parish church, of which he is vicar, and I do not know with which other tricks) built and called a monastery, out of spite and for making a counter-altar to a retreat of cathanars, in which they, well-knowing him, did not want to admit him. Therefore this founder, very angry to have lost the reputation of sanctity, which he enjoyed among the unpolished people, with his close support to the perverse Barjona and with other facts and because he cannot obtain from me admission of some miserable youths to the ecclesiastical status, whom he gathered (I would not know with which permission and God knows for which purpose) in that socalled monastery, until - as I have declared - they leave it, return and receive the adoption in their respective parishes according to the ancient custom and then they go to live and study in approved seminaries. I say that this founder, having able to have a letter in his hands, I do not know whether of the former or present Catholic Patriarch of Baghdad, written imprudently already about 4 or 5 years ago in reply to some schismatic and Catholic cathanars, who made recourse to him in the same manner. In this letter with the authority which he lacks the said Patriarch ordered him to select a pious and learned cathanar from their clergy and to send the latter to him so that he might fully inform the Patriarch of everything concerning the state of ecclesiastical and religious affairs pertaining to his rite. With the said letter, already four months ago, the mentioned founder went to the north of this vicariate where his hypocrisy and his faults are less known and where the clergy and the people of his rite are more numerous and worse. And in that region, preaching, crying, fasting as long as five days without taking any food and saying that he could also fast for eight days (he could also say for 20, 30 days or all his life, because he

devoured like a wolf by night or when no one saw him), he made himself appear as a saint, he collected much money and he persuaded, I do not know how many parishes, to sign the said petition and also to make himself chosen as their envoy to Baghdad according to the order of the aforesaid Patriarch. At the beginning and until almost last month, having understood that everything consisted in obtaining signatures for a petition against me, I did not believe that I should take it into consideration. However afterwards well-informed of the plot and mindful of what a good old cathanar told me time ago – that is, it seemed to him that the intention of the said founder was to go to Baghdad and to obtain, somehow there, episcopal consecration for himself by the Catholic or the heretical Patriarch, and then, as it had already happened in past times, to return here to provoke a new schism in his favour, I judged that I should take hold of the intrigue and the reins, and lead this affair, in order to remove it from his hands and from those of his companions and to turn it into a positive direction, while to resist these people at the beginning would be as to stir them up to proceed (in their own way). Therefore immediately I went to the main northern parishes; first I made known to them the impiety of the 'Saint', his hypocrisy and the perverse intentions which stir up him in this enterprise. Then I took upon myself the responsibility to give them, if they would desire it, a bishop of their own rite but from the Holy See and not from Baghdad. 8 So they should respond to these three questions to me in writing: 1) whether they really desired to be governed by a bishop of their own rite; 2) having supposed this, in which way they would give him the honest sustenance; 3) instead of this, whether they would be happy to continue under the immediate government of the vicar apostolic, helped by missionaries well-instructed in Syriac language and Syriac rite, there was already in Rome someone who was occupied with this. Eminence this is the fact: now I am waiting for the reply to these questions, which I will communicate to Your Eminence in another letter, suggesting also different ways with which it seems

⁸ This was a trick played by the coadjutor vicar apostolic to defeat the project of Antony. At that time the Western missionaries were strenuously opposed to the appointment of native bishops.

to me, it could easily be led to a good end and to render the enterprise of the wicked, advantageous and profitable for these people.

Eminence, I remind you of what I requested you in another letter of mine dated 17 September of this year, namely to provide this Syrian clergy with a Catholic Bible: 500 copies would be necessary. Even if they should be reprinted, I do not doubt that the vicar apostolic, whoever will be, will have any difficulty to meet its expenses. Without this it is useless to hope that they abandon the Bible of London, as I already told you in the mentioned letter.

(Verapoly, 31 May 1853).

DOCUMENT 24

ANOTHER LETTER OF MSGR. BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Verapoly, 7 July 1853; Monsignor Bernardino, the coadjutor vicar apostolic of Verapoly explained to Cardinal Fransoni, the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, the "shameful plots" of Antony Kudakkachira and others to separate Syro-Chaldean Christians from the vicariate of Verapoly. He also made proposals to silence the Patriarch and to maintain the said Christians in Verapoly (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 557-559).

Most Eminent Lord,

In my last letter, dated 31 May (1853), I informed your Eminence of the shameful plots and scandalous facts concerning some of the most wicked cathanars, that is, Syro-Malabar priests, and their hypocritical coryphaeus, so-called founder, named Antony, as well as of a petition advanced by them to His Holiness through the Catholic Patriarch of Baghdad (perhaps, according to the custom of this country, full of false signatures), in order to be separated from this vicariate and aggregated to the mentioned patriarchate. Under the latter they hope to be able to better handle and carry on their business and iniquity, which combined with the

revenge against the bishop for having fulfilled his obligation towards them, are the real ends of this and their other analogous enterprises.

Now I inform Your Eminence to have uncovered further, that the same aforementioned Patriarch is the most (active) engaged in it and he directs the whole affair. Since he received the first petition sent to him by those seditious persons about 4 or 5 years ago concerning the aforementioned project, until now he continues to have secret correspondence with them on the issue, and instigates them so that they continue to repeat their petitions to Your Holiness even every month. He says, "This is a good opportunity to vindicate (claim) our ancient rights that, the impertinence of the Portuguese, by means of the Holy See, obliged my predecessors to surrender (give up), but these rights are not totally extinct". I cannot imagine which rights over these Christians his predecessors ceded and which ones belong to him according to his mind. Whereas the distinguished Aleixo Menezes, archbishop of Goa who came to Malabar in 1698 (sic, but really in 1598) ad hoc, was the first one who in the famous Synod of Diamper rescued all these Syro-Malabars from heresy, and from the subjection and obedience which since almost a thousand years they rendered to Nestorian patriarchs. And he suppressed the ancient bishopric of Angamaly by a bull of Paul V and, in its place, erected the now extinct archbishopric of Cranganore, a city at that time, but now only a Latin parish church.⁹ From that time on these Syrians had no bishops, other than those of the Latin rite, with the exception of intruders. However, back to the Patriarch, he also strongly recommends these disturbers so that from the

⁹ For exact historical details, see P. Pallath, *The Catholic Church in India*, 99-111. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century the residence of the metropolitan was in Cranganore city. When the Portuguese military erected a fortress in Cranganore around 1536-1537, the St Thomas Christians left the city because they were prohibited from observing their own rite and the "law of Thomas"; the metropolitan began to reside in Angamaly. Then Cranganore became a parish of the Latin Church. Although the title Archdiocese of Cranganore was regained in 1610, the metropolitans resided in different cities for various reasons.

supplications they will send there his commitment and his complicity may not emerge, and likewise he recommends them to keep his epistolary correspondence secret (which is impossible for the Malabars). Then to animate (encourage) them, he adds a sentence that deserves special attention. He says, "it is necessary that now the water becomes a little turbid, in order that later it may become clearer".

In my previous letter I also informed Your Eminence that I was waiting for the response of the churches in the north of this vicariate to the questions I have proposed, in order then to communicate it to you, at the same time suggesting different ways to lead to a good end and to render, at least on our part, the enterprise of the wicked, advantageous for the nation. However, until now I have not seen any reply and perhaps they will never give one, although the disturbers efficaciously incite them to respond in accordance with the supplication or supplications already sent to His Holiness. According to me the reason for not giving the reply is that the very few good and serious cathanars abhor and are strongly opposed to these resumptions of ancient disorders, and crave only that the missionaries be experts also in their liturgical language and rite. And the less perverse cathanars do not wish to cooperate openly in what everyone can see to be a roguish trick, which would reduce them, at the end, as in the old days, to the worst conditions.

Therefore if Your Eminence and the Sacred Congregation lead to silence the Patriarch of Baghdad, from where always disorders, scandals, rebellions, schisms and heresies came to Malabar; if in response to the supplication or supplications of the aforementioned perverse and restless cathanars, a serious warning, or as it is accustomed to say, a good brain washing, is made to them, and at the same time if they are also reassured that the Holy See has always been and will be solicitous for them in everything that will lead them to their true spiritual good and to the right observance of their rite – which also requires their collaboration and cooperation, especially in reforming their depraved morals, and obliges them to be obedient, respectful, and submissive to superiors; finally, if the Sacred Congregation will continue, as it

has already started to do, to educate excellent and serious missionaries among those who will be assigned to this vicariate in the said language and Syriac rite, in such a way that in my time also the vicar apostolic is in possession of them; I wish to hope that the wicked, I do not say that they will repent, but at least will be humiliated and repressed, not even having the old pretext of not being there anyone knowing their language and liturgy, excuse which they have always used to deceive (seduce) the incautious and engender disorders and rebellions in their favour. The good people will be very pleased seeing their most righteous desires being completely satisfied, and at least from the part of the Sacred Congregation and from our part, it will be fully provided for the very serious need of religious and liturgical things of the clergy and people of the said rite, who form the vast majority (bulk) of this vicariate. I have just suggested what seems to me uniquely beneficial to this depraved and perverse nation in this affair.

Finally referring to my previous letters, strongly recommending myself to the prayers of Your Eminence and kissing the sacred purple with the deepest veneration, I have the honour to profess myself of Your Most Reverend Eminence.

Verapoly, 7 July 1853,

Most humble, most devout, and most obedient servant,

Friar Bernardino of St Therese, Discalced Carmelite.

DOCUMENT 25

LETTER OF FR. ANTONY KUDAKKACHIRA TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Malabar, 2 July 1854; although some priests under the leadership of Fr. Antony Kudakkachira sent different letters to Rome, no reply was given. In this letter he lamented about the policy of Rome not to grant any reply and described the very deplorable and pathetic state of the Malabar Church because of the lack of bishops and teachers of the same rite (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 559-561).

These matters, written with tears in the eyes, are the same as those written in last year, namely in 1853; we the Chaldean priests of Malabar sent four supplications to His Holiness, Our Lord and Our Father Pope Pius IX, after his election over us. Until now we have not received any reply to them. Moreover there are thousands of Christians here, up to two hundred thousand; Chaldean churches amount to about one hundred and fifty between big and small ones. However, we have nothing in our rituals, doctrines, hymns, sacrifices and prayers conforming to the Chaldean rite, nor to Latin or Greek. We do not have any spiritual or scientific book; and all the books we have in our disposition to study or to learn, are all heretical books printed in London; and the only good books which we possess are the Missal and the Ritual printed in Rome. We have no schools to learn, nor masters to teach us. We, priests of Malabar, get confused in the rites of the Church and other things, and not having any institution of this rite, we do as we please. We have become blind and orphans like sheep without a shepherd and in every moment we make the most distressing falls. We have priests who do not know to say the Holy Mass; some do not know to administer the sacraments, others are unable to recite the canonical prayers (of the Office); others cannot explain the Holy Gospel. There are many Christians, but they do not know what a Christian is; there are very many who are not confirmed until the age of thirty. We do not have the office of Holy Week, and on that

day we feel like strangers; in the Ritual we do not have the manner of baptizing the idolaters or infidels. All the priests reside in one of the churches, in some thirty, in others twenty or ten; they stay there without a distinct occupation (work), and they do what they like. We do not have a place or a house or a school where the candidates can study together and become priests. Our king is an idolater, our bishops do not know the Chaldean language, and even they do not learn the language of our country, and therefore we cannot ask them anything nor can we consult them for advice, except through an interpreter; and these interpreters explain heavenly things as earthly, and vice versa, and instead of blessings, they give us curses. Also we do not know the language of our bishops, and they do not even grant us permission to go to another country to learn it. Thus we are left orphans, and since we received holy baptism and the faith – by now 1800 years have elapsed – we live as I said above. Therefore, with perennial tears in the eyes, we implore you to send us a bishop or a priest who knows the Chaldean rite and who guards and observes all these things well. And then your Eminence may seek (information) from Monsignor Louis, our most loving father, who will inform you of all these things; and if your Eminence do not wish to do this either, then let our neighbouring bishops who speak Tamil language, notify these things. If you do not like even this, let me come there, and I will explain to you, clearer than the light of the sun, and I will let you touch with fingers distinctly all that I related to you.

Since priests and Christians asked me to write this letter to Your Eminence, I alone have written it for avoiding any confusion, in accordance with the perfect will and adhesion of the aforementioned persons.

2 July 1854,

Father Antony, servant of Christ and your perennial server.

DOCUMENT 26

OFFICIAL REPORT OF COADJUTOR VICAR APOSTOLIC OF VERAPOLY TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE ABOUT THE STATE OF SYRO-MALABAR CHRISTIANITY

Verapoly, 7 April 1856; since the petitions of some Malabar priests and those of the Chaldean Patriarch continued, Cardinal Fransoni, the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, asked Bernardino of St Therese, at that time coadjutor vicar apostolic of Verapoly to send a report about the state of the Christianity in Malabar. With his letter of 7 April 1856 Bernardino forwarded to the Cardinal the requested report, in which he briefly presented the history, nature and state of the Malabar Church in his own way. The report contains some historical inaccuracies, confusion between Nestorians and Monophysites, as well as ambiguity between Chaldea and Antiochia. He described the pathetic, disastrous, vicious and inordinate situation of the Malabar Christian faithful and priests. If after 256 years of Western governance what he described was the real state of the Malabar Church the readers can easily understand who were responsible for this tragedy (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 521-526).

Most Reverend Eminence,

I am sorry if I have delayed until today to send the requested report of this Syro-Malabar Christianity, which I enclose. I had started it more extensive and detailed, but I had to give up the enterprise, because to contain somehow a people, as you will see it described, I must necessarily occupy the head, the voice and the hand, and what is worse, with continuous fear in the conscience and with almost desperation about my eternal salvation. Often because the ship does not smash entirely, it is necessary to go along with winds and tides, to do, to grant what should not and to omit what should be done, and I stay, in painful anxiety besides my little or no ability and health. Therefore I beg Your Eminence as in my previous letters to exempt me if it is possible from this enormous, very dangerous and very bitter burden.

At last recommending etc (sic),
Of Your Eminence Humble, Devout and Obedient Servant,
Verapoly, 7 April 1856,
Friar Bernardino of St Therese, Coadjutor of Malabar.

Short Report about Syro-Malabar Christianity to His Eminence Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide

It is said that this Christianity was founded by St Thomas the Apostle and in the first centuries it was widespread in the whole of India, but now it exists only in Malabar and it is entirely contained in the two vicariates apostolic of Verapoly and Quilon. About one hundred and ten thousand are Catholics, divided into 115 parishes and about 55 churches or subordinate chapels with about 340 priests and 200 clerics; more or less fifty thousand are heretical Nestorians. All the Catholics and most heretics are found in the vicariate of Verapoly, the remaining heretics in that of Quilon. In the flat surface and on seashores the Suriani parishes are mixed with the Latin ones. Moreover in Latin parishes there are still Suriani families and in Suriani parishes there are Latin families. However in inland places and on mountains all are Suriani parishes and there is not any Latin church.

It was subject to the patriarchs of Antioch, then to the archbishops or primates of Seleucia and then of Mosul, who governed it sending there bishops and archbishops. They at last brought the plague of Nestorianism and Jacobitism there and completely corrupted it. It is not possible to know whether in the first centuries and as long as it remained Catholic, the Religion flourished there. It is certain that when in the year 1598 the famous archbishop of Goa, Menezes, went there to convert it, he found it almost only with the "name Christian". This blessed prelate of very happy memory with immense sufferings, terrible persecutions and frequent dangers, helped by the indefatigable zeal of the Jesuit fathers, at last in the famous Synod of Diamper succeeded to make

them abjure the heresy. In order to unite more and to tighten it with the Catholic Church and with the Holy See and to remove the danger of a new corruption and apostasy, with the faculty obtained from the Pope he extinguished the Syro-Malabar Archbishopric of Angamaly and erected the Latin diocese of Cranganore. ¹⁰ To the latter diocese he united and subjected this Christianity and its rite, purged completely from the different dregs of the aforesaid heresies, and in a lot of things he rendered it uniform to the Latin rite; from that time until today the Catholics have had only Latin prelates.

However the conversion was of little duration. Just as the abovementioned laudable archbishop died in Portugal, this depraved, perverse and rebellious clergy, perhaps tired to have to live at least with some apparent sobriety, dragged it again completely to the ancient heresy, to the *creed* and communion of Mosul. However a few people, abhorring so great impiety, made a missionary of ours residing in Calcutta aware of all that happened, and through him our religious of Goa, asking them for help and for notifying everything to the Holy See, as they did. As a consequence of this some religious were sent by the Propaganda as apostolic missionaries and then in the year 1661 this vicariate apostolic was erected. Gradually the major part of this Christianity was led back to the bosom of the holy Church, the other part remaining stubborn in its impiety and heresy until today.

It would be almost endless and useless to report, from the time of their first conversion until today, the persecutions, insurrections, atrocious calumnies, aggressions, sacrilegious attacks, horrible impieties done against God, against the Holy See, against their diocesan prelates, against the very well-deserving Jesuit fathers, forced to run away from place to place, and against the vicars and apostolic missionaries of my Order only because they were opposed to their disorders, vices, wickedness, insubordination and their very unjust pretensions, and because the said missionaries endeavoured so that they might live according to

¹⁰ For exact historical details, see P. Pallath, *The Catholic Church in India*, 99-111.

the name of Christians or Catholics, which very badly suit them. I have wished to point out this only to let it be known that Catholicism never flourished in Malabar (and it would not be already a blunder if I told also in the whole of India) not only among these Christians but also among those of the Latin rite. These Christians always brought great bitterness, produced nothing but troubles and thorns, and they were of great shame to the holy Church and to its ministers.

So leaving the past, I am going to give an idea of the present state of this Christianity, which, considered as a whole, I find lively described in the letter of St Paul to the Romans, chapter I, vesicles 29-30. What he states, while speaking about the gentile philosophers, now I repeat here of these Christians with his own words, that is: "They were filled with every kind of wickedness, evil, covetousness, malice. Full of envy, murder, strife, deceit, craftiness, they are gossips, slanderers, God haters, insolent, haughty (= the haughtiness of this nation is profoundly unimaginable), boastful, inventors of evil, rebellious towards parents (= towards prelates and vicars at the maximum level), foolish, faithless, heartless, ruthless". To these I add, very sharp hypocrites, always liars, dreadfully vindictive, all inclined to theft and robbery, to superstitions and paganism. This is the character not only of this Christianity, but also of all the Malabars, with a little difference and with the exception of a very few, whom God has in all parts. Having said this, it seems superfluous to me to narrate if and how they attend the sacraments, what consideration they make of them, what faith they have, how they are committed for their own education and for that of their children in the doctrine and in the duties of a Christian, what upbringing they provide them. With what honesty and modesty they live in homes and behave outside of them, with what devotion, respect and composure they stay in churches. In conclusion how they are born, live and die, could be perhaps better imagined than described by me. Perhaps someone will say they have not the means and they are not assisted. I repeat they have not the wish, only this they lack and this makes them lack the means. Those few mediocre and good vicars or pro-parish priests, who would wish to take care of their

spiritual benefit, of reforming their customs, experiment the same fate which - as I have said above - the ministers of God have always met with these people; they persecute them so that either they are forced to flee or discontinue to perform their obligation. For vicars they desire those priests who are equal or superior to them in iniquity, because they wish to have the name of Christians, of Catholics with some appearance or pretence, but not the works. There is no fear that they become gentiles, or that they return to the heresy (yes to the schism) because the pride does not permit them to do so, their very shameful honour would suffer much damage; they would not be considered anymore, they would not have those respects and all those privileges and exemptions which now they enjoy under the name of Catholics; but there is a very little or no hope to reduce them to live as Catholics because they are hardheaded, of uncircumcised heart and ears; they always resist to the Holy Spirit. They want to be Catholics, but as they are, and not otherwise, namely as they must be. They do not wish to have laws from the holy Church, but the prelate has to be attentive to observe and to make to observe by all, first of all by the vicars, the laws which they make in all that concerns the Church: sacred services, administration of ecclesiastical goods, etc. Otherwise they suspend the vicars or other priests (not me because they cannot) who infringe on them, effectively taking away from them the chalice, candles, incense, wine, hosts, and when they are unable to do this, they take away the sacred stone from the altar. If what I have said seems improbable to someone, and I will say with all truth, or that I am wrong, I beg him to come here in this new world, to observe and to experiment and then he can decide.

As a consequence of what I have said, the churches are really, as Our Lord Jesus Christ said about the Temple of that time, houses of transactions and caves of thieves, where people buy, sell, rent, practise usury, steal. They conduct festivals, processions with dances, and scandalous comedies to attract a large crowd and a lot of alms, that is, to steal very much. These feasts are not very dissimilar and, for what is possible, similar and sometimes and in some items in conformity with those of the Hindu temples

(pagodas). In brief the church is almost like the *Navona Square*¹¹ and it has to serve for their honour and vainglory or rather for being praised and esteemed by gentiles (Hindus) and moors (Muslims) and one another among themselves; it has to serve for their avarice and very ignoble and sacrilegious profit and for their fun.

Of the clergy, as I have already mentioned, with the exception of a few mediocre and relatively good subjects, – who, as far as I remember now, do not exceed the number of 30 - many times I have spoken and made them known in different letters. Moreover I have included them in the description made above about the mass of this Christianity, of which they are members after all and they cannot but be sons of their fathers, "brood of vipers". And really, as the Saviour said: "Figs are not gathered from thrones, nor are grapes picked from a bramble bush". 12 Their vocation, or to say better, that provoked by their parents or uncles or who takes care of them, is for money and everything, lawful or unlawful, must be done and directed to this purpose. The priesthood is an honourable job to earn much without travail. If there is no money, there is no priest, there are no sacraments, festivals (feasts) and sacred services, everything is over, and only the church building will remain in silence. Money is a thing you can see, feel, touch and it avails everything, above all in these countries; but sacrileges, simonies and all the rest are items that do not affect them; they do not see such things and now they do not feel unhappy about them. I do not know how to explain myself better, but what I wish to say will be understood. Substantially the clergy is the worst punishment with which God castigates this unbelieving and selfcontradictory people, and executes that terrible threat, "And it shall be, as with the people, so with the priest". 13 Poor I am who still

¹¹ Here he refers to the famous *Navona Square* in Rome, where on the occasion of religious and secular festivals commercial activities and entertainment programmes take place, with much chasm, disorderly mob and continuous noise.

¹² Gospel of Luke, 6: 44.

¹³ Here the Author refers to Isaiah 24: 2.

enter there and indeed the first and the worst of all; for the love of God let them liberate me!

The ecclesiastical schools or seminaries, except this of Verapoly, can be called rather inns, and something more. One stays, one goes, one does what one wishes and perhaps also what one would not wish (I believe to be understood without explaining myself further). The course of studies consists in learning Syriac language, – and well, as I already notified in a letter of mine or in observations, that now I do not remember -, in understanding and explaining the Bible (but it is printed by the Protestants in London, as I earlier notified, and although it is complete and faithful, as far as I have been reassured about this, it is a bad or very bad thing for many aspects), as well as in learning a compendium of morals.

To stem an impetuous stream first of all it is necessary to have ready, proportionate and sufficient materials, otherwise it is worse. Therefore missionaries are necessary and when these will be here and they will have learned the language and acquired the necessary knowledge and experience, it will be easy for us to stem in a proportionate and sufficient way the impetus of this Christianity that wishes to continue to flood the hell at all costs. This is the first remedy till now, other than which I do not see another more necessary, effective and opportune. With the native clergy it will never be done anything solid. The second remedy and indispensable condition (*sine qua non*) is that the schism should finish, which is their fortitude and city of refuge.

Very many affairs and bad health, which have forced me to be brief in writing this report in which, according to my scarce talent, I believe to have given a correct, real and clear idea of this Christianity, constrain me to put the full stop. Be everything to the glory of God and to the advantage of these miserable ones.

Verapoly, 7 April 1856,

Friar Bernardino of St Teresa, Bishop of Heraclea, Coadjutor in Malabar.

•

Section Four

MISSION OF MALABAR PRIESTS IN CHALDEA, PATRIARCHAL ASSEMBLY OF MOSUL AND PROPOSALS FOR A JUST SOLUTION

Introduction

In the previous section we have seen the movement for obtaining a bishop of the same rite under the leadership of Fr. Antony Kudakkachira. Because of the opposition of the vicar apostolic, it was impossible for him to visit parishes in Malabar for collecting signatures and money. Hence in 1854, constrained by circumstances, he went to Bombay, also to seek the support of other Catholic bishops for the realization of his project, obviously without any positive result. From Bombay he sent letters, inviting Fr. Antony Thondanatt, Fr. Thomas Mundamattam and Fr. Thomas Kumpidiyanmackel to reach him. After discussions consultation, Antonies, the two together Kumpidiyanmackel departed for Baghdad and Mosul, while Mundamattam returned to Malabar. They went there for intensifying the efforts for obtaining bishops of the same rite, but they could not realize their project, because Propaganda Fide did not grant the Patriarch permission to send or consecrate bishops for India.

After two years, in October 1856 Fr. Kudakkachira alone returned to Malabar for collecting money and for preparing new petitions, leaving Fr. Antony Thondanatt and Fr. Thomas Kumpidiyanmackel in Mosul. Upon his arrival in Malabar, Vicar Apostolic Bernardino suspended Fr. Kudakkachira and then excommunicated him. Notwithstanding this, he not only collected

¹ Cf. Bernard Thoma, Mar Thoma Kristianikal; 719-720; A. Pareparambil, An Account of a Very Important Period of the History of the Catholic Syrian Christians of Malabar, 7.

money but also induced priests and people to sign different letters, assuring them that he would obtain a Chaldean bishop for Malabar from the Pope of Rome through the mediation of the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch.

In Chaldea, Benedict Planchet SJ, pro-apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Lesser Armenia, was already appointed titular archbishop of Traianopolis in Rhodope and apostolic delegate of the same places on 10 June 1853. In Rome Cardinal Jacob Philip Fransoni, Prefect of Propaganda Fide, died on 20 April 1856. Subsequently Cardinal Alexander Barnabò, until then secretary of the same Congregation, was appointed Prefect on 20 June 1856. From that time on the main actors on stage were Cardinal Barnabò and Patriarch Joseph Audo.

Upon the initiative of Antony Kudakkachira two letters signed by numerous priests, addressed respectively to the Pope and the Patriarch, were forwarded to the Chaldean Patriarch in June 1856 (documents 27-28). Coadjutor Vicar Apostolic Bernardino informed Propaganda Fide of the return of Fr. Kudakkachira and his activities in Malabar (document 29). After the reception of the aforementioned letters a patriarchal assembly was held in Mosul to discuss the Malabar question. On the basis of the discussions Patriarch Audo sent letters to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide and the Pope informing them of the assembly and proposing reasonable solutions (documents 30 and 32). Fr. Augustine Marchi, the prefect of Dominican mission in Mosul, also wrote a letter to the Prefect of Propaganda on the same subject (document 31). The Chaldean Patriarch sent a letter also to the Malabars informing them of the progress of the affairs (document 33).

DOCUMENT 27

MEMORANDUM OF 45 MALABAR PRIESTS ADDRESSED TO POPE PIUS IX

Malabar, 22 June 1856; as a result of the efforts of Fr. Antony Kudakkachira, a memorandum addressed to the Pope and signed by 45 priests was forwarded to the Chaldean Patriarch on 22 June 1856, in which the signatories asked for Chaldean bishops and teachers under the jurisdiction of Chaldean Catholic Patriarch (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 577-578).

To the Sanctuary of Our Lord Pope Pius, Supreme Pontiff of the entire inhabited world.

We, the Malabar Chaldeans – priests, clerics and faithful – prostrating ourselves at your feet, as always, so also now request you with tears to consent to our petitions soon. Without ceasing we knock at the door of your mercies, so that you may send us Chaldean bishops of our language, rite and nation and Chaldean teachers through the head of our rite, the Catholic Patriarch of Babylon, over all the Chaldeans of the world. Since we have always asked for this and we know that there is hope, as this matter is dealt with in Your Congregation, we sent Father Antony Kudakkachira with letters to our Patriarch of Babylon in Baghdad. We are your children and we have received the faith from Apostle St Thomas and you shall not abandon us as you do not abandon others: we are ignorant of our rite and doctrine, give us a remedy.

(Malabar) 22 June 1856,

45 signatures of priests follow.

DOCUMENT 28

LETTER OF 31 MALABAR PRIESTS TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH JOSEPH AUDO

Malabar, 14 August 1856; in this letter signed by 31 priests addressed to the Chaldean Patriarch, they renewed the request for Chaldean bishops and informed the Patriarch that Vicar Apostolic Bernardino suspended and then excommunicated Fr. Antony Kudakkachira (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 578-579).

To Mar Joseph Audo, Patriarch of the Chaldeans,

All of us Malabar Chaldeans, priests, clerics and faithful, beg you also this time with abundant tears as always to accept our supplications soon and to send us bishops and Chaldean teachers in our language, rite and nation as we ask for, since a long time. Having remained always like orphans, only now we have understood that the question concerning the ordination of Chaldean bishops is dealt with in the Sacred Congregation in Rome. Hence decide on our affair without delay and grant us freedom and emancipation as in these last times it has been done to others by the Holy Catholic Church of Rome. Otherwise show us a door and a way; it is for this purpose we write to you these following words. Bernardino, bishop of Verapoly, wrote to all of us that if we write to Rome or to you, we will be excommunicated. He even excommunicated Fr. Antony Kudakkachira, our faithful procurator, and he published this in all the churches of Malabar on the fifth of the current month (August 1856). Therefore see that we are made orphans and maltreated in Malabar more than others elsewhere. In other places everyone has the permission to write to the Sacred Congregation and to any place. Only we are like this. Moreover in departure and in return this priest Antony had ill-treatment everywhere through the effort of this bishop. As soon as he arrived here, the bishop suspended him 'a divinis' and then he excommunicated him. Where do we go now? To whom do we turn? We do not have a liberator here. The said priest Antony has not committed any wrong or fault, other than that of canonically

supplicating you and the Holy See. We have sent the copy, taken faithfully from the Malabar original, of our excommunications and that of Father Antony; read it and if it will be necessary, send it to Rome. Write always to us and after the winter we will immediately send to you Father Antony Kudakkachira.

(Malabar) 14 August 1856, 31 signatures of priests follow.

DOCUMENT 29

LETTER OF BERNARDINO TO CARDINAL BARNABÒ, THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Verapoly, 30 September 1856; Monsignor Bernardino, coadjutor vicar apostolic of Verapoly, explained to Cardinal Barnabò, the Prefect of the Propaganda, the activities of Fr. Antony Kudakkachira in Malabar after his return from Baghdad. He argued against the appointment of Chaldean bishops, proposed some practical solutions for the problems and recommended the foundation of the Congregation of St Alphonse Liguori in Malabar for the spiritual renewal of the priests and faithful (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 565-569).

Most Reverend Eminence,

Cathanar Antony, returned from Baghdad to trouble and to stir up the whole vicariate, as I mentioned in my last letter addressed to the predecessor of Your Eminence, of blessed memory: with a recommendation (which he declares to have obtained from that Patriarch) to all this Christianity and even to the gentiles to give abundant alms; and for this purpose, whoever desires, both lay people and ecclesiastics, taking no account of my prohibition or any censure, can go to him (I do not believe this, but unfortunately these people believe this); with different letters, which he demonstrates, of the Patriarch himself (and these are true) and with the continuous correspondence with him, which he holds (arrived a letter, on the cover of which excommunication was

prescribed for whoever had opened it); also with copies of letters of that Sacred Congregation which he obtained, I believe, from the same prelate; with letters coming from Rome, I do not know of whom, perhaps they would be of the cleric Cancha (I sent one of his letters, in which there was a remarkable phrase, but I do not know whether Your Eminence has received it); as well as with a thousand blunders, fables, lies (it would be too long to report them), through which he strives to convince these people who love vanity and look for falsehood, as I described in my required report although short, which I sent on last 7 April (but I do not know yet and I doubt very much whether Your Eminence has received it). He runs to all the churches and obtains signatures for a petition addressed to His Holiness and for another one addressed to the mentioned Patriarch and I believe that he himself puts the signatures of those who have not signed. At the same time he collects much money damaging the churches because he says that he has to bring to Baghdad 7.000 Rupees,2 where he is going to return within a short time, for the appointment of the new bishop (I have known for certain that a lot of money has gone to Baghdad, but I do not know what is the use of it). Here it is to be noted that with such money, collected since many years to support and maintain his and other people's passions, until today he has not wished to give 160 Rupees to that family - as I already wrote which he injured very deeply in revenge, slanderously accusing a cleric of theirs (who died of its pain) to the civil court of heretics and gentiles and I suspended him, for his refusal to pay compensation for damages. Eminence, if I had known or if I would know that it is an advantageous thing for this Syro-Malabar Christianity to be handed over to the government of the Patriarch of Baghdad, I would have committed and I would commit myself as the first one to obtain this. God knows that I seek nothing but their true good in a sea of afflictions, bitterness, contradictions, persecutions from every side, curses, travails, scarcities and a little of everything. However I know well and clearly recognize, and I

² [On 18 September 1852 the same Monsignor Bernardino wrote that a rupee is equal to a little less than five Pauli]. Paulo (plural Pauli) was an ancient pontifical coin in circulation at that time.

have made it known to that Sacred Congregation as far as I could, that all the engagement of this villainous clergy is not to have a bishop of their rite, nor for similar spiritual advantages, but to reestablish two jurisdictions and two ecclesiastical superiors just as before the brief Multa praeclare, then to obtain just as before (and they will not lack means also for these) the possibility of passing from one jurisdiction to the other, in order not to obey either the one or the other, and to deprive the one or the other of the capacity to contain them and of the obligation to reform their customs and those of the people. In short, as I told in my report, they wish to be priests, Catholics or Christians in name only and just as they are, but not as they must be. So they will turn upside down all the hell; and if they are heard out, anything of good will never be done; and in fact our suffering, God knows in what manner, in these countries will be rendered useless because all of them will go to hell. I do not know well how that clergy of Mesopotamia are at present, but I know that according to a letter of Cardinal Antonelli of blessed memory,³ dated 6 October 1790 and addressed to Monsignor Louis Maria (at that time vicar apostolic)⁴ concerning many doubts and decisions of that Sacred Congregation about this vicariate, to the doubt XX, that is: "Whether one or other missionary or student should be sent to Babylon or Diyarbakir, so that, after obtaining expertise in Chaldean language, he may go to Malabar and correct (amend) the rite and Syro-Chaldean books? The response was: it will be reasonable". About this Cardinal Antonelli said: "Yes, it was responded, 'it will be reasonable'; but the plan of Father Paolino does not seem very attainable, since the Syro-Chaldean priests of Mesopotamia are very ignorant and little firm in religion". It seems to me that the plan of Father Paolino was to carry out the affirmative response given by the same Sacred Congregation on 22 July 1774; to the doubt VI, that is: "Whether again two qualified priests of Chaldean rite be carefully sought, whose assistance and ministry the Chaldean Malabars can use, as

 $^{^{3}}$ Cardinal Leonardo Antonelli was Prefect of Propaganda Fide from 1780 to 1795.

 $^{^4}$ Louis (Luigi) Maria Pianazzi OCD was vicar apostolic of Malabar from 1784 to 1802.

Sacred Congregation ordered on 30 July 1771? Response; affirmative", therefore it seems that Father Paolino wanted to search for the two indicated priests in Mesopotamia and the mentioned Cardinal Antonelli said that it was difficult to find them there. In any case I do not know how to completely excuse the behaviour which the blessed Patriarch of Baghdad has held and which is keeping with these murmurs. He has had and still has continuous epistolary correspondence with the most villainous, public and notorious cathanars; this is a great scandal and causes great concern to all, seeing the most perverse ones are supported, protected and directed by such a personality in their evil plots. He has blindly drunk in all the false complaints, disguised by the zeal of hypocrisy to desire and promote great things for the religion and the rite (about which he does not care anything) and through these means, as I have told, all possible endeavours are made to impede one who really takes care of it. He received, caressed (cherished) two fugitive priests (one of them, namely the suspended Antony) and let them celebrate sacrilegious Mass, without seeing any certificate or permission of their superior as the laws require, trusting only in their assertion and lies, while about these he could and should at least doubt and obtain information, addressing to me two words, at least for hearing what I said, before allowing them to celebrate. Similarly there he has admitted and he holds one of the two said priests, either one or two boys as clerics, but not being such, brought there by the mentioned Antony Cathanar, and likewise I think he is going to receive others, who will be brought to him within a short time with the collected money. Thus he will incur the excommunication, which I fulminated, with the previous suspension and the irregularity, which Antony has got for the violation of the censure, and so again he is going to continue his sacrileges with the Patriarch. I have addressed to him a letter, which I have made to write in Syriac language so as to inform him of everything about the two mentioned unhappy subjects, but I do not know whether it has reached him. My opinion in this matter would be that the Sacred Congregation may send one or two good and able Maronites as missionaries here, and when they will have learned the language and the circumstances of these countries, if it will be worthwhile so, one of them can be consecrated bishop for

the Surianis, but not entirely divided and separated from the jurisdiction of the vicar apostolic in order not to give occasion to the ancient disorder and to new troubles, which the Sacred Congregation and the Holy Father will unfailingly have, so as to open again the joke, and not only from the Surianis, but then also from the Latins, who in order to start, await nothing but to see whether the Surianis succeed. By placing this Christianity under the mediate jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Baghdad it could also happen in the future that the circumstances would again necessitate its separation and this cannot be accomplished without the outbreak of a new schism. I have communicated this opinion of mine to some of the best cathanars, who – as Your Eminence will see in the letter of one of them, which I enclose to you with its Italian version – complained much about these novelties and they seemed to appreciate it and they told me that really thus they wanted to implore His Holiness. In fact then they sent me the petition in Syriac, which likewise I enclose to you so sealed as I received it; therefore I do not know what they say in it, but in case something requires explanation I beg Your Eminence to notify it to me. They still inform me to make His Holiness aware that not all of them could sign being in different and distant places and the time did not allow them greater delay. I beg Your Eminence to pardon me for what I have said about this affair, but I have said it only to calm my conscience, so that from my silence damage may not occur to this Christianity.

And here I am, Eminence, to present you another plan, which I consider the most opportune and salutary of all that can ever be planned for the reform and the progress of this vicariate, and for this project I am ready to make every effort so that it may be actualized. However I beg Your Eminence to keep hidden that it is suggested by me to avoid any disagreement, jealousy, evil eye or suchlike that could take place among men as we are. And once it is approved, I instantaneously beg Your Eminence to very humbly implore His Holiness also, that it be executed as an initiative (*motu proprio*) of the Sacred Congregation and I must not be mentioned at all. I say I would like that a convent of Liguorists be founded here, who would stay in this vicariate in the same way, for the

same ends and with the same rules and observance completely as St Alphonse instituted them and as they exist in several dioceses in the kingdom of Naples, in Rome, etc. Oh, how much good could be done by them, after learning the language, going with the sacred missions from parish to parish, being helped by our missionaries and by the said religious (congregated) cathanars, who would learn together the true way, method, means and spirit for leading souls to God! How many other advantages would bring such an Institute! The candidates for ordination and those priests, who would need it, could retire here to make their spiritual exercises. I have an excellent place ready, not very distant from Verapoly by river, there is a church, I will build the convent at a signal from Your Eminence at all costs, there will be maintenance for all with those few goods which we have and with what the charity of the faithful of Lyon sends us, and God will help. Eminence, I hope that I will have this consolation and afterwards I will die happily. I am sorry, Eminence, here we need missionaries and not patriarchs.

I inform Your Eminence that another petition will perhaps come; I have heard that it is circulated so as to obtain signatures. The author is a certain *cathanar malpan* with some of his party; I have had to remove this *malpan*, namely master, from the office of vicar for his scandalous behaviour and thefts from the church.

At last recommending me to the prayers of Your Eminence with profound respect kissing the sacred purple I have the honour to be of Your Eminence,

Verapoly, 30 September 1856,

Very Humble, Very Obedient and Very Devout Servant,

Friar Bernardino of St Therese, Discalced Carmelite, Bishop of Eraclea, Administrator of the Vicariate Apostolic of Malabar.

DOCUMENT 30

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE COMMUNICATING THE PROPOSALS OF THE PATRIARCHAL ASSEMBLY

November 1856; after receiving aforementioned two letters from Malabar (documents 27-28), Patriarch Joseph Audo convoked an assembly, in which participated the Chaldean clergy of Mosul, the superior of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, Apostolic Delegate Monsignor Benedict Planchet and his secretary as well as Fr. Augustine Marchi, the prefect of the Dominican Mission. In the assembly unanimous decision was taken to supplicate the Pope and Holy See to grant the Malabars a metropolitan or a bishop of the Chaldean rite, or if they considered it necessary, to send some visitors (two Latins and two Chaldeans) to Malabar for objectively ascertaining the real situation. The Chaldean Patriarch wrote to Cardinal Barnabò, the new Prefect of Propaganda Fide, providing a brief account of the Malabar question and presenting the solution emerged in the assembly (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 570-571).

Most Eminent Prince,

Since the beginning of my patriarchate I received from the Malabars of Chaldean rite letters written in the tenor of those already sent to my predecessors, namely petitions for ministers (pastors) of Chaldean rite under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of the same rite.

Then I informed the Sacred Congregation of these; and at that time Rome being in the disorder of the revolution, the Sacred Congregation replied me to wait for a little and meanwhile to exhort the Malabars to silence and calm; I did so.

After a brief period of time they repeated the appeals and I also repeated the information to the Sacred Congregation which responded to me through Delegate Monsignor Planchet that I should not meddle with this matter and that those who made the

requests constituted a small number of clergy and people of suspicious conduct, and moreover that the said nation had never been of Chaldean rite and jurisdiction. Although little satisfied with such a reply, which seemed to me distant from the true consideration to the particularities mentioned, being certain from documents and facts that those Christians were always and are of Chaldean rite and they were under the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Church before the Nestorianism and also afterwards for a long time, in order that I may not seem little respectful to the Sacred Congregation, I was silent for long three years.

Meanwhile those were not silent; but at last having tired (wearied) me with letters last year two priests, one of whom was an Archimandrite,⁵ and a cleric arrived, equipped with recommendations of those tribes and they warmly implored me to accept their request and to obtain it for them from the Sacred Congregation; they also told me personally their situation under the jurisdiction of the vicar apostolic.

The Archimandrite returned to his country, but the other priest and the cleric stay with us. Leaving their own country they had the intention to go to Rome to plead their cause and to respond to the calumnies (slanders), made against them by their enemies.

Having also written about this to the Sacred Congregation, His Eminence replied me promising a good result for the salvation of those souls; then a short time later indicated new difficulties. On the contrary from there new letters arrived containing new reasons to expedite this affair.

First the Most Reverend Monsignor Vicar Apostolic Bernardino suspended the said Archimandrite and then according to other letters he excommunicated (*vitando*) him as it is known from the copy of the autograph sent to me; and this for the only

⁵ The Patriarch considers Fr. Antony Kudakkachira as an Archimandrite. The title Archimandrite, used in the Eastern Churches, originally referred to superior abbot whom a bishop appointed to supervise several 'ordinary' abbots and monasteries, or to the abbot of some especially great and important monastery. Now it is used also an honorary title, given to monks and celibate priests.

guilt to have come to me with the intention to go to Rome, but the Archimandrite could not have carried out this for the obstacles placed on his way by the same Most Reverend Monsignor Bernardino.

Tired of so much (misdemeanour) and driven by charity towards those miserable people, whose tears do not reach Your Eminence and it seems that about them only dimmed news of uncertain things arrive, and also motivated by a certain consideration for my nation, that unanimously considers this desire as something in conformity with the rights of different rites, having summoned my clergy of Mosul and the Abbot of Rahban Hormizd (monastery), being present Apostolic Delegate Monsignor Planchet, the father prefect of the Dominican Fathers, we have thought it a good thing to postulate a decision from Rome to be received without delay. The content of the request is either to permit the ordination of a pastor (bishop) of Chaldean rite for them chosen with the approval of the Holy See and of the Sacred Congregation dependent (the aforesaid minister) on the Patriarch of the Chaldeans, and in my opinion this is the most rapid and the most suitable remedy for the need; or if the reports received and the repeated information by that Christianity are still doubtful, we request to adopt another solution, namely two non-Carmelite visitors be chosen from your part and two others by us, and they shall go there with unanimous intent to know the truth about the state of that tribe.

Otherwise I am afraid very much that at least many of those weak persons leave the faith for their strong persuasion that, after so many of their complaints and recourses they would not see any relief or at least any authentic proof of their bad faith.

Meanwhile I avail myself of the opportunity to sign respectfully, of Your Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Eminence,

Mosul, 7 November 1856,

Joseph Audo, Chaldean Patriarch.

DOCUMENT 31

LETTER OF FATHER AUGUSTINE MARCHI TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Mosul, 11 November 1856; Father Augustine Marchi, the prefect of the Dominican mission in Mosul also sent a report about the aforementioned patriarchal assembly of Mosul to Cardinal Barnabò, expressing his positive opinion on the decisions of the assembly. The reasonable and equilibrated proposals and observations of Marchi appear to be motivated by true Christian spirit, and not by politics, rivalry and quest for power (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 572-574).

Most Reverend Eminence,

Having reached, short time ago, new letters and repeated complaints of the known Catholic Malabars to this Chaldean Patriarch, he summoned a special assembly composed of the Chaldean clergy of Mosul, the superior of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, Apostolic Delegate Monsignor Planchet and his secretary and the undersigned to re-examine the pros and cons of that Christianity.

In this assembly all expressed the unanimous opinion to supplicate the Holy Father so that he may be deigned to grant a metropolitan or a primate to the Catholic Malabars of Chaldean rite according to the ancient custom under the dependence of the Chaldean Patriarch. The said metropolitan would be chosen from the Malabar clergy, if there is a worthy subject or otherwise from the Chaldean clergy, with the consent of the Patriarch in accord with the Holy See.

However, if the Holy Father would think it necessary to better ascertain the dispositions of the dissidents, in that case the Chaldean Patriarch would propose and request that two visitors from the part of the Holy See and two others from this Patriarch (one of whom could be George Khayyath, former student of Propaganda) be sent, so that, without spirit of party, having examined the reasons of those long hateful differences, they be instruments of peace among the Malabars. Then according to the due information and with unanimous consent of the Holy See and the Chaldean Patriarch, that decision be adopted, which is considered the most suitable to make lasting peace and harmony in that Christianity.

Without any pretension to be an arbiter of such a complicated question, of which we do not exactly know the state, the apostolic delegate and I considered prudent to agree to the opinion of the Chaldeans.

From my part I do not consider it useless to make known to Your Eminence that this matter is very close to the heart of the Chaldean nation so that, if at other times I had not prevented this, some uproarious and contentious remonstrations would already have been made in Rome in a little decent way, not to say prejudicial to the Christian concord.

Although I refused to intervene in the synod of Rabban Hormizd for sound reasons, I certainly know that there it was complained much and in an improper manner against the supposed usurpations of Rome and a resentful letter in the name of all the bishops, with the exception of the coadjutor of Cosrova (sic), was already written for the Holy Father, which I succeeded to thwart. Here in Mosul a little before Bar-Tatar, made himself tribune in that cause angrily declaimed from the altar in the church of Mar Esayah on a feast day. Certainly here and in the country Chaldeans and Nestorians, Syrians and Jacobites (to say nothing about the Protestants, who take every opportunity to bite the Holy See) all together deliver heavy complaints that Rome leaves open a very important matter for so long and it prevents the Malabars from returning under the immediate governance of the Chaldean Patriarch.

 $^{^{\}rm 6}$ Augustine Marchi, pro-apostolic delegate from 1850 to 1852, dealt with the question at that time.

As regards the Chaldeans, the national love has more to do with them; the old archives have been searched; all the codes, all the collections of synods have been exposed to verify the ancient and continuous union of the Malabars (in question) with the Chaldea of Seleucia and of Babylon both before and after Nestorianism. The fact of Patriarch Sulaga has been cited: after having abjured the heresy of Nestorius in Rome, he was sent again here with two Latin missionaries, who accompanied him until the East Indies to visit his Malabars. I would be too prolix, if I want to repeat what has been and is said about this matter. I am only going to say conscientiously that today's Orientals are not very different from their forefathers: they demonstrate themselves, also for the question of conscience, to be united to the Holy See, but above all to be lovers of their nationality, their titles, their traditions and - I say too – their independence... Therefore it seems to me well done not to provoke them much, especially in matters which they love so much; to satisfy them where there is not any prejudice to the unity of faith and to the Christian harmony. So the beautiful cause of the real Church of Jesus Christ would gain much more against the already too old love and spirit of sect or party, and the work of missionaries and the loving solicitudes of the Holy See would reach their scope more easily.

I have permitted myself to expound these already too prolix considerations to Your Eminence, so that you better know the present condition and the dispositions of these Christianities. Far from exaggerating, I have been very moderate in articulating what I have learned from a long experience and careful observations. If another person would not see like me, if he would see everything more beautiful, this counts for nothing; turning into worse the matters, the responsibility falls on him.

In your well known prudence, Your Eminence may give that weight to my observations which you think suitable. Close to leave from my mission, I will never repent of having made them and I will be happier if they could contribute to restore concord among the Malabars soon and to secure (tighten) a more lasting union between the Oriental Churches and the Holy See.

I place myself and my mission at the feet of Your Most Reverend Eminence.

Mosul, 11 November 1856,

Father Augustine Marchi of the Friar Preachers.

DOCUMENT 32

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO POPE PIUS IX CONCERNING CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR

Mosul, 17 November 1856; even after eight years of petitions and requests Propaganda Fide did not give a precise decision concerning the Chaldean jurisdiction in Malabar. Also because of this, Patriarch Joseph Audo thought of writing directly to His Holiness Pope Pius IX, providing him a brief account of the correspondence between him and the Propaganda Fide concerning the question. He enclosed with this letter a copy of two petitions written by Malabar clergy to the Pope and one to the Patriarch himself. In order to avoid repetition, after the letter of the Patriarch here we reproduce only the first enclosure (Letter A), because the other two are already presented in this section respectively as documents 27 and 28 (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 574-579).

Most Blessed Father,

Contrary to my living desire to personally come to Rome, I resort to the benefit of paper to renew the declarations of my sincere attachment to Your Holiness and my filial devotion to the Holy See, placing myself and my nation at the feet of Your Holiness, begging you to impart on us your apostolic blessing.

And since it is well-known that the paternal and generous heart of Your Holiness is well-inclined to accept the supplications of your children, I am very reassured, Your Holiness will be pleased that the least of the Catholic patriarchs of the Chaldean nation manifests to you a desire, really a desire of the entire nation

which God has entrusted to him for directing in the union of faith and charity.

Your Holiness does not ignore that since a long time the Catholics of Malabar belonging to the Chaldean rite are tormented by internal dissents, which could be characterized by the hateful name of schism.

Eight years ago, at the beginning of my patriarchal ministry, I had in my hands some (fervid) warm petitions of a well-numerous portion of that Christianity, requesting me either to personally visit it or to send a Chaldean bishop or to permit it to send here a worthy person to be ordained as bishop.

The petitions were addressed to my predecessor Nicholas; and this mention is enough to let Your Holiness know that I am not involved in this matter by my own initiative (*motu proprio*).

I remitted faithful copy of those letters to Cardinal Fransoni of loving memory and I exhorted the dissidents to concord.

From that time until today numerous letters have been directed to me by the Malabars both for me and for Your Holiness and I enclose some of them in this cover.

One year ago, being not satisfied with the letters, the Malabars sent me the Archimandrite Antony together with another monk and a young man of that tribe in Baghdad, imploring me to remedy that schism.

The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda has exactly been informed by me of the conduct of the Malabars with me. The Archimandrite Antony was sent back to Malabar; his companions now stay in the Monastery of Rabban Hormizd to be instructed, being very ignorant about things essential for ecclesiastical persons. Back in his own country, the Archimandrite was suspended 'a divinis', then excommunicated. This behaviour of the vicar apostolic, no matter how, has been used as a reason or pretext by the dissidents to address to me other letters, which I remit in their own autograph at the feet of Your Holiness.

After receiving them, I convoked my clergy of Mosul and the Abbot of Rabban Hormizd; Apostolic Delegate Monsignor

Planchet, his secretary and the prefect of this Dominican mission were also present. I let them know the tenor of the mentioned letters and of the previous ones. After having reflected well about them, all of us agreed on the opinion to implore Your Holiness to grant to all the Catholic Malabars of Chaldean rite, instead of a Latin vicar apostolic, a metropolitan or a primate of Chaldean rite under the dependence of the Patriarch of our nation, to be elected from the Malabars, if there is a worthy person for this purpose or in accord with the Chaldean Patriarch, from the clergy under his dependence now (Chaldean clergy).

May I be permitted to inform Your Holiness that this is the opinion not only of the Malabar petitioners, but also of mine, of all the bishops, of all the clergy and of all the faithful of my nation.

If Your Holiness, in your known prudence, would like to better verify the petitions and the dispositions of the Malabars, in that case I suggest and supplicate that two Latin visitors accompanied by two Chaldean ones chosen by me (one of whom would be a student of Propaganda) be sent by Your Holiness, so that without the spirit of party, but with the pure spirit of Christian charity, they may examine the reasons and the state of those longstanding discords in holy harmony, and they may be peacemakers among the dissidents. Then let them inform of this Your Holiness and the one who governs the Chaldean Church so that – having respected the rights of the Holy Roman Apostolic See and the rights of the Chaldean Church – by unanimous consent a prompt and efficacious remedy can be found for so much evil.

I trust and with me all the Catholics committed to my care that Your Holiness will not reject this supplication: and in so dear hope I profess myself until death,

Of Your Holiness,

Mosul, 17 November 1856.

Most devout and most obedient son and brother in Jesus Christ, Chaldean Patriarch Joseph Audo.

Enclosure (Letter A)

As we have indicated, the Chaldean Patriarch enclosed three letters of Malabars to the Pope. Here we reproduce only the enclosure A, because enclosures B and C are already presented as documents 27 and 28.

To the Holiness of Our Lord, Holy Pope of Rome and the head of all the Catholic Churches which are under Heaven, and possessor of the keys of heaven and hell like Simon Peter.

We, poor priest Joseph and other priests and clerics, as well as men, women and children of the Church of Our Lady Mary in the town of Kuravilangad in Malabar and of other places, make known to Your Holiness that in times past holy Popes used to send Chaldean bishops to govern the Chaldean churches and Latin bishops to govern the Latin churches; and they governed the Churches without any disturbance. Now since you have ordered that all are to be subjected to the Carmelite metropolitan of Verapoly and you have not entrusted us Chaldeans to a Chaldean metropolitan, the same Carmelite metropolitan has governed the Chaldean churches as well. However, the Carmelites do not know Chaldean language or that of Malabar. The Carmelites govern us as a deaf-and-dumb pastor pastures deaf sheep. Moreover they are always in closed cells, so that no one can see them and speak with them about his own affair and we do not know what they do inside; God knows it. And that is why a lot of scandals aroused and many of us fled to the left side (part). And we have been worried very much and we sent many letters to Your Holiness, but without any response, nor a Chaldean metropolitan. The Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch does not cease to send bishops for the Syro-Jacobite churches, which are of our nation in Malabar.

There are more than two hundred Chaldean churches in Malabar and a thousand priests and clerics. Have pity on us now, send us a Chaldean metropolitan so that these weak people may not get lost and leave the faith. Please send an order to the Carmelites not to interfere in the Chaldean churches and to remain in their places; and if they write against us, do not believe them, otherwise behold that we are free and you will answer for the perdition of so

many souls on the last day. Kissing the feet of Your Holiness, bless us.

19 March 1854,

The signatures of 7 priests follow.

DOCUMENT 33

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE MALABARS PROVIDING INFORMATION CONCERNING THE PROGRESS OF THEIR AFFAIR

Mosul, 21 December 1856; with this letter Patriarch Joseph Audo informed the Malabars that after the reception of their recent letters a patriarchal assembly was held and its recommendations were sent to Rome together with copies of their letters. He hinted that, after obtaining a positive reply from Rome, Chaldean bishops would very soon be appointed for the governance of the Malabar Church (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 579-582).

Joseph Audo, who governs the Babylonian Patriarchal See of the Chaldeans by grace.

After giving you the apostolic blessing and clasping you in our Lord, beloved children, who are our members, and most honourable sons of our stock, protected by the mother of life, Mary our help, and by all the angels and saints, namely = Fr. Joseph Catekim, Fr. Matthias Nalcat, Fr. Matthew, Fr. Thomas, Fr. Alexander, Fr. Cyriac, Fr. Abraham, Fr. Matthew, Fr. Zechariah, Fr. Cyriac, Fr. John, Fr. John, Fr. Alexander, Fr. James, Fr. Cyriac, Fr. Joseph, Fr. George, Fr. Zechariah, Fr. Zechariah, Fr. James, Fr. Joseph, Fr. George, Fr. Matthias (provost of Verapoly), Fr. George, Fr. Matthew Cutinal, Fr. Abraham, Fr. Thomas, Fr. Abraham, Fr. Thomas, Fr. Cyriac, Fr. Sebastian, Fr. Joseph, Fr. Matthew (procurator of Pigulam), Fr. George, Fr. Emmanuel (procurator of Kuravilangad), Fr. George, Fr. Sebastian, Fr. Joseph,

Fr. Joseph, Fr. Alexander, Fr. Augustine and all the priests-ministers, old merchants and primaries and the most honourable Chaldean people, who live in Malabar, who are zealous of their own Chaldean rite, the ancient rite. The people are worthy of every good; they are full of the spirit of faith and of every ornament; they are solicitous about confirming and establishing the foundations of Chaldean heritage with all Christian charity and union; they have not been touched, nor moved from the right path because the tricks, deceits, dangers and persecutions, which were threatened against them by foreigners (the Carmelites), but rather they electively fought and still vigorously (manfully) fight to relieve themselves of the foreign hand for all the generations and forever.

Hence know that your letters and those of Father Antony, capable curate, reached us on 14 August and after having read them, we have known your intention, which is worthy of great praise, but above all we have been sorry about the tyranny and oppression, that Monsignor Bernardino did against the capable Curate (Antony). The former did not act canonically, but for hate and envy, something unworthy of ecclesiastical superiors! However, in spite of all that, we were pleased and we continually rejoice, because our Lord looks after you and keeps you alive, and especially you are girdled with the cincture of charity and union. You stand firm in this struggle with great courage and unanimity; while you do not slacken, nor you turn back for the bogey of your enemies, who terrify you with the suspension of priests and with their excommunications without any right; and this confirms that your hope is pious and your liberation is near. Meanwhile, as soon as we read your letters, we assembled the whole clergy of Mosul, together with the Apostolic Delegate Planchet, the Dominican missionaries and Father Abbot Elisha. After having consulted among us, we have written – to the Holiness of Our Lord the Pope, and to Barnabò, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation - all that Monsignor Bernardino did among you against Priest (Antony), the capable curate, and his old and new oppressions. We have enclosed

⁷ The patriarch named 42 priests who signed letters on various occasions. Most of them often signed without their surnames.

all your first and last writings in our letters and we have sent them to Rome: we hope that this time the task will be accomplished and you will have some assortment and you will obtain liberation, which you have sought for so long time with tears and have requested with resignation, very great zeal and unity. However, with all this it is necessary that you do not lack strength or you fail in this war; moreover be united with love among you, the priests, the clergy and the Chaldean people, who are in those countries of Malabar. Among you no one divides one from the other and no one sympathizes or tames with the Latins or with anyone, with the exception of someone belonging to the Chaldean rite. However, what is of prime importance is that you shall remain united among you with the bond of charity, because the superior of the Dominicans and the worthiest Monsignor Apostolic Delegate Planchet, who stay here, have told us like this. Take care that no one separates himself from you and this is absolutely necessary, while this will be of much benefit for us as well as for you and for our scope, which we have predetermined. Moreover do not cease to write to Rome and to us and especially to the Holiness of Our Lord the Pope; in the letters you will demonstrate to him that you are Chaldeans and at all times you depended on the patriarchs of Babylon before the entrance of heresy in your rite for five hundred years and more; and after the heresy until the day of the Synod (of Diamper), which was celebrated in 1599. You shall say also that 'We did not know to have a patriarch of our nation and rite and so we submitted to the foreign Latins with simplicity of heart, but when we have known to have patriarchs and superiors of our Chaldean rite in Amida (Diyarbakir), in Mosul and in Baghdad, from that time until today, never have ceased our voices nor our writings to Rome, to the Apostolic Holy See and to our Babylonian Chaldean patriarchs; and through those writings of ours we always asked for Chaldean bishops. Moreover make known to us and to Rome that you have not among you, nor among the clergy, nor among the people a Chaldean Superior, who can teach what is necessary to administer the holy sacraments and the rest of the rites and ecclesiastical orations. Moreover write to Rome that the Latin bishops count for nothing and they are of no use for us, rather they

are of affliction for us, because they do not know our language and we do not know theirs; so what benefit have we from them?

After all write everything that (you know) can be of benefit for this purpose there and without ceasing write to us and to Rome; now I cannot make known to you more than this till the response reaches us from Rome. Only be united in charity and always pray our Lord so that he mercifully decides this matter, through the intercession of his Mother because, unless the Lord builds the house, those who build it labour in vain" and "apart from me you can do nothing". Farewell and all of you, priests and people, be safe and sound. Amen.

Mosul, 21 December 1856.

⁸ Cf. Psalm 127 and John 15: 5.

Section Five

SECOND VOYAGE OF ANTONY KUDAKKACHIRA TO MOSUL AND TROUBLES: PROPAGANDA DENIES CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR

Introduction

As we have seen in the forgoing section, after his first mission in Mosul, in October 1856 Fr. Kudakkachira returned to Malabar and collected money and signatures for letters. After 15 months, in January 1857 he again went to Chaldea taking with him Fr. Sebastian Illickal from Kadanad, two cleric students Abraham Pandiyamakel and Mathew Kuzhinjaly, as well as twelve youths or 'seminarians' for studying Syriac and Chaldean rite. The 12 students were: Joseph Ettonnil, Mathew Vazhaplakel, Aippu Chalil, Thomas Karimattathil and Sebastian Kattackal from Anakallumkel (present Bharananganam), Jacob Piravithanam, Mathew Nedumpallil from Lalam (Palai), Mathew Thevarparambil from Muttuchira, John Kaniyaparambil from Vaikam, Thomas Srampickal from Pulinkunnu, Varkey from Muttam, and Thomas Madapatt from Palai. They started from Plassanal, embarked from Alleppey, touched Muscatt, and after a short stay in Bassorah, finally reached Baghdad towards the end of 1857.

Fr. Antony Thondanatt and Fr. Thomas Kumpidiyanmackel who had gone to Chaldea on the occasion of the first mission of Antony Kudakkachira did not return and were already there. So after the arrival of the new group there were altogether 18 persons from the Malabar Church in Baghdad. Because of contagious

¹ Cf. Bernard Thoma, Mar Thoma Kristianikal, 720; A. Pareparambil, An Account of a Very Important Period of the History of the Catholic Syrian Christians of Malabar, 8-9; X. Koodapuzha, Bharathasabhacharithram (Indian Church History), fourth enlarged edition, Kottayam 2012, 645.

fever, Fr. Antony Kudakkachira died and was buried in the church of Our Lady of Seven Dolours in Baghdad. The remaining 17 persons stayed in Baghdad for three months, during which Fr. Sebastian Illickal and four students also died. So there remained Frs. Antony Thondanatt, Fr. Thomas Kumpidiyanmackel and eleven students, who being afraid of these sinister events, went to Mosul where the Chaldean Patriarch resided.²

They did not obtain accommodation in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd as desired by the Patriarch. Hence the boys were accommodated in private homes by charitable Chaldean people. The two priests stayed in the patriarchal house and continued their endeavors to obtain permission from Rome for the consecration of a bishop of the "same rite" through the mediation of the Patriarch.

The essential theme of the documents presented in this section is obviously the question of Chaldean jurisdiction in Malabar. In spite of the insistence of Patriarch Audo, Propaganda Fide did not give a positive response, but asked the Patriarch to send back the Malabar priests and youths who stayed in Mosul, without granting them a Chaldean or Malabar bishop, as they persistently requested.

² Cf. Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 327.

DOCUMENT 34

LETTER OF THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO ASKING HIM NOT TO INTERVENE IN MALABAR

Rome, 14 December 1857; Cardinal Barnabò, the Prefect of Propaganda Fide asked Chaldean Patriarch Joseph Audo to send back the Malabars staying in Baghdad to their country and not to occupy with the affairs of Malabar (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 582-583).

It has been referred to this Sacred Congregation that there are 12 Malabars (in Baghdad), convoked by Your Lordship, among whom there is a priest;³ and it has also been reported that these 12 young men have been maintained with the money of the Chaldean Church of Baghdad and that now they want to be sent by you to the convent of St Hormizd.

I already wrote to Your Lordship on 13 August of last year, recommending you not to occupy with Malabar until this pending question would be defined by this Sacred Congregation. And although Your Lordship wrote to me later to defend the conduct held by you in this regard, it would have been much better to surrender to the desires repeatedly exposed by Propaganda and not to be interested in such matters at all. Meanwhile you were witness of the destiny fallen to the first expedition of the famous Cassanar Antony and his friends there, expedition happened against the wishes of Propaganda. He and his six partisans died under the eyes of Your Lordship and they appeared before the court of God when they did not think about it. However, omitting to speak about those who were already judged, I do not know (if the report is true)

³ Here the young priest Thomas Kumpidiyanmackel also seems to be counted with other eleven youths.

⁴ The Cardinal appears to be satisfied with the death of those innocent boys as well, who abandoned their family and friends and went to Baghdad with a sincere desire to study their liturgical language and rite, since such possibility was denied to them in their own country.

for what purpose you want to maintain those 12 young men about whom I have talked above, spending for them sums of money destined to other uses, without rather sending them back – as reason would suggest – to their native land, for not preventing or hampering the provisions that the Sacred Congregation will have to adopt with regard to the affair.

I have also been informed of another matter. It is said that Your Lordship is building for yourself a house not with your own money.⁵ I cannot believe such a thing, nevertheless as it is an obligation of my office I have to ask Monsignor Apostolic Delegate and to Your Lordship also about these deductions, so that from the responses of both, the state of things may become clear. And so I enclose the present letter to Monsignor Planchet, with insinuation to hand it over to Your Lordship after having read it.

And meanwhile waiting for a reply etc.

Rome, 14 December 1857,

[Cardinal Barnabò, Prefect].

⁵ [Here is what Monsignor Planchet, apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia wrote about this on 26 October 1857: "The Patriarch wanted to build a house in the two biggest villages of his diocese. To help himself in those expenses, he put a sum of 4.000 (sic) piastres, left for a certain church by a Chaldean died in the Indies; and he took from the monks a house already sold forcing them to give back to the buyer the received money of 4.500 piastres. The monks are silent for fear. As regards the 4.000 piastres of the defunct Chaldean the Patriarch wrote to me, asking for my opinion, but adding that he would not change his"].

DOCUMENT 35

RESPONSE OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE, VINDICATING HIS RIGHTS IN MALABAR

Mosul, 20 April 1858; in this letter addressed to Cardinal Barnabò, the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, Chaldean Patriarch Joseph Audo responded to the accusations against him, vindicating his rights in Malabar and explaining the reasons for the stay of twelve Malabar students in Baghdad, namely for learning "Chaldean (Syriac) language and the things of their own Chaldean rite, which had become extinct for the most part". He also enclosed a historical memorial demonstrating Chaldean jurisdiction in India from the very early centuries, which we reproduce after the letter of the Patriarch as a separate document (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 584-587).

Most Eminent Prince,

I have received the esteemed letter of Your Eminence dated 14 December of the current year (see document 34) and all what it contained about the very strong complaints concerning the affair of Malabar and the building of a patriarchate in the town of Telkef from my part, has brought to me the greatest surprise and astonishment, since I have found myself to be at a great fault; God help me! However, here is my reply: Your Eminence knows well how I had written to the Sacred Congregation the report about the petition made by the Malabars to our see in the name of my predecessor Monsignor Nicolas Zeia (di Giacobbe), and to this report I had received from the Sacred Congregation a response full of hope – close to be realized – for satisfying the petitions of the Malabars, made known to the said Sacred Congregation by me through a copy of their letters. But then for the intrigues (plots) of certain curious persons, who hate us and who cannot tolerate the elevation of our Nation to its former rank of honour, which it has all the right to vindicate (claim) – for these reasons I say – the decision in favour of the Malabar petitions was deferred. Then I made known again to the Sacred Congregation mine and their

respective petitions concerning the same subject through Delegate Monsignor Planchet; and through the same Monsignor Planchet I received the reply that the ecclesiastical annals demonstrate that the Babylonian Patriarch had never jurisdiction over the Chaldean Malabar. I could not believe this after the very clear evidences in Assemani and others and in the records of ours proving such ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Your Eminence can know this better than us, both from the same Assemani, and also from the archives of the Sacred Congregation. Therefore if things are like this: for what reason does Your Eminence get angry against the Malabars when they want reunion to their rite and Nation? Why are we hated when we ask that the aforesaid be reunited again to us, as they were before, for their good and for giving back to our Nation its ancient splendour, something Your Eminence is obliged to procure so that every evil be taken away and instead the faith and the piety increase? And therefore Most Eminent Prince, when I deal with these things, why does Your Eminence consider me out of the proper way of my obligations and rights almost as if I did something repugnant to the canons?

Moreover I wrote to Your Eminence about the reasons for which the young Malabar-Chaldeans had come to us, that is, for the necessity to learn the language and the things of their own Chaldean rite, which became extinct for the most part. That little portion, which remains, is so miserable that if Your Eminence had been informed of the real condition concerning this, (I am persuaded) you would have endeavoured to find out some instantaneous remedy for them soon. Because this is clear, it is not possible that Your Eminence and the Sacred Congregation omit overseeing such things concerning the holy rites and sacraments.

Then the expenses for the Malabars in Baghdad were not contributed by the Church, but by the piety and charity of the faithful; this still happened here in Mosul. As regards placing them in the monastery of St Hormizd, it is true that I wanted to do it because I thought that there they could discipline themselves a little and learn things necessary for them, but when I saw that the monks (resisted it), because of the fear that the expenses would not be met at least partially by me and also because of the instigation

of certain people, I have refrained from this. However, it is certain that in case of admission, I would have helped the monastery in the necessary expenses. Up to this moment I do not know to have spent for the Malabars money or anything else destined to a different use. So if Your Eminence wants to take some measures to decide about the matter concerning what they asked and I desire, I think that for this there is not any difference or trouble whether they stay in Malabar or here with us. And I think that because of this there cannot be any impediment for Your Eminence to do the necessary for the good of these miserable people who, having prostrated before Your Eminence and the Holy See, implore them, as they have no one else who is able and willing to have pity on their misery and to realize their desires, except Your Eminence and the Sacred Congregation, to both they have not ceased to address supplications since a long time.

Your Eminence says that I am constructing a house for me not with my own money: it is not true; but I have made to build rather two patriarchal houses for all those who will come after me, one in the village of Alquosh and the other in that of Telkef. I have given only a very small amount in Alquosh; the inhabitants of the town have spontaneously offered the rest, in particular with their work. In Telkef I have spent the money already donated as a pious legacy by a man from Telkef died in the Indies by name Anna, son of Kuriakose. And this house has to be and is a property of the patriarchate and of the immediately contiguous church. Here is what I think to reply to the letter of Your Eminence and these are the true responses; and if someone will write the contrary, he is a liar: I have already sent a copy of this with the mail through Monsignor Planchet. Father Besson, who will have the honour to deliver to you this, will also present a 'historical memory' on the proposed subject from my part, and I beg Your Eminence to read it and to interrogate and listen to the said Father Besson about the same matter, as also his predecessor, Father Marchi, if until now he has not had the honour to speak to Your Most Illustrious Eminence about this affair. Finally if all this will not be enough, Your Eminence is again requested to be willing to send to Malabar some explorers and visitors, who shall not be all Latins; they verify with

equity and disinterestedness the recalls, needs, complaints and the real state of the Malabar-Chaldeans, while begging Your Eminence to favour us a benevolent look soon, imparting on us also the apostolic blessing of His Holiness, I have the honour of writing to Your Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Eminence.

Mosul, 20 April 1858,

Most devotedly, Joseph Audo, Babylonian Chaldean Patriarch.

DOCUMENT 36

MEMORIAL ABOUT THE CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR SENT BY PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Mosul, 20 April 1858; together with the letter presented above (Document 35) Patriarch Audo transmitted to the Prefect of Propaganda a memorial drafted by George Khayyath, an alumnus of Propaganda (later the Chaldean bishop of Amadiah and then Patriarch) with the intention of demonstrating Chaldean jurisdiction in India from the very inception of Christianity. Especially the third part on "Memories of the Church of Malabar from the year 1490 up to the present day" contains some inaccurate and historically erroneous statements (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 587-595).

§. 1: Rite and Jurisdiction

It seems, it can be demonstrated that the Syro-Chaldean Malabar Church has been from the very beginning dependent on and formed part of, the Chaldean Church.

I. Since the demise of St Thomas the Apostle, who was the regenerator and the disciplinarian by (the will of) Christ, the bishops of India used to receive the imposition of hands and the consecration by the bishop of Persia, who was the Primate of the whole Persian province and his dominion, that is, jurisdiction

extended up to India. Moreover his great diocese was none other than a large part of the Chaldean Church, which also was at first dependent on the Patriarchate of Antioch. However I would say that the Church in India, which is today known as Malabar Church from the beginning had its ecclesiastical dependence on the Chaldean Patriarchate that was founded by St Thomas, Addai and Mari in Ctesiphon and Seleucia, and presided over by martyr St Simon Bar-Saba. This dependence was such that for some time it remained mediate, the Primate of Persia being intermediary, as the circumstances demanded, but in the end it was reverted back to himself, not being ever denied legitimately the dependence on the Chaldean-Persian Primate of the Catholic See, that is, patriarchal See, as it was then called, in Seleucia and Ctesiphon (see Assemani, Bibl. Orient. t. 3. p. 2).6 Now to prove the assumption, it is certain that Apostle St Thomas was equally the Apostle of India and Persia and all of the neighbouring countries (see Assemani, l. c.). If then, their Apostle is one, it must be concluded that the Church is also one respectively, with the unity of jurisdiction or at least of dependency that comes from ordination and certain other rights, as seen in other similar Christianities or Churches, the lower and inferior ones subordinating themselves to the higher Churches (having regard for certain preferences, which being various, it is not necessary here to list). Now among all provinces converted by St Thomas, there was no greater See than that of Seleucia or that of Persia precisely for the reason of the proximity of the place.

II. Therefore, there is no doubt that from the epoch of St Thomas to that of Nestorianism the Malabar Church, that is, the Indian Church had not ceased to flourish: it should have therefore at least one bishop with subordinate pastors. On the hypothesis that this bishop did not have his ordination and hence due dependence on the Chaldean bishop of Persia or on the archbishop of Seleucia, I ask, from whomever he received or could receive it; and if there had ever been someone else who had enjoyed that right, why none

⁶ In this report often reference is made to J. S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codicum Manuscriptorum catalogus*, 4 tomi, Romae 1719-1728

of the Ancients mentions it? Therefore it could have been none other than the Persian bishop or else the Seleucian bishop, both Chaldean and forming only one Church, as the (course of) time simplified it, which was to be manifested.

III. It is well known that when Chaldea was infected with Nestorianism in the fifth century, the Malabar Church also was infected with it shortly after and almost simultaneously, and with a great ease. This is easily explainable, admitting that before this epoch Malabar was part of the Chaldean Church, whose See was Seleucia and Ctesiphon. Otherwise the fact remains inexplicable; in fact the Chaldeans could not pervert even one of them, if they did not previously form one and the same ecclesiastical body.

IV. To these reasons it is worth adding positive proofs, first of which is given by the historian of the Council of Nicaea, Gelasius of Cyzicus who attests that Bishop John of Persia signed there (it is still seen in the genuine acts of the First Ecumenical Synod) on behalf of and as a representative of the Church of Persia and that of the Great India: therefore, at that time India with Persia formed a single Church etc.

V. In 535 AD Cosmas Indicopleustes explored India and Malabar; he wrote that in the city called Kalyan there existed the See of the whole of India, and that its bishop used to go to Persia in order to receive the episcopal imposition of hands; this explains why John of Persia signed in Nicaea in the name of the Church in India. Here it can certainly be demonstrated that what was done by the Persian Chaldean bishop at the time of Cosmas in relation to the Indian episcopate, was done also in the VI century as is revealed by Gelasius, and the same is applicable also in III, II and I centuries. Otherwise let us be told, who else ever used to hold this

⁷ He writes according to the understanding of that time. Modern scholarly studies have demonstrated that the patristic, liturgical, theological and canonical books of the Church of the East have never contained any heretical doctrine. This permitted Pope John Paul II and the Patriarch of the Assyrian Church of the East Mar Dinkha IV to sign the common Christological declaration of 11 November 1994, which terminated Nestorianism. See *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 87 (1995) 685-687.

office and exercise this right other than that of the said Persian bishop. As Assemani demonstrates, as experts admit, and as the fact of the preaching of St Thomas requires, it (the Chaldean authority) existed from the beginning of the Indian Church, where today everything cries to Apostle Thomas. And if usurpation happened from the part of the bishop of Persia or other prelates of the Chaldean Church, the time and the place of that event must be proved and so also what were the causes of it and who had chronicled (reported) it etc. etc., of which we find perfect silence. Therefore since the beginning of the sixth century, according to the testimony of Cosmas, the Church of Malabar was part of the great Chaldean Church, and thus we can conclude that it was the same as always before.

VII. The Nestorian Patriarch Isoyahb Adiabene in the seventh century AD strongly reprimands, in one of his letters, the bishop of Persia for having half-heartedly permitted that the continuous chain of ordinations always in advance was interrupted (I do not know in what circumstances), which the bishops of India used to receive from the Chaldean Church by the (imposition of) hands of the Persian bishop (*see Assem. l. c.*). If it is assumeed that the dependence of India on the Chaldean Church was none other than the work of Nestorianism, one must say that it was a very foolish act from the part of Isoyahb, who was not only shrewd, but also was very well equipped with erudition.

- §. 2: Of the very little information we have regarding the Church of Malabar from VII century until the Portuguese domination of those parts
- 1. Abdiso (Ebedjesus) Sobensis in his *Nomocanon* lets us know that the bishop of India was raised to the dignity of metropolitan before the time of Patriarch Timothy who lived in the year 778, and says that it was done either by Patriarch Saliba (Sliba) Zakha in the year 714, or by Shila in the year 503, or by Ahai in the year 441, the period is uncertain but certainly before Timothy.
- II. In the year 858 Patriarch Theodosius in a synodal epistle obliges among other things, the metropolitan of India, to send at

least in every six years letters of subordination to the Chaldean Patriarch.

III. In the catalogue of the Chaldean metropolitans the Chaldean historian Amro puts the metropolitan of India as number 13, below that of China.

IV. From monuments of Malabar and those of Chaldea it is evident (*see Assem*ani) that until the ninth century the Nestorian-Chaldean Patriarchs sent bishops Thomas, Sapor and Proth to India; who ruled the churches of Quilon of Angamaly and Cochin in Malabar.

§. 3: Memories of the Church of Malabar from the year 1490 up to the present day

In the year 1490 George and Joseph came from India to Mesopotamia, to Mar Simon, the Chaldean-Nestorian Patriarch, to beg him shepherds for their Church. Both of them got ordained to the priesthood and they obtained two bishops, namely Bishop Thomas of India, and Bishop John of Macin (sic), and all these four left for Malabar in the year 1492. Bishop Thomas and priest Joseph returned to the Chaldean Patriarch bringing him gifts from Indian Christians. Then, Bishop Thomas remained with the Patriarch and Fr. Joseph returned to India, and in 1501 Fr. Joseph set off from India to Portugal, then went to Rome and Venice, and then returned to Malabar in the year 1503. Mar Elijah, the successor of Simon in the patriarchate made Jaballah, Denha and Jacob as bishops for Malabar and sent them there with Thomas, already bishop veteran of India; when the four of them reached there they found alive Mar John the aforesaid bishop of Macin (see their letter to the Patriarch in Assemani, t. 3. Bibl. Or).

In the year 1515, Mar Jacob, one of these four translated the New Testament into the Chaldean language in the Church of St Thomas in Cranganore, which codex is now present in the Vatican Library. In 1546 the Portuguese opened a college in Cranganore for the teaching of the Nestorian-Chaldean youths. In 1553 Pope Julius III made John Sulaqa as the Chaldean Patriarch (who came to Rome for this and to declare himself Catholic) and sent him back to the Chaldean Church with a bishop and a Dominican

Father. When John Sulaga reached Diyarbakir he made Adib Elijah as bishop for the same city and Ebedjesu for Gazirah. Finally Patriarch John Sulaga was killed by the work of his Nestorian anti-Patriarch called Simon Barmama, and the Chaldean Catholics elected the aforementioned Ebediesu of Gezirah as their Patriarch, who also went to Rome and received confirmation from Pius IV. Meanwhile the Dominican Msgr. Ambrose and his companion Fr. Anthony and Mar Elijah Abib and other Chaldean Catholics went from Diyarbakir to Malabar and there they worked for the good of those Chaldeans. At the same time the Catholic Patriarch Abdiso consecrated certain Joseph as bishop of Malabar and sent him to India. He was accused of Nestorianism in Cochin, and was held in a prison in Goa. The Malabars were impatiently outraged and sent envoys to ask the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon (because that time the Catholic Patriarchs stayed in Divarbakir or Amida) for a bishop. He sent them Bishop Abraham, who came to Malabar and consequently there started a rivalry between him and the other Msgr. Joseph who had already been released from the prison by the favour of Queen Catherine. From that time on two groups were seen in Malabar. Abraham went to his Patriarch of Babylon, who equipped him with letters and sent him to Rome; Abraham came to Pope Pius V and confessed the Catholic faith and he was confirmed as bishop of Malabar and in this quality he was sent to Malabar by the Holy Father. In 1562 Abdiso came to Pius IV to receive from him his confirmation, which he obtained, and had occasion to plead in favour of his Christians in Malabar; whom, he said, the Portuguese people claimed to possess, and exercised jurisdiction against his right. The author Pallavicini also mentions this complaint of Abdiso to the Pontiff and in the Council of Trent.

In the meantime in Malabar the aforesaid Bishop Joseph was again accused of Nestorianism and was arrested and sent to Rome. And when the aforementioned Abraham reached Goa, authorized by the Supreme Pontiff, the Dominicans arrested him as a suspect of faith, and as a deceiver of the Pope, and put him in a prison. He escaped from there and went to Malabar and found the see vacant by the absence of his rival Joseph. The Goan archbishop accused Abraham before Pope Gregory XIII: the Pope replied asking him to

convoke Abraham to the synod and if he professes the Catholic faith, let him be free in his bishopric, and by doing the same Abraham was admitted to the Catholic communion.

Meanwhile since the Malabars asked for another bishop to the Patriarch of Babylon, he sent them Mar Simon, who went to Rome and was confirmed by Pope Sixtus V and obtained permission to return to Malabar, but the Franciscans arrested him and imprisoned him in Portugal until he died there in prison in their convent in 1597. Abraham the bishop of Malabar died, and before dying he entrusted the governance of his Church to Archdeacon George. In 1599 the famous Synod of Diamper was held, whose acts still exist, I believe, in Latin: but from the little information Assemani wrote about it, we know that the summary of the actions was as following: Archdeacon George pronounced anathema against Nestorian errors and the Patriarch of Babylon (until then he was Nestorian); with his clergy and people he professed obedience to the Supreme Pontiff as the head of the Universal Church etc., and not to admit any prelate over them, who is not confirmed by the same Supreme Pontiff; then the errors of the ritual books of Malabar were striped off. Assemani says clearly that the fathers of this Synod exceeded in some items such as introducing the customs and rites of the Latin rite, and committed errors in other matters, namely in condemning certain usages, rites and rituals without distinction, and in assertively saying that the minister of the sacrament of Confirmation must only be the bishop, while it is certain from the definitions of ecumenical councils that the bishop is rather the *ordinary* minister of this sacrament, and not the *only* one, otherwise it would follow many absurd things. Because of these and other similar erroneous things or less accurate orders of this Synod, it seems that Assemani wants to conclude that it is not right to rely heavily on Synod of the Diamper. In 1601 the Latin jurisdiction began in Cranganore (Malabar) and the bishops were chosen from the Jesuit family.

In 1616 Mar Elias Amidense, the Patriarch of the Chaldean Catholics wrote to the Holy Father through a delegation, his synodal Catholic profession, and complained therein of the ill treatments and objections in Malabar that were made to the disadvantage of the Chaldeans or Syro-Malabars, his native subjects, which tormented those Christians who are little expert in matters of faith. In those days the Malabars asked the Patriarch (Nestorian? sic) a bishop of their rite and obtained Ahattalla, who arrived in Malabar but was arrested and detained by the Portuguese in a prison. Having understood this the Malabars were greatly moved and gathered at Mattancherry, Cochin, Mangatt and were of the opinion to elect a bishop instead of the arrested one. This was Archdeacon Thomas called Parambil, and since they did not find any bishop to consecrate him, they made to do it by twelve priests and held him as true bishop.

In 1656 Carmelite missionaries came to Malabar; when the Latin bishop of Malabar Francis Garcia (Jesuit missionary) died in Cochin, he was succeeded by Carmelites as bishops in the lands of unbelievers, namely vicars apostolic, and the first of them was Msgr. Joseph, bishop of Hierapolis who made Alexander Parambil, bishop of the Chaldean-Malabar rite for those people. A new schism was born there, some were obedient to this Alexander, and some others clinging to his rival pseudo bishop Thomas. On this occasion the Syrian Jacobites went to Malabar for the first time, because the Malabars (a faction of them, certainly not all) being enthusiastic and attached as it seems to the point of fanaticism to Syriac their ritual language, wrote to the Jacobite Patriarch that they wanted him and not the Chaldeans to take interest in their cause (purpose), as there was no substantial difference between the Syrian and Chaldean languages. The first Jacobite bishop came to Malabar was George (Mar Gregorios) of Jerusalem, who arrived in 1676. And this was precisely after the death of Archdeacon Thomas and Bishop Alexander, both of them of the Chaldean rite, that is, Syro-Malabar. Then, as narrated by the Carmelite monk Vincenzo Maria, they wrote to the Apostolic See asking a bishop of their own rite, not accepting to remain deprived of everything, and being repeatedly disappointed, they wrote equally to the Nestorian Patriarch and the Jacobite Patriarch promising to accept a bishop of any of these two nations if he would come with a liturgy either Chaldean or Syrian in his hand. Thus came in fact the aforementioned Jacobite Bishop George of Jerusalem and found

great reception by a large part of the faithful and they remain under the Jacobite domination until now. It was not until the year 1709 that Bishop Gabriele of Azerbaijan came to Malabar from the part of the Nestorians, who in order to obtain better success, sent his profession of faith to Rome, which being suspicious, the Sacred Congregation answered asking him to explain further, but instead he went to Malabar. There he was subjected to the conditions proposed to him by Msgr. Angelus, the Carmelite vicar apostolic, if he did not want to be chased.

In 1779 the Syro-Malabar people gathered together with the heretical Bishop Thomas, who wanted the Catholic communion. They chose two priests from among them, Dr. Joseph Cariattil and Fr. Thomas Paremmakkal and sent them to the Queen of Portugal, from there they had to move to Rome, with the intension of supplicating the Holy See to have compassion of their Church, and to personally report (by word of mouth) matters related to their many replicated requests and to expose their pretensions with strong reasons, as well as of complaining bitterly about the disasters, that they must endure because of the enemies of their rite. After some time the Malabar people came to know that those two arrived safe and sound in Rome, Dr. Joseph Cariattil was consecrated bishop and they were sent to Malabar, but they had to stay there quasi-imprisoned, as those who deceived the Holy See and as if they went there (on their own), not sent by common counsel and choice of the Malabars. Then the Malabars wrote letters to Rome in favour of these two commissioners and orators, signed by 75 priests, in which they justified the two priests they sent to Rome and, having endorsed their legation, requested the Holy Father with tears to accept their attachment to the Holy See and to the Catholic faith, as one more pledge to defend it and to give them right; to be willing to order that the two priests who already reached Portugal came back to Malabar and did not die in prison. Finally, they say, in order to remove any suspicion about the truth of the matter, they conjure to send as visitors two disinterested persons from his part, and in this way they close their supplication.

Then the will of the Holy See, expressed to Patriarch Hormizd John through Msgr. Coupperie, authorizing the former to send his clergy to Malabar; those things which the Patriarch, in so critical relations and times in which he found himself, did regarding Malabar; other things that Mar Joseph the Patriarch in Diyarbakir was about to do when he was seized by death; and further the more recent dealings of Malabar with the Sacred Congregation and the Chaldean Catholic Patriarchate, are all matters, I say, well known and hence need not be put in detail.

Follow the signature in Chaldean and the Seal of Msgr. Audo.

The undersigned compiler declares not to touch the merit of the question at all, which he knows to be *under judgment now*; and moreover declares that the major part of the reported facts are from *Assemani*, *Bibl. Or. t. 3, p. 2*.

Chaldean Priest George Khayyath, alumnus of Propaganda, secretary.

DOCUMENT 37

LETTER OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO APOSTOLIC DELEGATE PLANCHET, SEEKING INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF THE PATRIARCH

Rome, 15 May 1858; Cardinal Barnabò, Prefect of Propaganda Fide, having heard news about the plans of Patriarch Audo to consecrate two bishops and complaints about ecclesiastical and financial affairs, asked Msgr. Planchet, apostolic delegate of Mosul, to provide exact information regarding the conduct of the Patriarch, especially about the election of bishops, including Rokos (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 595-596).

Your Lordship,

I think that the affairs of the Chaldeans go totally collapsed especially due to the fault of Patriarch Audo. I am told that he

plans to consecrate two priests as bishops; one is called *Rukos*⁸ and the other *Romanos*, two very ignorant and stubborn (obstinate) people, and that he refused to give a bishop to Seert because the people do not want to accept a priest like Andrew, not very different from the aforementioned ones. Likewise he leaves without a shepherd Aqra because they do not accept Rokos there. Moreover, I have heard that he continually tries to accumulate money (this vice is present also in others, especially in monks), and many people are displeased with him, and thus he can no longer do any good among them. In this situation, there would be, if the exposition is true, people who complaint to Your Lordship that, as those, you also remain almost an indifferent spectator of such evil without using all your forces to bring the Patriarch back to his senses (to reality).

Perhaps I would not have given any weight to such complaints, if I had not also heard about the Patriarch from the previous reports of Your Lordship. Therefore, I would like to get from you exact information on the matter. And in the meantime, if it is true that he thinks to consecrate more ignorant bishops, Your Lordship can make him known that the Sacred Congregation be preventively be notified of this for special reasons.

(Final greetings),

Cardinal Alexander Barnabò.

 $^{^{\}rm 8}$ [This priest is also known as Rokos who was later consecrated and sent to Malabar by Patriarch Mar Audo].

DOCUMENT 38

LETTER OF THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO PATRIARCH AUDO VINDICATING ITS EXCLUSIVE COMPETENCE IN MALABAR

Roma, 24 July 1858; the Prefect of Propaganda Fide sent a simple response to Chaldean Patriarch Audo, acknowledging the reception of his letter and the memorial (Document 36) about the Syro-Chaldean Church in Malabar. As regards the Malabar issue the Patriarch was informed only that it would be discussed in a future assembly of the Congregation and the decision about the issue pertained exclusively to the Holy See (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 596).

Recently I have received the letter of Your Lordship dated 20 April 1858 together with other documents entitled "Memories about the Syro-Chaldean Church in Malabar".

In this regard I must say that the summary of a report (ponenza) has already been printed, 9 which will be submitted to the eminent Fathers of this Sacred Congregation in order to explain the condition of the Syro-Malabar Church and to elicit those ordinances (arrangements), which according to them are beneficial for the welfare of the said Church. From this I hope you would understand that I have never forgotten this important matter, and if the same has not yet been accomplished, it is due to the great distance of places that renders communications difficult. Besides, we are in need of some necessary clarifications regarding certain points from the vicar apostolic of Malabar, which have not yet been received.

⁹ [This summary with the archival notes forms the first part of the present report]. Although a report (*ponenza*) was prepared at that time, for reasons unknown it was not submitted to the assembly of cardinals and hence no decision was taken on the Malabar question. So it was added to the report presented to the plenary assembly of 6 March 1865 as its first part. We have reproduced the important documents of this section as well in the initial sections of this work.

In the meantime, I caution you from taking any further step regarding this issue, because its examination and judgment exclusively pertain to the Holy See.

Further, I am happy because Your Lordship assures me that the complaints that have been communicated here are false, but at the same time I cannot hide from you that similar complaints have reached the Sacred Congregation from different parts. Therefore, I exhort you to demonstrate the inexistence of them with actual facts and so to close the mouth of those who speak iniquities.

Just this much to reply for now, and nothing more, etc. [Cardinal Barnabò, Prefect].

DOCUMENT 39

RESPONSE OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE PROPOSING SOLUTIONS

Mosul, 12 November 1858; in the response to the letter of 24 July 1858, once more the Chaldean Patriarch reasonably suggested to the Prefect of Propaganda to send two priests (a Latin and a Chaldean) to study the real situation in Malabar in order to take an impartial and just decision about the issue, instead of exclusively depending on the report of the vicar apostolic of Verapoly. The Patriarch promised not to do anything without a decision of Propaganda and rightly pointed out that his patient waiting for a decision since so many years demonstrated this fact. Moreover he indicated that the accusations against him were false and the three bishops-elect were worthy priests with upright character, but they would not be consecrated for various reasons. It seems that, since Propaganda Fide was contrary to the election of the said bishops, the Patriarch avoided their consecration adducing some excusive reasons (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 597-601).

First of all, we let Your Most Reverend Eminence know that we received your most esteemed letter dated 24 July 1858, and after reflecting on the admonitions it contains, we thanked God our Lord for your concern for the well-being of the entire Holy Catholic Church and particularly for our poor nation, because from this (letter) we are convinced of (as Your Most Reverend Eminence has now declared to us) everything that is convenient to do for managing the affairs of the Chaldean Church of Malabar with those arrangements useful for the tranquillity of those people, as the wisdom of Your Eminence fittingly judges, which always solicits for the good of all. We have understood very well and without fear of error that with the same concern Your Eminence is working for the good of our flock. May God our Lord assist Your Eminence in this world with his abundant mercy and in eternity by giving you reward for your tireless toil, amen.

However, Your Eminence, with your permission, we would say that it is not possible, as many prudent people opine, that the illustrious delegate (vicar) apostolic of Malabar let you know everything true to the facts concerning (the relationship) between him and the Chaldeans of Malabar. If Your Eminence thinks it wise we shall do like this, you give the order that all the affairs of both the parties are examined by two other priests sent there by Your Eminence; one of those priests must be from the Latin rite and the other from the Chaldean rite. The Latin priest, if possible, be the Dominican priest Fr. Marchi who knows the Chaldean language and the affairs of both parties; if not, his confrere Fr. Bossen, even though he does not know the Chaldean language, he knows well the affairs of Malabar. Let the Chaldean priest be one from our place or one of those three Chaldean priests who are with Your Eminence (in Propaganda College), namely Fr. Michael Ufi, Fr. Domenic Losanna or Fr. Joseph Guriel.

With regard to what Your Eminence informs and admonishes us, that is, not to meddle in the affairs of the Chaldeans of Malabar because the judgment and their affairs belong to Your Eminence alone, we respond that: we never meddled in their business as judges or inquisitors, never (God forbid)! However, we acted like postulators before Your Eminence for their good. If our work was not so, why so far we have not acted according to their secret petitions, not even giving any relief to their churches? Even though they, as many others, asked us many times to deal with this issue

provoking and instigating us, did we ever listen? Hence let Your Eminence know that without your command we have not done anything and, as we hope, will not do anything else (even in the future) without an indication from you, if the Lord will help us through your acceptable prayers. I assure you of this; it will be so. However, we ask only one thing from your diligent piety which is disposed to benefit all, to act quickly to satisfy the request and the appeals of those abandoned Chaldeans of Malabar, so that: this persistent knocking at the door of your mercy, as that of the abandoned widow, may cease; from their assiduous knocking they may not become cool (lose interest) towards Your Eminence and towards us; or rather they may not fall into any inconvenient abyss on account of their despair or pusillanimity (timidity) which Your Eminence knows better than anyone else.

With regard to the accusations against us, Your Eminence may rejoice when you understand from our letter the falsity of the accusations, that is, accusations against our responsibility which were presented to Your Eminence by those who did not know our diligence in our duties, or do not wish our wellbeing, or are inclined to say evil things (wrong things). However, from this we have known how much you love us and how sublime is our reputation before Your Most Reverend Eminence. With all this, for your affection towards us, a humble servant, we implore you that if someone accuses us, please do not write to us highlighting only his accusations, but write rather openly and clearly to us so that we may understand what is the real intention of those accusers, and so to respond appropriately to Your Eminence, and thus to close the mouths of those writers of falsehood, fraud, hatred and envy, who are always inclined to evil. Moreover if Your Eminence so likes, command that these accusers who wrote against us to Your Eminence be examined before the most upright fathers and apostolic missionaries present here. And thus the truth of our words and the falsity of our accusers will easily be known, and they (these examiners) will write to Your Eminence everything as really is, and thus you will not commit any mistake.

Your Eminence also wrote to Msgr. Planchet on the consecration of the bishops for the dioceses of Seert and Aqra,

because some malicious and seditious people, devoid of any spiritual or Christian aptitude wrote to you about three worthy priests, namely Fr. Andrew, Fr. Roman and Fr. Rokos and wickedly said to Your Eminence that they were not good in their comportments and that they are without any wisdom and doctrine appropriate for the episcopal state; those envious people blamed these priests also of other things. As regards this I tell you that they are (accusers) lairs and there is no truth in their discourses because no stain was found in the character of these priests from childhood until now. Their learning is quiet sufficient, because they know to read, write and speak in three (sic) languages, namely, Chaldean, Arabic, Kurdish and Parthian, with the exception of Fr. Rokos, who does not know Parthian well. The illustrious Msgr. Planchet, the delegate advised us with great joy to consecrate Fr. Andrew for the diocese of Kerkuk instead of Msgr. John Tamraz; likewise he asked us to consecrate the latter for the diocese of Agra. However, we did not consecrate him (Fr. Andrew) for the diocese of Kerkuk, because of certain particular circumstances of that time, and not because of his unworthiness. Even now we intend to consecrate him for the diocese of Aqra, if it accepts and will be happy about it, because we have no one else better than him among all the celibate priests. Since Fr. Roman is almost always sick, we have no intention to consecrate him for the diocese of Agra, nor for any other diocese; if he were not sick, there would not have been any other impediment. Fr. Rokos is also worthy to be consecrated bishop, since not even he has any impediment. However, we will not consecrate him because we need him for other affairs related to the Nation, and more important than those of this bishopric.

After all these proofs, if it pleases Your Eminence, order that the actions of these three priests and the actions of their accusers be examined in the presence of us and of two apostolic delegates who are with us and who are well informed of all these news, either having heard or having seen them. They are also very clear about the actions of the accusers, who moved those accusations for no reason other than hatred and envy. Or else, allow us to come to Your Eminence so that primarily we be blessed by the holy relics of St Peter and St Paul and then by the Supreme Pontiff, Pope Our

Lord, the successor of St Peter and Vicar of Jesus Christ; secondarily, to give an account of our actions (conduct), since we have unworthily been raised to this office.

We also let Your Eminence know that we have received, through the apostolic delegate Most Reverend Planchet, those pictures requested at the time of Fransoni, with other books useful for the nation; may the Lord reward you for that. So also we have received two letters of His Holiness; the first one contains the Plenary Indulgence which we have already propagated in the entire nation. According to the second letter all the parish priests must celebrate Holy Mass for the faithful without stipend (*gratis*) on feast days and Sundays, which we are anxious to comply with as far as possible, according to the order of His Holiness, because some special preparations necessary for the divulgation of the said intention have not yet been terminated. Hence in another letter the manner, the implementation will be made known to Your Eminence, as it is our obligation.

Moreover let Your Eminence know that the four canonical prayers of the third, sixth and ninth hours and the night prayer which were abolished by the ex-Patriarch Most Reverend Zeia, saying that the aforesaid prayers are not of our rite, but rather belong to the Maronite rite, and thus the whole clergy have not recited them anymore. Let Your Eminence know that the recitation of these prayers traces back to one hundred and eighty years. We have in our old Chaldean rite, seven prayers canonically decreed for all the clergy, and the rite says that they were decreed by the Apostles themselves. The five Patriarchs, who resided in the city of Amadiyah, used to recite the seven prayers and commanded all the clergy to recite them. Especially the pious Patriarch Joseph II, in his book Explicatio ministerii, commanded the clergy, obliging them to recite these prayers, under pain of mortal sin, in case of their omission. Patriarch Zeia abolished four of the seven prayers against all rites and doctors of all Christian nations who justify this sevenfold prayer. Therefore, let Your Eminence judge and decide on this matter of so great importance. Meanwhile we will be silent, with our silence we will not err, waiting for the order of Your Eminence which will be for our good and for the building up of the

nation. Let Your Eminence know that we have always recited these prayers and we are of the opinion that those who do not recite them sin mortally, as all the theologians, synods and previous Roman popes decided. Therefore, respond to us on this issue and please do not forget us in your prayers.

Mosul, 20 September 1858,

The least of your servants, Joseph Audo, Patriarch of Babylonia.

DOCUMENT 40

MEMORANDUM OF FR. CHARLES HYACINTH TO PROPAGANDA FIDE PRESENTING VARIOUS NEEDS OF THE MALABAR CHURCH

Rome, 25 March 1859; in this memorandum submitted to Cardinal Barnabò, Prefect of Propaganda Fide, on behalf of the vicar apostolic of Verapoly, by Fr. Charles Hyacinth of St Elijah, pro-vicar apostolic of Quilon, who visited Rome, he informed the Prefect that the vast majority of the clergy and the faithful were much attached to the pastors sent by Propaganda. He presented to the Cardinal various needs of the Malabar Church in the liturgical, spiritual and socio-cultural fields (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 601-605).

After the reunion of the clergy and Suriani people of Malabar to the Holy Catholic faith in the Synod of Diamper summoned by the most zealous Msgr. Menezes, archbishop of Goa, from time to time some wicked priests and lay people have not ceased from shaking off the yoke of their legitimate pastors of Cranganore, and from striving to subject the whole nation to Catholic Patriarch of Babylon or to the schismatic Nestorian patriarch (as father Antony and his followers tried recently, which is well-known to Your Eminence), so that, in this way they would be able to live according to their wishes. Nevertheless, the vast majority of the clergy and Suriani people were and are always very attached to the Holy Roman Church and to the pastors sent by the same to govern

them. Moreover the majority jealously observes what was determined in the praiseworthy Synod, and thus the purity of Catholic faith and ecclesiastical discipline has always been kept intact.

However, although all the faithful remain in obedience and veneration to the Holy See, those who are governed by the vicar apostolic of Verapoly are always very attached to the same in a special way, and such attachment, veneration and submission greatly augmented in them, after the promulgation of the brief *Multa praeclare* by which all were united under the vicar apostolic of Verapoly without distinction of jurisdiction and was governed by him. Presently, more than ever they desire to have a strong bond with the Holy See and strive to be in communion with it as much as possible.

To support their good disposition and the petition of good Suriani priests, the bishop of Verapoly desires the following from Your Eminence:

- 1. Since in the Syro-Malabar Missal the general rubrics are lacking and since each one is doing as he is taught by his teacher called *malpan*, there is no uniformity. Therefore general rubrics to be followed would be given to the clergy.
 - 2. Mass and blessing for marriage are lacking.
- 3. Of different epistles and gospels (only some passages are cited there), vicar apostolic of Verapoly has given an exemplar each to Msgr. De Brasilac to be brought to Your Eminence. 10
- 4. The service and Mass of the Holy Saturday were never in use among them, but they really desire to have them now, and therefore promptly request for them.
 - 5. In the Creed the word *dead (mortuus)* is lacking.
- 6. On Maundy Thursday during the procession to the Holy Sepulchre they sing "Pange lingua gloriosi lauream certaminis"

The person indicated should be Bishop Melchior-Marie-Joseph de Marion-Brésillac MEP, titular bishop of Prusa, who was vicar apostolic of Coimbatore from 1850 to 1855.

instead of "Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium" as present in their Missal. There is doubt that this could be a printing mistake because all the other prayers of the Holy Week are faithfully translated from the Latin Missal.

- 7. According to their rite, instead of putting a small piece of the Host in the chalice, they dip the greater part of it in the Blood and with the wet part make a cross on the other half in the paten. Now they doubt whether they should continue the same practice also on Maundy Thursday since their Missal prescribes on that day to place the piece of Host in the Chalice.
- 8. According to their rite, in order to bless water for the baptism, they mix only the sacred Chrism and not the sacred oil of the catechumens. The Synod of Diamper does not specify it, but speaks only in general about the baptism as follows: "The Synod does also commanded under the same precept (in virtue of holy obedience) all vicars and curates to celebrate this sacrament with the rites and ceremonies, exorcisms and prayers, that are contained in the Roman Ritual, which the most illustrious metropolitan has ordered to be translated into Syriac for the administration of all the sacraments, and is to be kept in all churches". Now they doubt whether this is an error and what should actually be done.
- 9. The aforementioned Suriani Ritual lacks also the following (prayers):
- 1) The blessing of marital bed; 2) new ship; 3) fodder and vineyards; 4) eggs and other edibles in general; 5) for those who have the faculty from a bishop, the benediction of priestly habits in general; 6) the altar cloths; 7) corporals; 8) tabernacle, ciborium or theca (case) in which the Holy Eucharist is preserved and transported to the sick; 9) to bless and place the first stone for the building of a new church: 10) to bless a new church before the celebration of the first Holy Mass; 11) to bless a new cemetery; 12) to re-dedicate a defiled cemetery; 13) to conduct the procession on days of major litanies; 14) the rite of the procession on the day of *Corpus Domini* and of other processions that are found in Roman

¹¹ Cf. Synod of Diamper, session IV, decree 14.

Ritual; 15) the mode of exorcising the possessed; 16) the formula of writing the parish records.

At the request of the Surianis, Monsignor asks Your Eminence that the Sacred Bible and Breviaries of their rite be printed. Of these, Monsignor Vicar Apostolic sent the additions to be made through the Monsignor of Brasillac (sic), and in order to send them to you, a priest extracted them from his Breviary.

If all these things or at least what is lacking in the Missal and Ritual is not possible to be printed in Rome, the bishop of Verapoly requests Your Eminence to give permission to print it in Malabar itself, after being translated correctly by Suriani priests who know their language better than anywhere else including Rome itself, and then they be corrected by Fr. Marceline and Fr. Philip, both apostolic missionaries.

- 10. On behalf of the Suriani priests, the vicar apostolic requests Your Eminence to grant permission to reduce the length of the morning prayer of Christmas day which is very long as a Psalter and a half to the measure of the morning prayer of Easter and other principal feasts. This seems necessary because, as it is very long many do not recite it, and who recites it suffers a lot. I myself saw it in the Verapoly seminary: to recite it they had to begin it at 3 in the afternoon and it finished after the midnight. I am of the opinion that partly from this practice has originated the abuse that in many churches on Christmas day the Surianis celebrate all the Masses soon after the midnight.
- 11. In the Breviary the Surianis have not only the names of three Archangels, Michael, Gabriel and Rafael, but also the names of other four angels, like Uriel etc. Since the names other than those of the three aforementioned are not acknowledged by the Holy Church, do they need to remove the others or not.
- 12. In the Suriani parishes, from the tithes collected from the faithful, after meeting the expenses of the parish, the rest of the money is equally divided among the vicar, other priests of the parish and clerics, including those who have received only tonsure. From this kind of distribution each one gets only one scudo and a half or two per month which is very little. In such distribution even

those who stay outside of the parish also benefit. The vicar therefore has a great weight upon him without enough remuneration and if the other priests are not good enough they do not help the vicar but get the best for themselves, by accepting more ordinary Masses and solemn Masses because the people entrust them to the priest of their choice.

- 13. For the first Mass the new priests make exorbitant expenses inviting many relative priests etc., and in some places the new priests wear the priestly habits at home itself and then go to the parish on procession.
- 14. In testaments the Synod of Diamper prohibits the exclusion of women from having hereditary rights. The reasons adopted by the Synod still persist. The vicar apostolic of Verapoly insisted and insists strongly on the observance of this point, but he could not yet implement it everywhere.
- 15. The same Synod ordered that the Thursday after Easter Sunday must be celebrated as *Corpus Domini* considering it as a feast day of obligation.¹³ The feast and the procession are conducted, but that day is not considered as festive and they work.
- 16. For *chatham*, *pulakkuli*, and *kalianam* (marriage), namely for the third, seventh, thirtieth anniversary of the deceased, and for marriages they have many ceremonies during the lunch which they give to relatives and friends, on such occasions they make *Nercha* or offering, either for the Masses to be celebrated for the deceased or for the benefit of the spouses. The ceremonial in such occasions is beyond description. However it does not result that they make some gentile practices, something that should not be permitted at all.

¹² Cf. Synod of Diamper, session IX, decree 20.

¹³ Cf. Synod of Diamper, session V, part 1, decree 1.

- 17. In general the Suriani clergy and people of South are better than those of North. Moreover as understood by many those of South are more simulated and thus appear better.
- 18. Although in general the confines of the parishes are almost determined, both for the interest of the vicar and for the obstinacy of the people, if a family goes out of the parish even to a very distant place, they still wish to be considered as belonging to the first parish. This worst practice (although stopped in greater part) is the cause for very many fights among the vicars and among the families.
- 19. If Your Eminence judges it expedient, I would consider it most useful if you deign to send a circular letter to the Suriani clergy of Malabar inculcating in them the faithful observance of every point of the Synod of Diamper and granting all possible assistance to the vicar apostolic, in order that some points not yet observed could be put into practice. Such a circular letter will not only be a boosting for all good people but also will give more energy to the vicar apostolic to eradicate any abuse.

After all, this opinion of mine and the previously exposed one, everything I submit to the superior consideration of Your Eminence, while humbly requesting your blessing and kissing the sacred purple, I remain.

Of Your Most Reverend Eminence,

Rome, S. Pancrazio, on 25 March 1859,

Your most obedient and most devote son, Fr. Charles Hyacinth of St Elijah, Discalced Carmelite, Pro-Vicar Apostolic of Quilon.

DOCUMENT 41

REPORT OF FR. CHARLES HYACINTH TO PROPAGANDA FIDE AGAINST THE APPOINTMENT OF CHALDEAN OR NATIVE BISHOPS

Rome, 25 April 1859; Father Charles Hyacinth of St Elijah, Discalced Carmelite, pro-vicar apostolic of Quilon, who visited the Congregation of Propaganda Fide and stayed in Rome, upon the indication of the Prefect of the Congregation, presented another report, in which he strongly argued against the appointment of Chaldean or native Suriani bishops for the Malabar Church. According to him the appointment of Chaldean bishops would lead the said Church inevitably to Nestorian heresy and schism. He pointed out that the concession of a native bishop also would provoke great harm to the Church, because of hereditary priesthood, divisions and fractions, as well as inability and unwillingness to govern (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 605-610).

Most Reverend Eminence,

In the report about the three vicariates apostolic of Verapoly, Mangalore and Quilon presented to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide on 25 March, I mentioned about the particular situation of the vicariate of Verapoly. Among many other things I pointed out that "according to the opinion of the Monsignor (vicar apostolic), missionaries and good Suriani priests, if the Surianis of Malabar would have bishops from their own rite, not only they will renew the old scandal of the Syrian bishops, but also within a few years will become Nestorians, as the Sacred Congregation knows well etc".

Since Your Eminence orally ordered me to present some clarifications on this point I try to answer your question which I think I can do very inadequately.

Although the history of the Surianis of Malabar before the Synod of Diamper which took place on 20 June 1599, is shrouded in great obscurity, with the exception of the continuation of

Christianity, from the period of the preaching of St Thomas the Apostle, until the Synod nothing positive is known. Nonetheless from the history and from the acts of the said Synod it is evident that the Syro-Malabar people were affected by the Nestorian heresy for many centuries. They were also corrupted in other points of faith and perverted in the discipline and traditions of non-Christians. If it is permitted, I would express that tradition with the following name: Nestorian-Turkish-Pagan, having made a mixture of all these three sects. For that reason, not only the legitimate succession of bishops and priests were interrupted, but also they invalidly administrated the sacraments including baptism in a way forbidden by the uniformity of faith and valuable tradition.

There is no doubt that the Syro-Malabar Church was reduced to this disgraceful state because of the heresy of Nestorius and his followers. Moreover, according to me the primary cause of persistence in this miserable condition is the absence of Europeans in India. That is why those people were governed by the superiors who came from Babylon or by their own native leaders, who were infected with thousands of errors, and who lacked courage and means to handle the newly emerging vices. And thus very often they themselves were the cause of serious disorders and in this way they precipitated that unhappy Christianity from abyss to abyss until it pleased the divine providence to save many souls who were in great peril with the Synod of Diamper.

In my opinion, with the passage of time, the Christianity of Malabar would be reduced again to the similar state if they were governed by prelates of their own rite. It is true that now being Catholics they would receive as prelates only those whom the Holy See would grant them, but by the passage of time, some sections of the clergy and people being disgusted (that will definitely happen if the prelate does his duty well), the unhappy and bad priests, as well as people would immediately desire for another prelate, and if that is denied, they will definitely try to bring a Catholic or heretic from Chaldea and thus there will start soon a new schism, heresy, corruption and the seed of the ancient disorders.

Even if the prelates sent from Baghdad to govern the Surianis of Malabar are good Catholics, it will be difficult for them to

remain such in Malabar because of the contact with the Nestorian bishops and priests who nevertheless stay there. ¹⁴ Presently, the Nestorian bishops, priests and people of Malabar endeavour to pervert the vicar apostolic, missionaries and Catholic Suriani clergy, who really fear that if they have dealings with the former, they will be converted and so they keep themselves quiet aloof from that group. The opposite will be the result if the bishop is a native. However, even if the Nestorians stay away from the bishop, they will try to get closer to the Catholic priests to infect their poison, and the Catholic bishop will not have the courage to restrain his clergy from such communication, either out of weakness or out of fear.

If the Syro-Malabars obtain a bishop from their rite, very soon they will ask to grant them many more as in the case of Nestorians, who have already three bishops, 15 although they are less in number compared to the Catholics. But regardless of this, as well as the position, character and traditions of the Catholic Syro-Malabar people, they are divided into three principal classes, omitting the other subdivisions: the so called Southists, the Northists and the so called Anchupalliyedavakakkar, that is, the parishioners of the five churches. 16 The distinction of Southists and Northists originated from considering one group as the descendants of the family of famous (Thomas) Kana and the other merchants who came from Baghdad and the other group had been formed by the descendants of the slaves of the said families. Which of these two classes has origin from merchants and which are from the slaves is difficult to distinguish because both groups pretend that they are nobler than the other. In my opinion, even if taken for granted such origin, it is very difficult to maintain the same without being mixed

¹⁴ Here and below the missionary does not distinguish well between Nestorians and Monophysites, Chaldeans and Antiochians. At that epoch there were not any Nestorians in Malabar.

 $^{^{15}}$ Here the missionary really intends the Antiochians. For details, see Introductory Article Two, no. 5.

¹⁶ The *Anchupalliyedavakakkar* did not constitute a separate group; they were Sothists who at that time belonged to the following five parishes or churches: Chumkam, Diamper, Kaduthuruthy, Kallissery and Kottayam.

with one another for many centuries, and therefore it is really very difficult to know to which of the two classes, the people of present generation belong. Whatever may be the origin and mixing, it is certain that until now some of those churches and people consider themselves as Southists and others as Northists, although this distinction has nothing in common with the superstitious division of castes. Now if it happens that a bishop of their own rite be granted to them, the Southists will demand one from their group and will not accept one who comes from the group of Northists and vice versa. If the bishop would be of Chaldean origin and if he would not treat the two classes equally, which will be very difficult, immediately the group that would judge not to be regarded and treated as the other, would demand for another bishop. Besides this, the parishioners of the said five churches would like to have a third one and it is not improbable that the other big churches which have many chapels and priests under them would ask one each for them. The vicar apostolic needs to use a particular prudence in treating the Southists, Northists, Anchupalliyedavagakar and the others so that they may not revolt against his authority and surge uprisings among the Christians who are ready to do anything if they get the slightest evidence of partiality from a superior who governs them, in fact sometimes for a simple suspicion.

I do not speak of the hard necessity in which a bishop of their own rite would find himself to indiscriminately ordain all those who will be presented, either not to antagonize the *malpans*, namely masters or not to get angry against the families, especially the powerful ones. I do not speak about the simony they will perpetrate in conferring holy Orders, in the election of vicars, in the approval of confessors, in the selection of *malpans* or masters. And if the bishop belongs to their group, he will not have the capacity and courage to remove the secretaries, masters and people who will surround him. In the administration of sacraments simony will very easily be introduced again among the vicars and other priests, since only now the vicar apostolic and missionaries, despite their great efforts and zeal, are able to remove it perfectly from the

clergy.¹⁷ A simple glance at the history of the Synod of Diamper and at the writings of the historians of that Christianity will reveal whether what I assert is true.

All these disorders would become greater if the bishop will be taken not from Chaldea, but from the natives of Malabar. Moreover there will be the following additional difficulties, if the bishop is a native of Malabar:

- 1. This bishop (episcopate) would be perpetuated in his own family by doing all that is possible to succeed his nephews and relatives in the dignity of the prelate, and often without valid election and consecration as already happened, with several tricks, blackmail, bullying and iniquities. Moreover, the offices of masters (*malpans*) and the best parishes would be granted to the relatives of the bishop without counting their merits or demerits. A large portion of ecclesial revenues will be dilapidated by the family and relatives of the bishop, and sometimes by himself for remaining in office and for realizing his plans.
- 2. Those few families in which formerly there were bishops and which still exist, and which in recent times caused a lot of disturbances to the vicars apostolic, including the present one, would like that the new prelate be selected from their relatives-cathanars, namely priests. Otherwise they would make an implacable fight with the bishop if he might be elected from another family.
- 3. As I noted above, each class, namely the *Southists*, *Northists*, *Anchupalliyedavagakar* would like to have the bishop selected from their own group, and would not subject themselves to a bishop selected from another group.
- 4. The principal cathanars or priests of Malabar are the so called *malpans*, namely the masters of seminaries. Since they are well-educated, belong to well-known families and some also have more virtuous life, they have great influence (moral authority) and

¹⁷ The missionaries often misinterpreted the voluntary contributions of Christian faithful on the occasion of baptisms, marriages and blessing of houses as simony.

preponderance among other priests, and receive much respect and reverence from people. At present there are 12 *malpans*, among whom nine are teachers in seminaries and others are very old. Among these teachers there are sometimes similarities and differences. And among their disciples, there is a certain party spirit in favour of their teachers. Now if a bishop is granted from the Syro-Malabars, one can simply imagine what would do these teachers and their disciples.

5. The good priests say (I mean many) that they are incapable to govern themselves, because they lack the courage to act, and they are unwilling to take the trouble to restrain the misconduct of certain bad priests. They themselves confess that they need continuous stimulation to fulfil their duties. From this it is easy to conclude, whether it will be useful for the Syro-Malabar Christianity to grant native bishops of the same rite. However without bringing additional reasons it is enough to have a glance at: the history of the Synod of Diamper, the First Expedition of Monsignor Sebastiani to India (Fr. Joseph of St Mary), book 2; the Second Expedition of the Same Person, also book 2; Voyage to the East Indies of Father Vincent of St Catharina from Sienna and the Voyage of Father Paolino of St Bartolomeo, and other historians for being fully convinced that it is neither good nor useful for the Syro-Malabar Christianity to grant bishops of its own rite, either selecting one from Chaldea or one from their own country of Malabar. If such bishops might be given, their faith, discipline and morality would be in danger, as assertively opined by the bishop of Verapoly, missionaries and good Suriani priests themselves.

Moreover, with me there is a manuscript from Malabar recently composed by a great Suriani layman in which he demonstrates: 1) what were the causes and who were the Syro-Malabars who recently asked Rome for a bishop of their own rite; 2) whether the Syro-Malabars were right in making such a request; 3) how much damage would have happened, if their request was granted; 4) the harm that happened to them who tried to do that; 5) expounds the origin of the vicars apostolic in Malabar and indicates the reasons for which the Holy See stopped giving bishops of their own rite to the Syro-Malabar nation; 6) what is the

condition of those who wanted to have bishops of their own rite and the conduct of vicar apostolic and the missionaries towards them; 7) reflecting well on all these we have great happiness in staying firmly in faith.

The author of this letter shares the same sentiments expressed by all good people, and these sentiments never belong to the bad, especially bad priests; because they know very well that under the vicar apostolic they cannot live according to their desires, cannot intimidate the superior to get what they want and excite disturbances at their wish as they used to do under the bishop of their own rite.

From what is said above and from your personal knowledge and experience about the Syro-Malabars of Verapoly Your Eminence could judge what is better suited for the good of that Christianity. The vicar apostolic and the missionaries are always ready to submit to the decision of the Holy See and the order of Your Eminence, as professes the undersigned, who has the honour to remain, humbly kissing the sacred purple.

Rome, S. Pancrazio, 25 April 1859,

Of Your Most Reverend Eminence, your most humble, devoted and obedient servant,

Friar Charles Hyacinth of St Elijah, Discalced Carmelite, Pro-Vicar Apostolic of Quilon.

DOCUMENT 42

REPORT OF FR. CHARLES HYACINTH TO PROPAGANDA FIDE REGARDING FR. ANTONY KUDAKKACHIRA

Rome, 31 July 1859; on the basis of a letter from Bernardino, vicar apostolic of Verapoly, in this additional note Fr. Charles Hyacinth of St Elijah, Discalced Carmelite, pro-vicar apostolic of Quilon asked the Most Eminent Cardinal Barnabò, Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide to order the Chaldean Patriarch not to confer holy Orders to the Malabar youths staying in Baghdad together with Fr. Antony Thondanatt and to prohibit the circulation of Varthamanappusthakam written by Thomas Paremmakkal (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 610-612).

Most Reverend Eminence,

Msgr. Bernardino of St Therese, the vicar apostolic of Verapoly, wrote me the following on 2 June 1859:

1. A certain Suriani priest of Malabar called Fr. Antony (Thondanatt) who went to Baghdad a few years ago together with the famous Suriani priest Antony (Kudakkachira) who died, still stay there; also some boys of the same Syriac rite (who went with them) still stay in Baghdad with the said Fr. Antony. Now from indications, especially from the fact that the said priest was sent to Malabar in order to take a large sum of money left by the late priest Antony in Malabar, Monsignor Bernardino justifiably judges that all kinds of efforts have been made, to get ordained the aforementioned boys in Baghdad, in order to return to Malabar later to renew the past disturbances and scandals.

To avoid such a great evil and its disastrous consequences, the aforementioned Monsignor requests Your Eminence to be deigned to write to the Patriarch of Baghdad, warning him to take guard and not to ordain the said boys, nor to protect that priest who leads them and endeavours to obtain their ordination.

2. Some of the historical manuscripts of the famous Thomas Paremmakkal are circulated here very secretly. ¹⁸ In them, especially where he narrates his journey from Malabar to Rome and from Rome to Portugal, Goa and Malabar, he does nothing but inveighs against the Holy Father who then governed the Church, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, the Jesuits, the Augustinians and the Carmelites. Thus he formed a pestiferous and defamatory libel against the Holy See and its ministers, abusing mostly the witnesses of the Sacred Scriptures, sinisterly interpreting them and misconstruing the citations.

The aforesaid prelate would judge it be the best thing, if Your Eminence yourself be deigned to admonish him strictly to prohibit all those manuscripts, in the name of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda as well, and also to take action against those who keep them, read them etc., with all the rigor of the penalties established in the Index.

3. In addition to this, it is better that Your Eminence kindly send a circular letter to the clergy and Suriani people of Malabar on the topic I indicated in No. 19 of my Memorandum presented to Your Eminence on 25 March.¹⁹ In my humble opinion it would bring great benefit to that vicariate apostolic and would be of great help and consolation to the zealous prelate who governs it.

With profound respect and veneration kissing your sacred purple, I ask Your Eminence the paternal blessing, and I profess myself,

Of Your Most Reverend Eminence,

Rome, S. Maria della Scala, 31 July 1859,

¹⁸ Here the reference is to *The Varthamanappusthakam*, an account of the history of the Malabar Church between the years 1773 and 1786 with special emphasis on the events connected with the journey from Malabar to Rome via Lisbon and back undertaken by Mar Joseph Cariattil and Father Thomas Paremmakkal, written by Father Thomas Paremmakkal. The book was translated into English with an introduction and notes by P. J. Podipara and published as *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 190, Rome 1971.

¹⁹ Cf. Document 40.

Humblest and most obedient son, Fr. Charles Hyacinth of St Elijah, Discalced Carmelite.

DOCUMENT 43

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE REITERATING HIS RIGHT TO CONSECRATE BISHOPS FOR MALABAR

Mosul, 12 December 1859; for a long time the Chaldean Patriarch hoped that he would obtain permission from Propaganda Fide to consecrate bishops for the Malabar Church, but nothing happened. He made such a promise both to the Christian faithful in Babylonia and to the Malabar Church. After waiting for so long the Chaldean Christian leaders planned to send the Malabar delegation to the Nestorian Patriarch for obtaining a bishop for Malabar. In this context the Patriarch, foreseeing looming dangers, again wrote to Propaganda reiterating his right and obligation to consecrate bishops for Malabar, refuting the arguments against this, and informing Propaganda of the probable insurrection and schism even in his own Church because of eventual adherence of the faithful to the Nestorian Patriarch (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 612-614).

Most Reverend Eminence,

With profound respect to Your Eminence I bring to your notice of *our important (last) wish* with regard to the affairs of the Chaldeans of Malabar, that is, until now we were of the impression that just as our predecessors we are stable in our responsibility. As it was our patriarchal duty, repeatedly we were asking from the Apostolic See (permission) to consecrate bishops of our Chaldean rite and to send them to Malabar, in accordance with the tradition of all the Eastern countries united to the Holy See. All this is for the success and prosperity of our nation, especially of the Malabar Church. However there are some people who with human and malignant targets hinder our canonical activities and still continue

to hinder us in this deal with their strange demonstrations; and this is neither for God nor for the edification of the people of Malabar. And in fact these were the people, who due to their position, were supposed to preserve the rites of the Church which according to the Apostles, Popes and Ecumenical Councils would serve to the augment of faith, instead of worthless egoism. And they should always be mindful of the words of St Paul: 'Who is Paul? Who is Apollos? Moreover, because of their scandalous administration and due to their inconvenient proceeding in these countries they demonstrated that they became enemies; we often secretly notified this, as we were commanded.²⁰ However, because of the hatred towards us they often write to the Apostolic See all that is contrary to our office and our thinking. Although we made known to Your Eminence not to give heed to their incantations, it seems that these incantations were received, especially on the affairs related to Malabar. Even though we presented to Your Eminence the most evident proofs concerning this affair according to our patriarchal obligation, nothing has yet been decided on this matter, as we very much expected from Your Eminence, who is free to act, irrespective of the approval of other persons.

Because of the delay in this affair, all the clergy together with the people rose against us these days. They decreed apostasy against us with ecclesial disobedience, if we do not send bishops to Malabar belonging to Chaldean rite. And their indiscreet zeal has made them to think about sending some persons to the Nestorian Patriarch to receive the episcopal ordination from him and to ask the same Patriarch to send a metropolitan as his vicar who resides on the patriarchal See of Babylon in my place, and equip him (because it is tangible) with a *'firman* of the Grand-Door'. Moreover, they have decided to chase away also the missionaries of the Sacred Congregation, because they believe that they stay

 $^{^{20}}$ [He does not say by whom; perhaps he deems, by the conscience (note of the translator)].

 $^{^{21}}$ Firman is an official edict obtained from Ottoman authorities allowing an official mission of business to be carried out within the realm of the Ottoman Empire.

here to change the Chaldean rite into Latin rite and after sometime to suspend the Chaldean Episcopate of our nation just as they did in Malabar.

Seeing these splits and ruins in the Nation, depending on divine help, we endeavoured to calm them and to prevent them from accomplishing their harmful intentions, promising them that we would certainly obtain this permission from Your Most Reverend Eminence. However, it seems to me that the Sacred Congregation does not give this permission for three reasons: first, because it does not believe that there are worthy bishop-candidates in the Chaldean nation; second, the distance of Malabar from Babylonian See, and therefore the difficulty involved in the episcopal governance of that place from this See; third, the lack of unity found among the Malabar people in asking for a bishop of Chaldean rite. We respond to all these: regarding the first question we say that in our nation we have priests and bishops worthy of all decorum, convenience and respect. If this will be denied and consent is refused to these persons, this will only be because certain wicked persons with harmful intention made known otherwise to the Sacred Congregation. With regard to the second question, even if we wish that Chaldean bishops be appointed in Malabar, we do not ask and not even desire that the missionaries and apostolic delegates be removed from Malabar, but rather we wish that they remain counsellors and representatives of the Holy Apostolic See, as they are with us and in other places. If it pleases to the Holy Apostolic See, one of the Latins be consecrated and constituted as head of the bishops to deal with the difficulties that may arise there among them. Regarding the third question, we say that the Holy Apostolic See and all the Ecumenical Councils always urge all the faithful that they should be united to their own rite and should not abandon it for any reason.

Therefore, I pray Your Eminence not to damage the position, honour and favours which are fitting to the Holy Patriarchal See of Babylonia. If our predecessors were worthy of these favours, do not wish to impede to us this decorum which is vindicated by the apostolic and universal traditions. Your Eminence, remember that this See is yours, whether it shrinks or expands. Therefore, grant us

peace and gladden not only us, but our entire nation both here and in Malabar, and the whole Catholic Orient.

Moreover, the scope of this letter is that even after we presented many clear evidences and many pleading prayers to Your Eminence, if we do not get an opportune permission for the aforementioned consecration, we do not believe that we can stay in peace in this Chaldean nation, especially in our Babylonian See; perhaps we may retire from it and will come to Your Eminence. To say in a word: perhaps we may spend the days of our old age together with the heads of our nation in weeping and in tears on the bitter conditions and consequences that may fall over us and on all of our nation. Hence we earnestly ask for the termination and the accomplishment of this affair with justice and righteousness, and we recommend ourselves to your most holy prayers.

Joseph Audo,

By the grace of God Patriarch of Babylonia.

DOCUMENT 44

LETTER OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO ASKING HIM TO EXPELL THE MALABARS STAYING IN MOSUL

Rome, 17 December 1859; Fathers Antony Thondanatt and Thomas Kumpidiyanmackel, together with 11 students still stayed in Mosul. The youths went there in order to be instructed in Chaldean language and rite and then to be ordained to the priesthood. The Prefect of Propaganda Fide Cardinal Barnabò considered the stay of these persons in Mosul as an offence against its authority and repeatedly insisted that they should be sent back to Malabar as soon as possible (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 615-616).

Many unpleasant news have come to this Sacred Congregation with regard to the disposition of Malabar youths still

dwelling in Mesopotamia and I cannot but turn (react against it) to Your Lordship with this letter.

You know very well from my previous communications that the arrival of those youths from Malabar in Mosul displeased very much this Sacred Congregation, which saw (recognized) in the fact a disgrace imposed on its authority, meanwhile their stay there created much injury to you.

In fact I did not miss to prevent it with my letter of 31 August 1856 when I knew that one of Your Lordship's letters to Fr. Antony was circulated in Malabar which contained an invitation for anyone who wanted to travel to Baghdad and I was annoyed with you about it. Following that some young people came to Mosul and I made new complaints to Your Lordship on 14 December 1857, and I did not forget to draw your attention to the unfortunate fate of Fr. Antony who together with others was trying to revolt against the wishes of Propaganda met with death under the eyes of Your Lordship. Everything that happened afterwards made us think that you would have repelled the remaining young people of Malabar as per the respect due to the authority of the Sacred Congregation which did not wish that its opinion regarding the dependence of Malabar on Babylonia be warded off. But instead of that the youth were held there and by the passage of time they were met with more suffering from leading a life devoid of the necessary means and are now in open revolt against you and they have turned for protection to the non-Catholics threatening to shamefully abandon the Catholic Church. Likewise in the turmoil produced in various parties, Your Lordship find yourself in serious embarrassment, as well as compromised yourself before the nation and the Propaganda without having ready any device to remedy the urgency of the case. It would not be advisable to exhort them now as you did, to squander other time, until the spring, in order to confer on them the sacred ordination, and give them a bishop. I would not be able to assure you that the question of Malabar will be definitively decided by that time, also because the appeal they made to the non-Catholics and the threats to move into the ranks of the same make them totally unworthy to ascend to the Catholic priesthood and very less to the episcopate.

In the meantime it cannot escape the wise discernment of Your Lordship that such a disorder would not have happened and you would not have found yourself in such a great embarrassment, if scrupulously adhering to the wishes of the Sacred Congregation you had not called those Malabars to Baghdad or if you had sent them back to their homeland according to the dispositions of the Sacred Congregation.

However in the midst of displeasure I am comforted to learn, with what zeal you are animated for our sacred religion, and what devotion you show to the Holy See and to this Sacred Congregation, which is its organ and representative. In order to see therefore the termination of all turbulence and to restore the order of things, I admonish you strongly to repel, without further delay, those Malabars to their homeland. For this purpose, in order to add force to you I write to the person responsible for the apostolic delegation, Fr. Ligiez to help you by all means possible for him. And trusting of a happy dissolution of this disgusting case, etc.

[Rome, 27 December 1859, Cardinal Barnabò].

Section Six

PATRIARCHAL SYNOD, ELECTION AND CONSECRATION OF ROKOS FOR MALABAR, REACTION OF THE APOSTOLIC DELEGATE AND THE RESPONSE OF ROME

Introduction

Apostolic Delegate Planchet acted according to the directives of Propaganda Fide for the reform of the Chaldean Church and worked strenuously for the realization of the seminary in the Convent of St George, to be entrusted to the direction of the Dominican fathers. However, he had to return to Europe for important affairs. He entrusted the interim care of the apostolic delegation to the Dominican Father Vincent Ligiez as pro-apostolic delegate and departed from Mosul. However, on his way from Mosul he was attacked by criminals and consequently he died on 21 September 1859.¹

After the completion of their mission at the patriarchal residence in Mosul the Malabar priests and students went to a small town called Telkef (8 kilometer to the north east of Mosul) and lived there for 18 months at the expense of charitable Chaldean people, awaiting the appointment of a bishop of the same rite for the Malabar Church and the priestly ordination of some of the students. Propaganda Fide insisted that the Malabar youths should be sent back to their nation, without ordaining them and without granting their requests. On the other hand the Malabar Delegation insisted that after such a long time they would not return to Malabar without a bishop of their own rite. The Patriarch declared that he could not grant them any bishop without the permission of Propaganda Fide. The British Vice Consul in Mosul also

¹ Cf. Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 330.

intervened on the pretext of protecting his Indian subjects (Malabar kingdoms were under British dominion) and of obtaining from the Nestorian patriarch and bishops what the Catholic Patriarch denied. The pro-Apostolic Delegate Vincent Ligiez gave his "wise counsels" and threatened the Patriarch with grave consequences if he acted against the orders of Propaganda Fide.²

Since the Chaldean Patriarch failed to grant a bishop for the Malabar Church even after such a long time, the leading Catholics of Mosul also insurrected against him. The Malabar representatives were called back to Mosul and the generous Christian faithful accommodated them in their homes as before. Constrained by circumstances, the Patriarch convoked a synod, which resolved to consecrate a bishop and send him to Malabar, but the position of Rome being unfavorable the Patriarch further delayed the consecration.

The disappointed people of Mosul clashed with the Patriarch and prompted Fr. Antony Thondanatt and companions to go to the town of Kotchannes in Kurdistan, where resided the Nestorian Patriarch Simon for obtaining a bishop. Some of them already started their journey towards the residence of the Nestorian Patriarch, but on their way they were recalled by the Catholic Patriarch. Constrained by the circumstances the Patriarch decided to consecrate a priest called Thomas Rokos as bishop and send him to Malabar only as a visitor.

Finally in June 1860 a meeting of bishops was held in Diyarbakir under the presidency of the Patriarch, in which, after many discussions, they obliged themselves with a written document: 1) to assemble again in Mosul to elect and consecrate bishops for the vacant sees; 2) to inaugurate the seminary already prepared by Apostolic Delegate Planchet; 3) to consecrate one or two bishops with titles of the dioceses in Chaldea and send them to Malabar without any jurisdiction.³

² Cf. Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 331-333.

³ Cf. Documents 52 and 54.

At that time Henri-Marie Amanton OP (French Dominican), titular bishop of Arcadiopolis, who was appointed apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia, Persia, Lesser Armenia and Kurdistan on 25 May 1860, reached Diyarbakir. The Patriarch and some Chaldean bishops met the new apostolic delegate, paying him due respects, but they did not discuss ecclesiastical affairs.

According to the aforementioned decision, on 9 September 1860 Patriarch Audo and five Chaldean bishops reached Mosul: Michael Peter Bar-Tatar, bishop of Seert; Ignatius Dachto, bishop of Mardin; Peter George Di Natale or De Natali (Mawlada), bishop of Diyarbakir; Paul Hindi, bishop of Gazirah; Emmanuel Asmar, bishop of Zaku. The first three bishops were alumni of Propaganda Fide. Having reached Mosul, the Patriarch and bishops paid a courtesy visit to the Apostolic Delegate Amanton, but they did not discuss ecclesiastical affairs as before.⁴

On 12 September 1860 in the Church called "Meschinta", the principal church of Mosul at that time, the Patriarch, bishops, the priests (religious and diocesan) of Mosul and some lay Christian leaders assembled. In the assembly Fr. George Khayyath was elected for the vacant see of Amadiah, while Fr. Thomas Rokos was chosen for Malabar. Fr. Khayyath was consecrated bishop on 23 September 1860. Notwithstanding the violent intervention of the Apostolic Delegate Amanton, on 30 September 1860 Rokos was also consecrated with the title of the bishop of Bassorah, because the intention of the Patriarch was to send him to Malabar only as a visitor.

Infuriated by such acts, Apostolic Delegate Amanton placed the entire Chaldean episcopate and the Patriarch himself under threat of censures and excommunication.⁶ In this Msgr. Amanton acted contrary to the sound canonical tradition. Even the Council of Trent stipulated that "The Pope alone is to take cognisance and

⁴ Cf. Documents 52 and 54.

⁵ Cf. Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 340.

⁶ Cf. Document 50.

decide on more serious criminal charges against bishops, even (which God forbid) of heresy which could involve deposition or privation. But if a charge arises which of necessity has to be heard outside the Roman Curia, it is not to be heard by anyone except metropolitans or bishops chosen by the Pope. But such a hearing is of a special kind, firmly under the control of the Pope, who never allows to it greater authority than to take cognisance of the fact and complete the procedure, which it will then send at once to the Pope, who reserves to himself the definitive sentence [...]. Hence even a trial against a bishop, not to say a patriarch, could be conducted only with the special authorization of the Pope and by persons chosen by him. The acts of the trial had to be sent to the Pope, the unique authority competent for the definitive sentence against a bishop.

Msgr. Amanton, obfuscated by his fury and passion, could not recognize either the canonical tradition of the first millennium regarding the punishment of Eastern bishops and patriarchs, or even the order of the Council of Trent, which reserved to the Pope alone the definitive sentence on the cases of bishops. On the contrary, Amanton fulminated censures or excommunication against the Chaldean Patriarch and the entire Chaldean episcopate, without any canonical process and without any specific mandate or faculty from the Pope.

At that time there happened also another important change, which also had some effects on the ecclesiastical affairs of the Chaldean and Malabar Churches. The Dominican mission in Mosul, which until then belonged to the Italians, was entrusted to the French Province on 28 February 1861, also granting the Provincial Superior the faculty to appoint a pro-Prefect in Mosul, with the consent of Propaganda Fide. It appears that the change was effected to facilitate collaboration with Apostolic Delegate Amanton, who was also a French Dominican.

⁷ Council of Tent, Session 24, Decree on Reform, canon 5; in N. P. Tanner (ed.,), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, London-Washington 1990,763.

 $^{^{8}}$ Cf. Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 330-331.

DOCUMENT 45

LETTER OF APOSTOLIC DELEGATE AMANTON TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH SEEKING INFORMATION ABOUT THE SYNOD

Mosul, 13 September 1860; according to the authentic tradition of the Eastern Churches sanctioned by the ecumenical councils and general synods it was the right of the Patriarch to convoke and preside over the synod which conducted the election of bishops and other spiritual and temporal affairs of the same Church, without any superior intention. The new Apostolic Delegate Amanton, however, decided to control the affairs of the Chaldean Church, stating that he had "particular instructions" from the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. In fact in the present letter the apostolic delegate asked the Chaldean Patriarch Joseph Audo to reveal the scope of the synodal meeting in Mosul on 12 September 1860 (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 623-624).

Your Excellency,

I have heard that today the Chaldean bishops and the priests of your nation have assembled in the church of Meschinta under your presidency. I would like to believe that this is for good; but in the meantime, since I was not invited, not even informed, as the representative of the Holy See, I cannot but turn to Your Excellency to obtain prompt information regarding what the meeting dealt with. It is a strict responsibility of my office to ask for this information immediately, and moreover I am obliged to this because of the particular instructions I received recently from the Sacred Congregation.

Yesterday I hoped that while visiting me with the bishops Your Excellency would have told me the reason of their arrival here in Mosul; thus I would have spared the discomfort of inquiring about it from my part.

I beg Your Excellency to believe in the Christian charity and fraternal love that animate me in writing this letter. I look for the good, nothing else, and with a sincere desire to obtain it, etc.

[Henri-Marie Amanton].

DOCUMENT 46

REPLY OF PATRIARCH AUDO TO APOSTOLIC DELEGATE AMANTON ASKING FOR HIS CREDENTIALS

Mosul, 13 September 1860; in response to the letter of Msgr. Amanton, Patriarch Joseph Audo asked him to reveal the content of "particular instructions" of the Holy See with regard to the Chaldean Church and the rights of the apostolic delegation. The Patriarch insisted that only after seeing the aforementioned items he could reveal the purpose of the synodal assembly and its decisions (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 624-625).

Most Reverend Brother,

We have received your letter of 13 September, read it with great joy and learned its content. In the letter Your Fraternity makes us known of your desire to learn what we have wished to do at the assembly held under my presidency in the "Meschinta" church and what is the aim of this meeting of the bishops in Mosul. You do this because: 1) Your Fraternity has particular instructions concerning us from the Holy See and 2) in virtue of the rights of your apostolic delegation; very well. However, we are very much surprised of not having communicated to us about these particular instructions orally or in writing, when you had met us and when we assembled together in the city of Diyarbakir, during the entire time we remained gathered together in the aforesaid city, or when two days ago we had the honour to visit you in your residence. In my opinion, it is the duty of the envoy (the delegate) to inform the person, to whom the orders were sent and the instructions of the Sender, but it does not matter what happened. Now we request you

to notify us with brotherly love: 1) all the orders and instructions given to you by His Holiness, the Supreme Pontiff regarding us and the affairs related to our nation; 2) all the rights of your apostolic delegation as explained in the papal bull, bearing your seal and signed by your own hand, so that we may be able to well know our obligations towards the Supreme Head of our Church and towards your Most Reverend Fraternity, and not to transgress them. This is because we, by the grace of God, are still Catholics; we venerate with all submission the commands of the successor of Blessed Peter who is the Roman Pontiff. So when Your Fraternity informs us of what we now request, we shall inform you the things we have the duty to inform you from our part.

And since Your Fraternity asks us not to consider the significance of your letter as nothing other than what comes from a heart which loves with Christian and fraternal charity, we also request you because of your great Christian charity to welcome our aforesaid demands (questions) as something coming from our simple heart which sincerely wishes the well-being of the Catholic Church, and is mindful of the observance of your right and friendship only. May God preserve you prosperous!

We shall let Your Most Reverend Fraternity know again that this letter was written with the consent and knowledge of the most reverend (Monsignor) bishops.

Given in Mosul, 13 September 1860,

Joseph Audo, by the grace of God Patriarch of Babylonia.

DOCUMENT 47

REPLY OF MSGR. AMANTON TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH REFUSING TO PRESENT ANY DOCUMENT

Mosul, 14 September 1860; the Apostolic Delegate Msgr. Amanton, infuriated by the letter of the Patriarch, practically responded that he could not reveal the rights of the apostolic delegation and the particular instructions of the Holy See. However, he indicated that these instructions concerned the affairs of the Malabar Church (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 625-626).

Beatitude.

Prefixing many greetings etc., we respond briefly,

- 1. Your Beatitude asks us to notify you of the rights of our apostolic delegation; and we respond: 1) that we have judged your query as an insult to our personal dignity and to that of the Apostolic See which sent us as its delegate over all of Mesopotamia, Persia and other places; and the reason of the insult is that we are not the first delegate sent here. 2) We cannot notify you of the rights of our apostolic delegation because of the order given to us by the Supreme Pontiff.
- 2. Your Beatitude asks us to inform you of the orders and instructions given to us from the Apostolic See regarding you and your nation. We respond that the instructions that are related to you, Your Beatitude must know from the letter of the Sacred Congregation which we have sent you to Alquosh, in which it is clearly said to Your Beatitude (having we read that), to abandon the cause of Malabar, leaving the judgement and decision about it to the Apostolic See.

The particular instructions, of which we spoke yesterday in our letter, are those we received together with your letter which we sent to Alquosh with the previous post. These special instructions concern our person, that is, how we are to act (proceed, exercise etc.) in our office. Therefore, we have no obligation nor we can manifest them to you. Therefore it is for reason (in virtue of) of our office we turn again to request Your Beatitude to inform us the reason of the assembly of bishops in Mosul city and what are the things you propose to carry out.

May God preserve you happy.

Given in Mosul, 14 September 1860,

Bishop Henri-Marie Amanton, Apostolic Delegate.

DOCUMENT 48

RESPONSE OF THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH TO MSGR. AMANTON REFUSING TO REVEAL THE DECISIONS OF THE PATRIARCHAL SYNOD

Mosul, 17 September 1860; in response to the letter of Amanton, the Chaldean Patriarch reiterated the need to demonstrate the special orders and instructions of the Holy See and the Roman Pontiff, because normally the apostolic delegate had no right to intervene in the governance of the Eastern patriarchal Churches. The apostolic delegate forwarded this letter of the Patriarch (and the previous documents 46-47) to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide supplied with his own introductory comments and footnotes which distorted the spirit and content of the letter (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 626-629).

Copy of the letter that was addressed to me on 17 September 1860 from the Chaldean Patriarch in response to the letter in which I asked him in all simplicity to be willing to tell me what was the scope of the meeting of the bishops which was held in Mosul, and what they did in the said meeting.

I add to this letter certain notes to help you understand their malicious spirit and falsehood. The letters provide good testimonies that the bishops are in the verge of a rebellion.

Most Honoured and Most Reverend Lord,

After having you greeted in the Lord, we acknowledge that yesterday, 14 September, we received your letter, read it and we understood its content. But before responding to you regarding this letter, we request you not to be upset by our words which we write to your fraternity, because when it comes to the dispute on the rights, the friendship will be set aside, so that the disputants can speak with some freedom briefly and profitably on their scope. So we say in the first place, there is no secret that in the meeting with the bishops of our nation we form a prefect hierarchy as known among other hierarchies and orders of the Catholic Church, and we are not like the envoys (delegates), whose authority is only vicarious and mediate; 10 while our authority is ordinary and immediate. Therefore, we have the right to ask you to demonstrate your apostolic orders that you have in your hands, in order that we may be obliged to execute them for the well-being of our nation, ¹¹ because it is well-known that a law, if it is not published, there is no obligation to observe it. If this is the case, we think that asking you of your rights or apostolic orders that you have in your hands is an honour and a reverence for your person and for the Holy See and never an offence as Your Fraternity thought. Therefore, Most Reverent Brother, you have done injustice to us and to our rights and our bishops asked for your condemnation, ¹² for which we have the right. With all this, in honour of the Holy See we will no more remember this offence in the future.

⁹ [Dispute on the rights. This was what they really wanted! They do not deny my role as delegate, they assigned it to me, but thinking that I presented to them nothing else than a simple sheet (document) attesting my title and stating nothing related to Malabar, they want to dispute on my right and as they say, demonstrate to me that according to my papers (documents) themselves, I should not meddle in their affairs. They felt just from the moment of my entry, I would be there to oppose them].

¹⁰ [Vicarious and only mediate authority. It is really strange; this poor man imagines himself to be like the erstwhile patriarchs of Constantinople or Alexandria etc].

¹¹ [Obliged to execute them. Is it not hypocrisy? Because finally I communicated to them my brief, and it is after the communication that they made the biggest mistakes].

¹² [Your condemnation. This is real derision].

In your letter you have said that you are not the first delegate; we respond that all of your predecessors¹³ showed us their rights before we had asked them to show us (according to the rules of the delegation) and also to you we would not have asked if you did not give us motive to do so by your letter¹⁴ stating that you have the right to know the scope (goal) of the meeting of bishops in this city and what they wanted to do in the meeting held in the Meschinta church.

Moreover, you have told us that you have order from the Supreme Pontiff not to show us the rights of your delegation; if this is so, at least show us this order, because we know well that those who have the dominion and vicarious authority have no other rights except those that are present in their written order (paper). Therefore, please excuse us, if we do not let you enter into other affairs beyond those granted according to the rights noted in the said order. The consequence then is that, it is necessary that you show us your order of Delegation, in order that it may be possible to ask for the objective of the meeting of the bishops, because just as we cannot recognize two heads for the Catholic Church so also we cannot accept a delegate endowed with all the ecclesial rights. 15 Do you think that 16 the rights of the Oriental patriarchs (confirmed by the ecumenical councils and Roman Pontiffs) are removed from them and given to the apostolic delegates? (And do you think that) perhaps our Babylonian See is not like all the other Sees in Orient and our See does not perfectly possess all the patriarchal rights as others? If this is your understanding and resolution, please let us know of it.

In addition, as a second point, you tell us that the regulations pertaining to us we have received in our letter: we respond that we

¹³ [All of your predecessors etc. This is not true, because they asked the same to Msgr. Coupperie in the past during a time of unrest and baffles].

¹⁴ [Stating that you have the right to know etc. I did not say right; I simply said duty... it is clear that according to them, I should not have even asked them of the reason of their meeting oh]!

¹⁵ [Endowed with all the ecclesial rights etc. I never said such a stupidity].

¹⁶ [Do you think that etc. There were insolence and derision...].

do not ask you what we have already read¹⁷, because asking that will be a pestering. But as Your Fraternity said, "you want to know, in force of the regulations given to you by the Supreme Pontiff", what we did in our aforesaid gathering and what was the scope of the meeting of the bishops in this city, to this we respond that if those regulations belong to you and to your person, for what purpose you have told us that you have the regulations, and by virtue of what rule you can sneak into the affairs of our nation? Why do you not show those regulations to us so that we can act (walk) according to them? In reality we have never read, from the beginning of the Church until today, that when the delegates of the Supreme Pontiff came to the patriarchs of the East, they interfered in the affairs of their patriarchate, before reading out their patent (credentials) they had in hand. For this reason, if Your Fraternity does not first declare to us about your rights written in your paper given to you by the Holy See, we are also not obliged to let vou know nothing about our affairs whatever they may be.

[Patriarch Joseph Audo].

¹⁷ [What we have already read. C.-à-d. what they have read in the letter of Your Eminence which obligated them to withdraw their hands from the affairs of Malabar.

There would be many other points to make, but to be short, it suffices to note that in this letter as in no. 3, the Sacred Congregation is not named even once. For them, it is like something that does not exist. In these two pages, there is a spirit of chicanery, a stratagem and a violent displeasure, more than mistrust against Rome. Since a long time all these despicable sentiments had been in the hearts of those more culpable people, but they did not make them manifest. This is an abscess that grows. These poor people sustain (support) so much their rights; it would be infinitely better to think a little more about their duties].

DOCUMENT 49

LETTER OF FR. THONDANATT TO THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE OF MALABAR INFORMING THEM OF THE IMMINENT ARRIVAL OF CHALDEAN BISHOPS

Mosul, 3 October 1860; Father Antony Thondanatt, who stayed in Mosul together with 12 Malabar students, used to inform the clergy and faithful of Malabar about the progress of their affairs in Chaldea. With this letter he communicated that the long cherished desire for a bishop of their own rite was finally realized. The bishop for Malabar called Thomas Rokos was already elected and consecrated. Father Thondanatt also asked his adherents to make all necessary preparations and arrangements also with the civil authorities for the worthy reception of the bishop when they would disembark in Cochin. The letter originally written in Syriac was translated into Italian and was forwarded to Propaganda Fide in January 1861 by the vicar apostolic of Verapoly, Msgr. Bernardino, inserting two footnotes (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 669-672).

In those two letters we sent on 25 May and 9 August we briefly informed you of what pertains to the conclusion of our case. Along with them we also sent the copy of a letter which the Patriarch had given us. Now we shall inform you everything about this affair and how it goes ahead perfectly well. And therefore, we let you know first of all that the Patriarch together with Mar Peter, bishop of Diyarbakir; Mar Ignatius, bishop of Mardin; Mar Paul, bishop of Gazirah; Mar Michael, bishop of Seert; Mar Emmanuel Asmar, bishop of Zaku; and Mar Abdiso, bishop of Ummasia (sic) assembled in Mosul. Bishop of Kerkuk, Mar John Tamraz; bishop of Lamasa, Mar Simon and bishop of Parese, Mar Isaiah (sic) were not present. However, they also sent a letter in which they express their consent to what will be decided in this assembly, so that all are united in the same sentiment. On Sunday, 30 September they gathered in the Church of Meschinta in Mosul and consecrated a bishop called Thomas destined to Malabar. Next Sunday they will consecrate another bishop.

Immediately after concluding the consecration they will set out to Malabar with all the necessary faculties, and we will accompany them. God alone knows the oppositions, iniquities and tricks our opponents, namely the fathers and the Latins made to prevent this affair. If God so wishes, we shall tell you all these things later. Their lies and deceits were manifested everywhere. For this reason, the inhabitants of Tannara, Armenia and Syria have driven out the fathers with their adherents from their country. We have decided to do the same here also. Therefore, all these bishops together have written to the Pope that here they do not need the fathers and that to preach and teach they have preachers, bishops or the Patriarch here. Therefore they ask (the Pope) to recall the missionaries, send them to their provinces, and to make them change their life, because we are to leave for Malabar to make the true Religion known to the gentiles. If it is not done, we will resolutely write that we will expel them from our countries with the help of the government.

The fathers and other frightened persons go around as night birds, and when we will come they will make oppositions through the government and others in order not to let these bishops to enter Malabar and not to receive them. In addition to this, with some senseless orders they will try to upset and unravel our union. Therefore do not let yourselves down by believing what those orders suggest. If all of us with one will gather together and make a small battle on everything related to this affair, that is, if we respond with strength and courage, as Chaldeans we are, we will receive the archbishops sent by our legitimate authority the Patriarch, and we will be obedient to the Pope and all our problems will get over peacefully. It is enough to fight the battle that we are still to make from our places in Malabar. Therefore, as we have told you earlier, you and all those who have good will try to make sure that there is no opposition for us from the part of the government. Moreover, strive to obtain the protection of the Resident who only has authority on us, and all jointly send supplications and lamentations to the governor of Madras, and when the response comes, make that known to our great king, and the response of the king should be made known to the tribunal of

each district, and there will be no disturbance from the side of the government. Moreover, when we will disembark, either in Cochin or in Aleppey, starting from there itself, urge the priests to come to receive us and lead us with all pomp and solemnity. In short, do not be afraid: the order which the Patriarch received from Rome, not to ordain anyone coming from Malabar is not from the Pope, but is from the Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Barnabò.

Therefore after receiving the forthcoming archbishops, all jointly with one mind go sorrowfully to their feet, proposing to them someone of the good priests of Malabar either Father Chavara or others; they have permission to consecrate anyone you choose.

In order not to receive our group the bishop of Verapoly informed Rome that those who ask for a bishop of our rite are some dissolute and evil people. That bishop will publish some circulars in all the churches at the time of our arrival; he will suspend those priests who will intervene in our affair and will fulminate excommunication. However, a bishop who fulminates excommunication in such a way out of hatred, and suspends (persons) against the sacred canons, not only incurs the guilt and sanctions established by the sacred councils, but also these sanctions and excommunications will have no effect on anyone. The Patriarch has decided that anyone who might incur suspension or excommunication in connection with this affair, will not be bound by it.

Oh my brothers, do not let you flee from such a favourable opportunity, because without any difficulty we cannot get our desire (intention) accomplished. Do not let you be called cowards and imbeciles. This is the final battle, if we win in this, we will eternally remain as we are. Do not believe that everything that comes from the mouth of that *Odicone*¹⁸ is prayer. Read and

¹⁸ [Odicone means the head of the Gentile priest, whose every word, even if it is indecent, is considered as a prayer by the gentiles. By this name the writer intends the vicar apostolic, the Holy Father or both]. From the context it seems that the writer intends the vicar apostolic who did the acts just described in the paragraph above.

propagate among all, that book¹⁹ written by our elders. We hope that we can inform you about the rest of the things when we depart from here. I hope that you have received the receipt for 2000 Rupees which I sent from here together with some other writings. Be attentive not to give rise to difficulties among you. Make known this letter in writing or through a person in all the parishes, especially in Ernattukara, Kuthiyathodu and Kalaparambu, and to the *malpans*. To the nearby parishes, let three or four priests go and inform about the affair and take care to keep united all people of the parish. Remember to execute all these things.

I tremble when I remember about the importance of the affair, the vigour and strength of our opponents and our weakness and discord. I conclude this letter, asking you to manage all these things with shrewdness and prudence, and asking again for your blessings. In addition, make us known in which port we should disembark, whether Cochin or Aleppey, and also those things we should do when we arrive there.

Let Rev. Father Kunnel notify to all others, what I your humble servant wrote.

Baghdad, 3 October 1860, Father Antony.

¹⁹ [This is the infernal work, composed and divided into two volumes by the famous Paremmakkal, companion (friend) of Msgr. Cariattil, archbishop of Cranganore, in which he describes their journey to Rome, from Rome to Lisbon, from Lisbon to Goa, where the aforesaid Archbishop died, and his return to Malabar. In the said book he does nothing but saying what the Satan put on his lips against the Holy See and all its ministers, abusing the texts from the Sacred Scripture and opposing new calumnies against all. This book is not printed but is conserved as a manuscript and is considered among these Syrians with great respect as the work of a holy father. Instead of the Christian doctrines, this book has been and is always read in the families for the children. This is the work about which I asked Your Eminence through Msgr. Vicar Apostolic of Quilon that it be interdicted and condemned by the Sacred Congregation itself, with rigorous order to me to collect and burn all the copies. It is impossible that one, who reads this work, does not stir up against the Holy See and against us]. Cf. Document 42.

DOCUMENT 50

INTIMATION OF MSGR. AMANTON TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AND BISHOPS THREATENING EXCOMMUNICATION

Mosul, 4 October 1860; the Apostolic Delegate Msgr. Amanton, also being a representative of the "omnipotent" Congregation of Propaganda Fide, acted like an emperor, without prudence and diplomacy, considering the Chaldean Patriarch and bishops as his subjects and servants condemned to obey him blindly. He prohibited the three bishops canonically elected and consecrated from exercising episcopal ministry under threat of automatic excommunication. Moreover, he prohibited the election of any bishop in the Chaldean Church without his permission and the expedition of any person to Malabar under pain of automatic excommunication. He also sent a formula to the Patriarch, to be signed by him and by all the Chaldean bishops within twenty-four hours under threat of automatic suspension from exercising the sacred Order (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 630-632).

To Your Excellencies Msgr. Joseph Audo, Chaldean Patriarch; Msgr. Peter, bishop of Diyarbakir; Msgr. Ignatius, bishop of Mardin; Msgr. Paul, bishop of Gazirah; Msgr. Michael, bishop of Seert; Msgr. Emmanuel, bishop of Zaku; Msgr. Abdiso, bishop of Amadiyah and Msgr. Thomas (Rokos), bishop of Pherat Meisan (Bassorah).

If there is a painful duty for a bishop, depositary of authority among his brothers, it is when he is seen constrained to use rigour towards them. This duty, O Your Excellency, is fell upon us today. In vain we have waited hoping that a better counsel would come at the end to illumine your assemblies and would inspire you to take more advantageous resolutions, but this hope has disappeared when I have heard about the last act which you accomplished. Therefore in order not to neglect our ministry, with the greatest pain we are constrained to declare and notify you the following.

Considering the well-known prohibition of the Propaganda regarding the question of Malabar, prohibition in virtue of which Monsignor Patriarch and the Chaldean bishops cannot enter into (deal with) this issue;

Considering that Monsignor Patriarch and the Chaldean bishops have kept us out of the affairs that they treat, and that by not responding to our most explicit questions, they almost despised our authority;

Considering that notwithstanding the prohibition to enter into the Malabar issue, Monsignor Patriarch and the Chaldean bishops selected a priest who has no public esteem, to be consecrated as bishop and to be sent to that region (country);

Considering the way of schism that has unfortunately been manifested, both in deeds and words of Monsignor Patriarch and the Chaldean bishops;

With the authority granted to us by the Supreme Pontiff,

- 1. We prohibit in the most absolute manner those two recently consecrated bishops to carry out any episcopal act. Since their episcopal consecration took place at a time of opposition to the Holy See, we wish to have evidence for their obedience before they perform any episcopal act. Consequently, we forbid the recently consecrated Bishop Thomas of Pherat Meisan (Bassorah) to go to his See and also to go out of Mosul without our written permission. And this prohibition is applicable to Monsignor Thomas under the penalty of major excommunication which incurs by the very act (*ipso facto*).
- 2. We prohibit in the most absolute manner the consecration of any new bishop and we temporarily (*ad tempus*) reserve to ourselves the approval of each election to episcopal position. Therefore we declare that if we are not obeyed in this prohibition of ours, the consecrator and the consecrated incur major excommunication by the very act.
- 3. We prohibit in the most absolute manner to send any person to Malabar, whether a bishop or a priest, even if with the only title of an examiner or without any title. In order to avoid any

kind of ambiguity or subterfuge and also to ensure us of their obedience to the Holy See we request Monsignor Patriarch and each of the aforementioned bishops to put their name and seal on the declaration attached to this statement. And we admonish them that if by tomorrow Friday 5 October at the hour of Mogreb, we have not received the said statement with the names and seals, we will consider them as rebels against the authority of the Holy See, and we declare that they incur *ipso facto* suspension from Order. We reserve the right to proceed with greater sentences, even with excommunication if necessary, against those who would persist in disobedience, refusing to seal on the declaration we have presented to them.

We entreat the Patriarch and the Chaldean bishops to reflect before God about the responsibility that would fall upon them for their disobedience, which would bring much scandal and spiritual ruin to the people entrusted to them. We beg them to remember that one day they will have to give an account of their flock to Jesus Christ, the Supreme Pastor, and thus make sure that they deserve praise and not condemnation.

Given in Mosul on 4 October 1860, Henri-Marie Amanton, Apostolic Delegate.

Copy of the declaration presented for the signature of the Chaldean Patriarch and bishops on 4 October 1860.

We the undersigned declare that in order to give a proof of our obedience to the Holy See, we submit fully to its judgement about the issue of Malabar. And we promise to abstain from any act that would anticipate the aforesaid judgement, thus we promise not to go or to send anyone to Malabar, whether a priest or a bishop, even with the only title of an examiner or without any title, without the permission of the Holy See.

True copy, Henri-Marie Amanton.

DOCUMENT 51

RESPONSE OF THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AND BISHOPS TO MSGR. AMANTON IGNORING THE THREAT OF EXCOMMUNICATION

Mosul, 6 October 1860; the Patriarch and Chaldean bishops ignored the threat of censors and excommunication triggered by Apostolic Delegate Amanton. They informed him that two bishops were consecrated for the vacant sees in Mesopotamia and they would be sent to Malabar simply as visitors for gathering information, without exercising any jurisdiction or the powers of Order. They rightly pointed out that only the Roman Pontiff was canonically competent for fulminating censors and excommunication against Eastern patriarchs and bishops (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 632-633).

We the Patriarch of Babylon, together with the college of bishops of the Chaldean Nation, after a mature ponderation (consideration) over the issue of Malabar, unanimously determined and decided to consecrate two bishops for the vacant sees of Mesopotamia and to send them to Malabar (but so deprived of jurisdiction that they cannot even lay their hands on a young boy, although they are free for the celebration of the Divine Mysteries in accordance with their position) in order to make an exact and detailed inquiry on the truth of this issue, and then to give us a sincere and full report so that we can promptly present it to the Supreme Pontiff, if in reality, the Malabars wish to submit themselves to the jurisdiction of their natural Patriarch of Babylon or to remain under the Latin missionaries.

Now this step of ours, we put forward with the absolute consciousness of our patriarchal rights and with the conviction that it does not transgress any law, or any canon. If such a step, according to the words of Your Most Reverend Excellency, would deserve (be worthy of) suspension and major excommunication, we say that the judgement and the emanation of such penalties would belong only to the Supreme Pontiff, and if they were

imposed on us by his own hands we will be ready to accept them with full submission, and not by another person who has only delegated faculty. (This is so) because we know (or acknowledge) only the Roman Pontiff as our Father, Doctor and Pastor of the Universal Catholic Church, and as the Vicar of Christ, Successor of St Peter, and as the Head of the patriarchs and Oriental Churches.

Here Illustrious Lord, is our last, decisive response, drafted with our full liberty and sealed.

Mosul, 6 October 1860.

DOCUMENT 52

LETTER OF THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AND BISHOPS TO POPE PIUS IX, DESCRIBING THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF CONSECRATING A BISHOP FOR MALABAR

Mosul, 16 October 1860; being aware of the looming dangers and the tragic situation of the Chaldean Church the Patriarch sent a letter signed by himself and the bishops directly to His Holiness Pope Pius IX, at that time the unique authority competent for judging Eastern patriarchs and bishops. They described the scandalous, immoral and unlawful activities of Western missionaries in their country. They also pointed out the undue interventions of the apostolic delegate in the day-to-day administration of the Church, who threatened excommunication against the Patriarch and the entire Chaldean episcopate against the norms of law, and confiscated their seminary. They explained the intrigue and painful context of consecrating a bishop for the Malabar Church only as a visitor after waiting for a decision from Propaganda Fide for more than fifteen years, which during this period simply responded that the question was under consideration. Together with this letter the Patriarch also sent a brief memorial to the Pope concerning Chaldean jurisdiction in Malabar, which will be presented as the following document (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 633-647).

Most Holy Father,

To the living Peter must be remitted also the causes of the Apostles, and then hope to have the confirmation in the truth of God the Saviour. Only You Beatitude, Most Holy Father, who on earth has the plenipotentiary vicariate of the Most High God, can render his peace to our Church, and then to eliminate the scandalous, general and the most dangerous disorder caused by the return of Most Reverend Monsignor Amanton, the apostolic delegate to Chaldea, especially for two reasons, that is, for the cause of Malabars and for the confiscation of our new seminary renovated in our convent of St George in the vicinity of Mosul. We

briefly explain now both of these points with sincerity, which is appropriate to our character, committing them both, the judgement on our persons and on affairs, as it should be, to the supreme Judge on earth, whose sentence the Eternal Judge in heaven follows in his irrevocable judgement.

Therefore it is lawful to expose humbly and frankly what our conscience compels to have to be deposed at the feet of Your Holiness. The Chaldeans from Malabar who were alienated from the obedience of this patriarchate have never ceased to make their repeated and importunate requests to this patriarchate asking with tears to be remitted to their first right. In a special way in the last fifteen years there have been frequent letters on the same subject. They begged moreover to obtain from us the permission to send a certain number of their young clerics to make their study in Chaldea in order to learn the language and the rite well. We, for our respect to the Holy See, so far have not adhered to their first petition, in order to be able to do it subsequently with the favour (permission) of the same See. We have however thought it well to nod to their second just request, and there came (six years ago) sixteen good boys guided by two exemplary and pious priests, and by now they have already learned sufficiently the Chaldean language both literary and the vernacular, and many of them speak also Arab. They have already been trained well in the practice of the office and everything regarding our rite, although unfortunately some of them for the diversity of food and too much difference in climate passed away together with one of the said priests.

In the meantime, the Malabars annoyed us with their repeated supplications and parcels, imploring us by the bosom of the Redeemer and at the same time provoking us to the judgment of God, stating that we have to be accountable for their souls in danger if we refused still long to consecrate bishops for them. They also reported that they could no longer live under the direction of missionaries and vicars of their country and that in no way could adjust with them, adducing very many reasons, which would be more than enough to have to adhere to their petition. We do not think it necessary to produce them here, nor to pronounce a judgement on them, because we cannot and nor do we wish to

make ourselves judges of the Latin clergy, who belong to Your Holiness. When the letters sent personally to us did not produce the desired effect, they began to write very moving letters to our bishops, to the other lower clergy, and likewise to the lay people of every city and diocese, where Chaldean people lived, so that the requests of these latter also having been joined to those of the former, together they may provoke us to adhere to their objective. For this purpose conspiracies were perpetrated by lay people from diocese to diocese, namely in Mosul, Gazirah, Mardin, Diyarbakir, Seert, Amadiyah, Kerkuk, Baghdad, and elsewhere. Then from each band protesting cards were proffered to us with feverish petitions to consecrate bishops for Malabar as early as possible. We do not approve, rather disapprove the meddling of lay people in ecclesiastical affairs, but we cannot repress them with the infliction of any punishment for fear of jeopardizing their Catholic faith and for not stimulating hatred in them to persecute the clergy, which is for them the unique option and which the heretics and the unbelievers amongst us would exceedingly desire.

Then the summary of such protests of the lay people is very often expressed in the following words, "If our Patriarch and the bishops of our nation persist in rejecting the petition of Malabars, certainly we too will refuse obedience to them and neither will we miss to resort to the Muslim government or we will try our best to chase them out from our churches and dioceses of our nation and to introduce the ecclesiastics of the Nestorian clergy or other sects". And this is the most deadly eventuality, of which we are afraid, and that would be the real misery and ruin of this nation and who knows where it will end up. And even now they do not have disgust to peddle us often in the public and present us as traitors of our duties and vendors of the rights of the patriarchate slandering that we do so in view of better treatment from the delegate and the missionaries. Such is the scandal, and the mortal breach provoked by their discourses to the esteem of our entire hierarchy, and which then returns to the shame and the discredit of the clergy and Catholic religion, at which the heretic compatriots exult.

In addition to what has been said already, it has still to be noted that in the aforementioned cities and dioceses there are no people, whether of a Catholic rite or a heretic, who do not know or speak of the Malabar issue which is known to all by tradition or by communication of people or by letters that come and go. Furthermore the following assertion is common in the mouth of the majority: "it is not true that Rome seeks simply to summon the Easterners to the Catholic faith but rather to subject them to the Latin rite". Then in confirmation of these prejudices the fact of Malabar is adduced (attached) as an invincible argument that among all the Easterners has become an axiom, since from the commencement of the Church it was under the Chaldean direction and regime.

Moreover, it is present in their discourses and common conversation, while speaking about the apostolic letters and bulls of the Supreme Pontiffs, in which the pacts agreed by the Holy See with the Oriental Churches in recalling them to the Catholic communion are stated. There they observe and repeat the same comparison to prevail, that passes between the tactics of subordinate ministers of the Ottoman Empire in focusing all the attention to use all the skills, in order not to put into execution the indults of their Sultan with regard to their Christian subjects. They say that in the same manner the missionaries and vicars of the Holy See in relation to the Oriental Churches, do like this as an obligation of consciousness and they seem to use all their energy not to reduce non-Catholics to the true faith but to attack these rites and diminish their esteem as much as possible. They do not neglect a chance in taking possession of some of their communities or some families, or certain persons, or at least in the end earn some new right over them. And in this way they put into oblivion the decrees of the Ecumenical Councils and the indults of the Supreme Pontiffs made especially for the Oriental Churches.

At the time of the Italian Dominican fathers the complaints did not arise so much to exacerbate the minds of the people, although they had given several reasons of aggravation or hatred in different kinds of things, some of them we will treat afterwards. However, at the replacement (succession) of the French Dominicans and shortly before the arrival of the same Apostolic Delegate Amanton it was impossible for us to remain idle in the

residence, both for the wrongdoings and the shame of the new missionaries, and still for the threats and complaints of our diocesan priests who raged against us irritated by the undue interference of the missionaries, because we did not oppose them openly. Here we will briefly refer to some of their interferences of this kind.

For the security of our youth we want to maintain schools attached to the churches for several reasons: 1) so that they may be educated under the eyes (control) of the superiors; 2) so that we may have the convenience to give them practice in the recitation of the divine Office in the morning and in the evening which the youth can learn in their schools, because the members of the clergy are elected from those educated ones; and thus the same rite is practised in the praise of the Lord together with the clergy and the people. 3) To protect the youth of both sexes from the ravages of unbelievers, and thus with good reason we do not allow them to attend the schools of another rite and of those situated in some distance. Meanwhile the new missionaries have built a new building near their church at a certain distance form ours and they persuaded all the Catholic youth to go there. This pretention caused much murmuring among our people, and we could not approve this move with respect to our children, because thus they would lose their language and the traditions of our rite, and our churches would remain empty forever having necessarily to stop the daily recitation of the Office recommended by our rite. Thus with that they wanted to give a fatal blow to our rite. However, wishing to maintain the charitable relation with them we endeavoured our best to dissuade their enterprise which is fatal for ours, but was in vain, because we saw that we would have peace by insisting on them (sic). Therefore, despite the aforesaid damage, we strived to keep the people silent with the condition accepted by the fathers that they should not dissolve our pristine schools, and that they should continue to pay the teachers as the Italian fathers used to do, but freedom was left to every youth to frequent any school according to his convenience, and this too only for the sake of peace.

However, without taking into account our remonstrations and the agreement made, they little by little removed the youth from our schools; indeed they constrained those who remained in our schools to move to their schools or remain without any school by depriving the salary of the respective teachers, whom they wished to transfer to their school. At this point we could not remain silent; we amicably assembled them and personally asked them why they so acted in contempt of our churches and rites and our person. They responded with disrespect, because according to them it was not up to us to interfere in the affairs of schools, and since they were paying for the Chaldean schools, they alone had the right to arrange things according to their point of view with regard to the students and teachers, without that the Patriarch could prevent or oppose their decisions.

When our people of Mosul knew of this face to face insulting manner of behaviour of the said fathers, they aroused and began to speak about them according to their caprice. At that time similar other contempt (disrespects) made to us or to our clergy also came to their memory, and they recalled and even today recall the derisive chants composed and recited in the schools of the fathers in contempt and derision of us, the clergy and the people joking on us with satirical epithets and burlesque. These are the traits of their charity to captivate the souls of the East!

The overabundant financial resources, which these fathers readily receive from the pious work of Lyon by the order of the Holy See, they use to turn some of our clergy as their favourites to our shame and to render them more rebellious to us, without deigning to consult us about anyone of our clergy, and whether he merits or not. This we reasonably consider as a great insult to our authority; and the squander of sacred means so made towards obstinate persons, in our opinion is like war against our authority and against Catholic peace.

Moreover as regards the affairs of the governance of our Church, these reverend fathers present themselves not with simple counsel, but as absolute guides or dictators to be followed without reproach, for example: for that diocese it is necessary to promote this person or that one, even though able and worthy ones are to be left behind, because they are not of their genius (type) etc. We count among their unnecessary pretentions, the giving unleavened

bread to our (priests) instead of leavened without any necessity, without consultation and prior permission. There are some other affairs also of supreme importance that we omit in order not to annoy Your Holiness.

In accordance with the precept of charity until today we have observed and have compelled our subjects to observe the resolution to bury under silence the shortcomings of our Dominican missionary brothers, who are lavishly maintained in Chaldea with so much expense of the Holy See and donations of alms by the pious work of Lyons. But now they are the first ones to attack the honour of our entire hierarchy, by the grace of our Saviour without any of us committing any mistake and never uttering anything inconsistent with the Catholic faith or the regulations of good morals, nor against the bequeathed tact and discipline of the same. And we do not believe to have kept anything without manifesting to our common Supreme Father, what happened recently or that still continues. The reopening of the Dominican mission in Mosul is about to complete more than 15 years; we do not care how much it costed to the Catholic Church, nor do we claim to be arbitrators of this matter. All the nations of this region are witnesses of whatever good they have done or promoted for the Catholics and for heretics. As religious they have behaved and are behaving in food and dress (the last ones however reserve the habit of the order) like princes, and what they spend for two religious in a year will be sufficient for the annual sustenance of 5 Oriental bishops. It has not yet understood why some of them around the aforementioned period of time have never preached, or given any instruction in any of their churches of the mission or elsewhere. We do not say the same about the reverend Jesuit fathers who always preached as also did the illustrious Verlaga during the entire time he remained in Chaldea and he departed from here full of merits. In general no heretic was converted to the fold of Christ; on the contrary, one of their fathers became a Protestant with maximum scandal and still continues to be the same. Their intimate friend Doctor Merlo who was always found on toast at their table became a Muslim, but though apostate still remains their close friend and is a part of their innocent entertainments. The kept-

women of their friends, known as such to them and whose abortions were known to the whole city with public infamy, were honoured by them on almost every week at the holy table! The door of the mission was several times dirtied by etc, etc (sic) by the note of disgrace! The corrupted damsels who had children, having confessed to their relatives that the responsible (for their pregnancy) was such a Dominican; they had become obscene subjects of discourses even among the Turks in their coffee shops. One of their religious was stoned and was locked up in the house of an infamous married damsel, and he could not be exempt from being accused at four major courts of the government, until the British Consul liberated him from their hands. Quite a few Christian girls freed through the Consuls from the hands of the Turks for the apostasy of their relatives, and were put under the care of those chaste religious, became so obscene, that some were exposed to the public and others tired of the lewd life embraced Islam. The same schools opened at the expense of the Catholic Church under the direction of those fathers, were not exempt from suspicions of corruption and lust. Now we cease to offend the chastest mind of Your Holiness with such narrations, because the enumeration of them would lead us very long, but we conclude by saying that the fathers who were ordered to return to Italy, nobody left free of stains, except for Fr. Augustine de Marchi. Now such life presupposes corresponding doctrine; so you can conjecture what spiritual good they could inspire among the people of this Oriental region. The "heroic virtues" of the Dominican missionaries being so, with many other divulged in the lowest populace still, in our opinion it would be opportune not to irritate more the people so as not to repeat such a brutal cramp.

With maximum pain in our hearts we have known for sure that in addition to the mundane things the most sacrosanct objects of our worship such as relics of our saints were also given as reciprocation and gifts, and the most sacred wood of the Cross was inserted in silver and golden crosses (used as ornaments) of the women of evil life, who are mentioned above. When they were asked whence did these come? They responded that it is from such and such missionary; crosses and reliquaries were given away, that

neither we, nor our bishops can possess them, nor our churches can keep them, or obtain them for exposition in view of public veneration.

So too comported, if not in a worse manner, the Apostolic Delegate Planchet; we need not explain the facts about him. No explanation is needed with regard to the amount of gold that was squandered in the vent of his brutal passions, because enough (with our knowledge) has been written to the Sacred Congregation both by his pupils and his confreres, and they are believed. The favourite servant of the former Delegate Planchet has continued with the present Delegate Amanton. On one of these days it is heard that he was bringing alms to a poor family from the delegate and every day he used to bring the damsel (maiden) of this family to the church of St George which was attached to the house and committed deceit with her, which was seen by a Jacobite sick person who was praying in our church.

Our concern, Most Holy Father, is that the people of Mosul and the surroundings, in the light of so many indignities, are scandalized to the maximum level and are irritated by their maligned memories, but only for the sake of our Lord they did not take any resolution regarding this. They can instigate the unstable Eastern mob to speak ill about the envoys of the Holy See with great detriment of our sacred religion or to make a wrong step towards schism, which is to be very much afraid of and which will not be remediable by us or by others better than us.

Our people are wounded severely by their similar behaviours, but in order not to abandon their children without education because of their poverty, they have contributed to reopen our schools: and despite their bad life and replicated instances, we have not so far adopted any order to bring back the Chaldean youth to our schools with the exception of others. Yet these good missionaries dared to accuse me in front of the Vice-Consul of France in Mosul that I have raised and opened rival schools to those of the Dominicans, as if we have raised a flag against the flag of the invincible emperor of France. For that reason, the Vice-Consul came to our residence to interpellate us, and to protest and

accuse us at the French Embassy, he proposed then many objections (protests) that we do not know where it is going to end.

Most Holy Father, we and our good ancestors, in returning to the bosom of the Catholic Church, believed that there was only one Pope, and so far, if we are not deceived, believe that only the Bishop of Rome is the Pope of the Catholic Church, otherwise our ancestors would not have converted. Please confirm us about the truth of it and we with all our children will be most obedient to you unto death. So many intermediaries (mediators) are not necessary for obeying to Your Holiness totally; obeying at the signs (gestures) of your Holiness is the maximum honour for us.²⁰

In addition to the previously mentioned disturbances (issues), the much discussed question of the petition of the Malabar people (staying in Mosul) also is added. They, tired of bearing the inconveniences and the sicknesses caused by the different climate, were asking to return to the native land, but they wanted to return accompanied by bishops of their Chaldean rite, since it had been prescribed to them by the clergy and people of Malabar, as demonstrate the letters they brought with them and those arrived later from that region undersigned by a great number of priests and many important faithful. For reverence to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda we refrained from consecrating bishops for Malabar, hoping to do it with the favour (permission) of the Congregation, although we were and we are still persuaded and convinced that this right belongs to the patriarchate of our Church, which we think to have demonstrated in the memorial here enclosed to Your Holiness. Notwithstanding this, only for delicacy and homage, and not for doubt, we have postponed it or still continue to delay it, so that by the favour of the Supreme Hierarch we have to exercise that prerogative of our See with peace, which

²⁰ In the first millennium the Eastern patriarchs, as father and head of their Churches had direct relationship with the Bishop of Rome, as the Patriarch of the West and the father and head of the universal Church. In the second millennium the apostolic delegates, Latin bishops and even Western missionaries comported like popes unduly interfering in ecclesiastical affairs and hence obedience to all of them became necessary for the Eastern patriarchs and bishops to remain in communion with the Roman Pontiff.

we never think to have lost, not for our fault, nor for any prescription, whereas we have recent evidence that our preceding patriarchs after the reunion with the Catholic Church used to consecrate bishops for Malabar and send them there. The patriarchs who resided in Diyarbakir did the same just as Msgr. Patriarch John Hormizd recently did, before the arrival of Msgr. Alexander Couppery in Baghdad, and again at the time of the same delegation by the expressed order of the Propaganda under Leo XII, which we ourselves and the majority of our bishops had read at that time; there is no doubt that the copy of this order is present with Rev. Msgr. Trioche or among the documents found in the Latin church of Baghdad. So too our former Patriarch Nicolas Isaiah (still alive) was about to consecrate a bishop, and he, with his renunciation of the patriarchate (patriarchal office), deposed concern about this. Therefore according to the obvious reasons we have, certainly we are unhappy that this certified right of ours is re-evoked in doubt and that it is still to be decided in the Congregation. When it came to be known in Malabar that we postponed and withdrew ourselves from consecrating bishops for them, having been offended and exacerbated, they wrote to their remaining students with us to return soon, but not without obtaining bishops. They enjoined them (students) that if the Chaldean bishops are not ready to come to Malabar, two or three of the said students be consecrated bishops by the Chaldean Patriarch, and if it is refused, they have to go to the Nestorian Patriarch to be consecrated and return soon to the native land saying that they could not and thus they were determined to no longer remain under the dependence of Latin vicars.

Because of our refusal the Malabars started to approach the Nestorian Patriarch to fulfil their wish (intention). Having evaluated the disastrous consequences that could result from this fact in Malabar, in Mosul and in different parts of our dioceses, the Dominican fathers set out with us to prevent them from such a misdeed and we used all possible means to hold them back for a few months, hoping that a favourable permission would come from the Holy See and we have succeeded in this task.

Then to find valid means to prevent such a harm that would drag countless souls of this and that miserable Chaldean population into the bosom of heresy, surrounded by their countrymen who for the same reason became (only in Malabar) Monophysites and by Protestants who shine around them promising all kinds of subsidies, both ecclesiastical and temporal, we personally judged it right to gather and consult our brother-bishops of the Chaldean nation (about the issue).

When we arrived in Diyarbakir in the beginning of last summer we gathered the neighbouring bishops, and after various conferences held there it was decided by common counsel and in writing undersigned by all we obliged ourselves to go to Mosul: 1) to elect and consecrate bishops for our vacant dioceses; 2) to open the seminary already prepared by Delegate Planchet; 3) to consecrate one or two bishops with the title of our dioceses in Chaldea, and send them without any jurisdiction in company of the Malabars, without conferring any sacred order to the said Malabars for the satisfaction of the Congregation of Propaganda, because it had written us that they were not worthy of being consecrated because they made recourse to non-Catholics. Therefore our bishops, having gone without any jurisdiction, their care and office will be nothing but to seek and obtain attested certificates with seals or signed petitions of the respective ecclesiastical heads and lay leaders and of trustworthy people of that country, (to know) whether it is true that the people (Christian faithful) wish to remain under the regime of the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon or to remain as they are now. When we get those attestations we will send them to Your Holiness from whom we expect the favour of a decision (on this issue). By making use of this middle way we believed not to offend the Sacred Congregation, but at the same time to quieten our people who were all over bustling with indignation and discontent, and by the grace of the Lord of Heaven we have succeeded to calm them.

We hope, by the grace of the Holy Spirit who discerns our hearts, and who knows well that for the necessity to prevent the perdition of souls entrusted to us and to prevent the devil from snatching innumerable souls who are instigated and are in the verge of perdition from the bosom of the holy Church that we made use of this middle way. However, because of dishonesty or the lack of exact information, our adversaries inadequately speak and wish to write about it (the decision). Then we declare before the Lord that for internal conviction and for the peace of our conscience²¹ as pastors of the Catholic Church with due regard for the principle of obedience to the Supreme Vicar of Christ that we have taken this resolution and we are going to execute it.

In the meantime the new Delegate Msgr. Amanton came to Diyarbakir, and two bishops who were present there accompanied by the entire clergy and the leaders of our people went to attend (accompany) the entrance of the new apostolic delegate. During the visits we paid to each other there nothing was said on behalf of the Sacred Congregation, although from elsewhere he knew what we were planning to do. If at that time he had told us and demonstrated the intentions of the Sacred Congregation, the bishops would not have left their dioceses to come to Mosul, or we would have taken another resolution even detrimental to the interests of our Church.

When we came to Mosul all people especially our countrymen were anxiously expecting that our task would be completed. While the important people from all nations including the Turks deigned to pay us a visit, the Dominican missionaries did not deign to visit us. After making a visit to His Excellency Msgr. Amanton, we canonically elected an excellent priest named Fr. George Khayyath, an alumnus of the Propaganda for the diocese of Amadiyah (which was devoid of a Pastor for more than a year). On the previous evening of his consecration, the said delegate came to the patriarchate, and there in the presence of all the bishops he asked whether the votes of the diocesan priests of Amediyah were sought for him, and was satisfied by our response that it was done. The next day, which was a Sunday, in the presence of all our brother-bishops, during a solemn celebration of the Mass we

²¹ The original phrase is negative, namely "not for internal conviction and for the peace of our conscience". We have rendered it positive, because otherwise it loses its significance.

consecrated him as bishop and it was a great joy for all the Christian people.

After our so lawful an action, Rev. Msgr. Amanton (already ill-disposed as we heard from many trustworthy people who happened to hear him, or from the missionaries who were full of resentment and contempt for our meeting, that His Excellency was about to promulgate the most severe censure against the Chaldean Patriarch and the bishops; but we could not believe that) sent a note asking us to reveal to him all what we were planning to do. We replied him that if he would show us the official letter of his delegation and the written orders of the Holy See with regard to our nation, we would be obliged to put that into practice. He responded with a second letter saying that he could not do that, nor did he want to reveal this to us. We replied him in writing that if he did not show us the orders we ask, we would not (accept to) reveal anything about our plans, even if he would do anything to dishonour or discredit us. The aforementioned delegate stopped speaking or writing to us for few days: meanwhile in the full assembly of the bishops we elected Fr. Rokos and consecrated him for Bassorah called in Chaldean Fratmaiscian, who from the time of ordination is majordomo (steward) of our patriarchal house, and in our absence he was very often our vicar in the patriarchal diocese. It is true that a few years ago against him some accusations came to the Sacred Congregation, but through Delegate Planchet we had responded and satisfied (the Congregation).²²

At the request of the entire nation, and especially of the bishops, who according to their subtle means were ready to contribute to it, we procured to open a small seminary of a certain number of good young boys in supplement to the clergy of the nation. Therefore, we sent the bishops to Msgr. Amanton to ask for the seminary erected in our convent of St George by Msgr. Planchet together with the books, beds, kitchen

 $^{^{22}}$ The Patriarch used present tense for this part, but in English past tense is more appropriate.

utensils and adornment of the church and any other aid donated by Planchet to the said sacred place before his departure. His Excellency replied: 'the Chaldeans have no right on that building, but it is our possession and jurisdiction and is under the protection of French Consulate. If it is displeasing to you, you can resort to the government or anywhere you like, we will never produce the instruments and titles of our seizure, if we are not convoked and forced to produce them'. These same words were found in the letter sent to us by the French Vice-Consul, in which entrance to the building is forbidden to us and which declares that it is under the banner of France, and that nothing would impede them from punishing any one who acts against this prohibition. Even though legally we could obtain that seminary, we abstained from accusing him at the government out of respect for his position as delegate; we have suspended the case for time being.

Such manner of acting of the aforesaid Msgr. Amanton so offended the nation that if we were not present in Mosul to contain the people, it was more than enough to lose their faith and Catholic communion, and they are already on the unspeakable boil and we do not know what will be the fatal outcome.

The delegate proceeds further, he personally comes (to the patriarchal house) and in the presence of the bishops gathered there (something unheard in the Church!) reads out two of his papers containing the intention of censors if we do not do everything according to his viewpoints which explain the intentions of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. Here is the true copy of it.²³ We did not respond anything about it at that time out of respect for the Holy See. We dispatched the reply on the next day and he left in peace.

Therefore, after having reflected in frequent conferences and having pondered on what we had to respond, considering our most

 $^{^{23}}$ The Patriarch enclosed a copy of the said papers. We have already reproduced the same as document 50.

difficult circumstances, the rights of our patriarchal hierarchy, the perilous state of the nation and of the souls entrusted to us and the certified reports from Malabar which unceasingly come to us. always remaining firm in our spotless obedience due to the Supreme Vicar of Christ and being convinced in conscience that at present we could not do otherwise, together with the whole body of bishops, we decided the response which was signed and sealed by the bishops present and was sent to the delegate: here is a copy of it also.²⁴ After this written reply from our part, he sent us another sealed letter, which we remitted to him intact, saying that we do not have any reply other than that already sent to him. And now the reciprocal communication is precise. He still continues to prohibit us from entering our seminary or school. However, we thus present in the assembly for common counsel and the other bishops of the nation who confirmed our actions that we are, and will be coherent (conforming) to ourselves and to our writings. And we hope for the clemency of the paternal heart of Your Holiness, to whom alone is given the keys to open and close, and to bind and loose, who will be deigned to consider our perfect subjection and obedience to His Apostolic Throne, and to have regard for our patriarchate recognized as one of the Eastern Catholic patriarchates, as it was known even before the Nestorian heresy, since the Council of Nicaea I and so declared by supreme pontiffs, your predecessors in the bulls given to the Orientals and especially in the bulls confirming the patriarchs our predecessors; all their privileges, antique and new endowments (gifts), are recognized to our person in the bull of our confirmation. Likewise we pray to Your Holiness to be deigned to have a benign look on the papers here attached, ²⁵ which humbly expose the reasons of the ecclesiastical primacy of this See on our brothers and co-ritual Malabars who anxiously and nationally desire the renewal of their incorporation with us as they were before the opening of the Portuguese mission, both in Nestorianism and previously in the early centuries of the Church in Catholicism. They have declared to leave the bosom of the true

²⁴ For the response of the Patriarch and bishops, see document 46.

²⁵ See document 47.

Church, as did a portion of them of about 80,000 souls; on the contrary in the case of the restoration of their pristine Chaldean rite under the desired dependence, not only the Catholics promise to persevere in faith, but also the heretics (of Malabar), promise to return to the bosom of the Church.

Likewise we beseech Your Holiness to signify to the Sacred Congregation to consider our patriarchate parallel to the other Eastern patriarchates commanding that those favours and subsidies with which it is desired to help the spiritual needs of this nation, and every diocese of it, should be imparted through the channel of the same Patriarch, that is through our hands, so that with the counsel of our brother bishops (we are able to know about the needs better than others) we help in the real needs without spending any amount in vain, or in less important affairs; and we render ourselves responsible to keep very strict accounts.

To come back to our affair, we say that Msgr. Delegate unfortunately by the advice of his confreres (according to their own statement ahead of ours) seems to hound us and search for faults and shame to our person and dishonour to our patriarchal dignity; we leave the judgement of everything to Your Holiness. And despite the complaints of the nation we cease for now also from repeatedly asking to the same delegate our seminary and the things he carried away. We cannot believe that Your Holiness wishes to permit such an evident fault (error) concerning a so correctly acquired right of the nation. We have already conferred all together and we are about to open a new seminary for the time being in the church of St Isaiah in Mosul and we hope that in the spring we will also teach Latin or Italian. Let Your Most Blessed Holiness exalt this little good done for the triumph of the Catholic Church.

Finally, despite all what is until now exposed, we declare to be obedient to Your Holiness now and forever, and to be docile children both with regard to what we have so far done and with regard to what we will do in the future; and your decisions directed to us (ourselves) will always be our obligation and honour (to comply with). So we anxiously await your holy orders, which will graciously be deigned to give us.

Follow the signatures with their respective seals close to:

We beseech for the prayers and blessings, of Your Holiness,

Joseph Audo by the grace (of God) Catholic, and Patriarch of Babylon,

Michael Peter Bar-Tatar, Bishop of Seert,

Humble Ignatius (Dachto), Bishop of Mardin,

Humble Paul (Hindi), Bishop of Gazirah,

John Tamraz,²⁶ Bishop of Kerkuk,

Humble Emmanuel Asmar, Bishop of Zaku,

Most humble and most obedient servant Peter George Di Natale (Mawlada), Chaldean Archbishop of Diyarbakir.

DOCUMENT 53

MEMORIAL SENT BY THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCHATE TO POPE PIUS IX CONCERNING CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR

Mosul, 16 October 1860; in this memorial attached to the previous letter (document 52) a brief history of the Chaldean jurisdiction in Malabar and the arguments in favour of its continuation are substantiated. Although this is not a scientific study most of the facts narrated in it correspond to the truth (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 648-653).

Most Holy Father,

In compliance with and in tribute to our perfect subordination to the See of the Prince of the Apostles, kissing your feet, prostrated before the throne of justice of the Church of God-Man,

²⁶ [Msgr. Tamraz who did not come for the meeting of the Chaldean bishops, in a letter written to Msgr. Amanton on 16 February 1861 has wondered how his name and his seal were put without his knowledge in the letter sent to Rome by the Patriarch and his bishops].

this humble servant presents a paper containing arguments which militate for attributing to the Primacy of our Chaldean Catholic Church the right to rule and govern the Christianity of Malabar in the East Indies.

We have already presented our arguments on the issue of Malabar and we know it takes a long time in the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda; we have never omitted altogether for the past years to write from our patriarchate on this matter to this Congregation. And although it has always been the conviction of all our bishops and indeed of the whole nation even before, neither all together, nor one by one, we have dared to express to Your Beatitude our deep sentiments which were corroding our heart. However now the whole nation is most disturbed for the same reason, and to quieten it, all of us have assembled in Mosul with our Superior Patriarch, we cannot but manifest with the aforementioned arguments, together with the complaints of the entire national body, which disturbs our peace and tranquillity of mind. Therefore the humble request of the whole Chaldea is that to have a favourable glance on the following points though they are badly prepared and these arguments are expressed very briefly in order not to bore you; and to satisfy as early as possible the Chaldeans who are known as your most docile children.

- 1. St Thomas the Apostle with some other disciples founded the Churches of Chaldean rite in Chaldea and Persia and especially founded the metropolitan see of Babylon or rather Ctesiphon, and then passed to the Indies and erected churches depending on the aforesaid metropolitan see in Malabar and in other parts of India which could be read in the history of Eastern Chaldeans, Syrians, Jacobites, Greeks etc.; there is no doubt on that. So also we read clearly in many very ancient codices which contain the acts of the synods of the first centuries and in many other ancient historical works, which we shall produce if needed.
- 2. In the course of the sixth century when Nestorianism unfortunately prevailed in the country, from innumerable acts the continued jurisdiction of the Nestorian patriarchs on the churches of India and especially on those of Malabar is known with

certainty; because of this they also became Nestorians without any opposition.

- 3. The most ancient Chaldean Pontifical attributed to St Simon Bar-Sabha prescribes how care should be taken to consecrate and send bishops and other clerics to India without interruption; and how the Indians should soon petition for ministers in case of need. In fact, we find innumerable recourses in the letters of Indian clergy, inserted in our codices.
- 4. It is also evident from history and from the authentic acts of the Council of Nicaea I, that Bishop John undersigned them on behalf of Persia and the whole of India, whose primate he was.
- 5. In his itinerary, Cosmus Ideoplatus says that in the beginning of the sixth century, Indian Malabar and other parts of that vast region used to have ordinations (priests) and bishops from the head of Chaldea.
- 6. St Chrysostom testifies that in his time the Indies were full of Christians and in his discourse he supposes that there were numerous Christians since apostolic times, and it cannot be said that he had not read the acts of the Council of Nicaea I, where one can note the Chaldean primacy over India.
- 7. Sozomen explicitly affirms it in his well-known histories, namely all the Christian Churches of the Indies depend on the Primate of the Chaldeans.
- 8. From these few attestations, without further seeking for other arguments from other Churches, it is deduced beyond any doubt that in Malabar and in other parts of India there were Christians from the first century of the Church. Since at present many positive proofs are lacking due to the very difficult time undergone during those early centuries because of the loss of the acts of Churches due to the fierce and universal persecution of the See of St Mari, the only one argument of prescription should still be enough. Since this being at the time of the magnificence of the Patriarchate of Babylon it (Chaldean jurisdiction) should be presumed prior to Nestorianism, until one has not demonstrated the exact time of such usurpation and its authors; and moreover whose

was the legitimate jurisdiction on Malabar during the entire time prior to the heresy.

Second Point

It is beyond doubt that the Chaldean Rite Christianity has not lost the cause (basis) of the Chaldean Patriarchate. Such an assumption and loss of right must be proved by the Holy See or by the people of this nation. Now it is certain that the Holy See has not annulled this right.

- 1. The Supreme Pontiff, being as such, is the head of all the Churches equally without the distinction of rite and really of the apostolic rite(s), such is truly the Greek rite, the Chaldean rite, the Latin rite, etc. without any distinction.
- 2. Then, there does not exist any decision of the Holy See, which determines that the Malabars cannot ever have Catholic bishops of their own rite from the Chaldeans, as they were in the beginning.
- 3. On the contrary, as in all similar issues, so also in this case the Supreme Pontiffs have demonstrated themselves most merciful protectors of the conservation of the Oriental rites as sacrosanct ornaments of the Spouse of Christ, and the most valid argument against the innovators of the sixteenth century and the proofs of the most generous impartiality of the See of Peter towards all its children, especially towards those who are most battered by the vicissitudes of time. So many bulls of the Supreme Pontiffs, especially those of Benedict XIV witness to this fact.

However, according to the decisions of those Pontiffs, any prescription of time cannot be valid against the reason of the original rite. And therefore if the Holy See has entrusted Malabar to the care of missionaries, this was not done as to Latins, but as to provisional vicars during the miserable state of the Chaldean Catholic Patriarchate, really when it was almost annihilated by the persecution of Muslims. And that is why the Holy See always opposed to the excesses of the Portuguese government and missionaries, whose ambitions in similar matters are unfortunately

famous, and for these reasons it is very difficult to justify the intentions of the Supreme Pontiffs.

And it is for the same reason that the Holy See repudiated the Synod of Diamper, in which the missionaries exceeded the boundaries of their mission and modified many items of the Chaldean rite in Malabar.

- 1. And in recognition of such right even at the time of the vicariate apostolic of those regions, the Holy See gave free time for the exercise of Chaldean rite in Malabar to Elijah, the Archdeacon of Diyarbakir, who was a disciple of Patriarch John Sulaqa, a martyr for the Catholic name (faith) and a creation of Julius III, who with (the help of) some converts of his clergy evangelized many of his brothers-Nestorians of Malabar and presided over as their Ordinary.
- 2. Permission was granted to Patriarch Ebedjesus (Abdiso), who came to Rome at the time of Pius IV and obtained the favour of the Supreme Pontiff, to send Bishop Joseph to Malabar, and he accepted the claim made before him and before the Council of Trent by the Patriarch regarding his subjects of Malabar whom the Portuguese government wanted to subject to the Latin archbishop of his diction (jurisdiction) as the historians of the said Council related.
- 3. In 1560 Bishop Abraham although ordained by the Nestorian Patriarch later received Catholic faith and confirmed by Pius V and was sent to Malabar as the bishop.

In 1568 the Supreme Pontiff Gregory XIII ordered the archbishop of Goa to admit Abraham as the Chaldean bishop of Malabar in the provincial Synod which he had to attend since he declared himself Catholic.

- 4. In 1590 Sixtus V, after having examined in Rome the faith of Bishop Simon already sent by the Patriarch of Babylon, having him found a good Catholic sent him back to Malabar as bishop.
- 5. In 1616 Catholic Patriarch Elijah in his synodal letter to Paul V recommended the case of his subjects of India to this Supreme Pontiff and complained about the ill-treatment his people

received in Malabar and he informed him that he wanted to send the acts of that synod to Malabar-India, and the Supreme Pontiff did not disapprove it.

- 6. In 1606²⁷ the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic Joseph gave them Bishop Alexander of their rite with the order of the Holy See to remedy the gravest incidents (happenings) in the Christianity of Malabar provoked by the interruption of the Chaldean rite bishopric, because of which the great majority of the Malabar Christians apostatized subjecting themselves to the jurisdiction of Jacobites, since their rite and language were similar to those of the Chaldeans.
- 7. In the late XVI century and in the beginning of the XVII century Chaldean Bishop Gabriel was present in Malabar, at times accepted and at times excluded by the missionaries in a continuous contention regarding ritual rights.
- 8. In 1779, having received the delegation of two priests of Malabar for obtaining a bishop and for expressing their regret about the attitude of the Latins about them, the Holy See did not completely neglect their request but sent them to Portugal to be examined about their affair, and by the order of the Holy See one of them named Joseph Cariattil was consecrated archbishop of Indies.
- 9. At the time of the Patriarch John Hormizd the Sacred Congregation through the Apostolic Delegate Alexander Couppery in writing ordered the said Patriarch to consecrate men (bishops) and send them soon to Malabar; and we ourselves and many of our brothers read this order, the copy of it must be preserved without doubt in the archives of the Propaganda.
- 10. Finally, the fact that the Holy See did not annul this right is proved by this last move made by those Christians to us and to the Holy See, and also by us to the Holy See. We are continually told by the Sacred Congregation to wait because the case is still pending and expresses the hope that it will be terminated before long.

²⁷ The chronological order is not followed in the original text.

From what is said so far it is possible to deduce that the Chaldean Patriarch did not lose his right on Malabar, since it is seen: 1) that the declaration of this right has not been interrupted in any circumstance; 2) that the suspension of this right by the Universal Father was temporary on account of the miserable state of the See of Babylon, due to the (particular) circumstances of the times of persecution; 3) that during such a condition the Holy See did not intend to suppress but only to supply for the absence of the Chaldean hierarchy in Malabar; 4) this right is so firm that as the Chaldean Catholic Church, which in Diyarbakir never ceased to exist, had a great role in the corruption of the Nestorians of Malabar as narrated in the histories of the clergy who went there with the Chaldean Archbishop Habib Elijah. 5) The Holy See that defends the weaker party would not surely intend to sanction the measures employed to exclude the Patriarch of Babylon on account of the Muslim persecution which almost destroyed the Chaldean Catholic Patriarchate, and this for the pretext of heresy, for the strength of the Portuguese Government, and for the well-known ambition of the missionary friars. 6) It is added that in the confirmation which the Holy See used to give to the new Babylonian patriarchs all the ancient and new rights are approved, which the same ancient patriarchs never exercised with the exception of heresy (sic). Now heresy is not the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which is proper to them, from the apostolic times, on the co-ritual people of India.

Let us now speak about the loss of such right caused by the renunciation of it by the people of Malabar.

- 1. Since they never ceased to recall, not only the rite and sacred language, which largely they still possess, but especially to have bishops of their own rite and their own patriarchate which is known now under the name of Babylon, that is when they knew that a great part of the Chaldean nation was united to the Catholic Church, and from the time the Chaldean Catholic bishops began to go there to convert them from Nestorianism; this is completely evident from what has been exposed until now.
- 2. The copy of their common letter, an example of all their petitions, whose authentic copy we saw and was sent to the Holy

See, is full of respect and faith towards the Teacher of all the Sees; it contains a description which evokes pity of the ill-treatment they suffer from their present Carmelite missionaries and of the privations they suffer in matters related to their own rite. In this petition undersigned by seventy-eight parish priests, they repeat their continuous requests to have the rite in its completion and bishops from the Chaldean Patriarch. And what provides more credibility to this petition is that they implore the Holy Father to be willing to send two persons to verify their grievances.

3. It is said that in the Synod of Diamper the Christians of Malabar promised not to recognize the Patriarch of Babylon as their head; the response, it is true that such a promise was made, but it should be understood as the Nestorian Patriarch who was more prevalent compared to ours (Catholic patriarch) at that epoch. It was not understood otherwise either by the Holy See or by they themselves. And if one wishes to consider so general that promise as to derogate from the sacred rights of the Oriental Churches, in that case there is no validity for that act and also for that Synod, in that part and in many others, obviously false and erroneous, as observed by the Oriental doctors (scholars).

In Mosul, in the Chaldean Patriarchate, 14 October 1860.

DOCUMENT 54

LETTER OF MAR PETER BAR-TATAR, BISHOP OF SEERT TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA ASSERTING CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR

Mosul, 21 October 1860; letter of Mar Peter Bar-Tatar, alumnus of Urban College Rome and Chaldean Bishop of Seert to Cardinal Barnabò, Prefect of Propaganda Fide, in which he expressed and sustained the resolutions of the Patriarch and Chaldean bishops on Malabar issue. He justified the consecration and expedition of Rokos to Malabar, vindicated the right of Chaldean jurisdiction in Malabar and strongly criticised the actions of Apostolic Delegate Amanton (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 653-657).

Most Eminent and Most Reverend Cardinal Prefect,

In homage from my part due to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, let me be permitted, a son and alumnus of it, to expose in brief but ingenuously about what happens here in Chaldea, between the hierarchy of the Chaldean Church and the new Apostolic Delegate Amanton and his reverend French Dominican priests, missionaries in Mosul.

Our Patriarch Joseph Audo is surrounded (I say it according to my conscience, even if you do not believe my words, I will be happy within me having satisfied with this in the sight of the Lord God) obeyed, and supported by the whole episcopal body, ten in number including the Patriarch, with the firm intention not to be altered until death in their resolution. In this episcopal body, firmly obeyed, followed, and also generally excited by the rest of the clergy and people of both the Chaldean patriarchal diocese, as of other dioceses – I speak of the people of fame and intelligence – the resolution then taken together is threefold:

1. Not to commit the education and the direction of schools for the children of one or the other sex to the Dominican fathers of Mosul, but they want all the schools of the nation remain always

dependent on the provisions of the Patriarch and respective bishops.

- 2. This to the maximum level with regard to the school of the clergy, that is, the national seminary; at any deal it should not be entrusted either to the said fathers or to the delegate, even if he is like an angel from heaven, but will forever be dependent on the Patriarch together with the bishops. The opening of the seminary is inevitable, which has already been carried out, and in these days there will be the solemn entrance with the youths present. Soon will come there the remaining candidates already pre-designated; it should be maintained at any cost, and even if the Patriarch and the bishops need to beg, the people approve it.
- 3. The entire Chaldean hierarchy, even those maximally insulted and mistreated by the Patriarch, with one heart and mouth say resolutely that they will never surrender the right of the Chaldean Patriarchate which it has and had from the Apostolic times over our co-ritual Malabars. The issue is enucleated and has become the object of public discourse even among the common people, not only in the patriarchal diocese but in all the other dioceses and even in the far away ones.

The common persuasion of all what is called Chaldean, is so firm and intense, that inevitably the bishop's body along with all the clergy say that if the Holy See takes away that portion of our co-ritual nation we all together shall surrender the priesthood etc., etc., etc. Then the Malabars, who are people of little constancy, and are in the midst of scandals and errors, in their various dispatches and especially in the latter one, signed by one hundred priests and by many leaders of the people, with the general consensus of that nation, which has been received six days ago, declared that they no longer wish to drag for long their question; that they do not want the Latin fathers, and neither want to depend on the Latin bishop, but rather on the bishop of their own rite, who is consecrated by the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon, whom they recognize as their only legitimate superior Patriarch. Addressing the Patriarch they add that 'if you do not consecrate and give a bishop for us, you will be responsible before Jesus Christ for our perdition and that 'we have already authorized our Malabars, who stay now in Mosul to go

soon to the Nestorian Patriarch Mar Simon and get consecrated bishops and soon return to Malabar'.

In fact, Eminence, they ask the same in their request to the said heretic head, and in another one to the English Consul in Mosul, who protects them in Mosul and wishes to send them soon to Mar Simon; we obtained the copy of these last two letters of the Malabar nation. With much difficulty the leaders of our nation who feed these young Malabar people on their own tables for many years, were finally able to prevent them from going to commit such a sacrilege and apostasy against the faith and the Catholic Church; and we hope to persuade them to return to their homeland accompanied by a bishop of our nation, who was formerly a vicar priest at the patriarchal diocese of Mosul, and he was consecrated with the title of our diocese Pherat Meisan, that is, Bassorah;²⁸ about this we wrote in our common letter, sent with the previous post to Our Lord Pope Pius IX who is happily reigning. This bishop, who accompanies them, go there in the quality of an examiner to certify the present state of Malabar and to prevent them from schism and apostasy, as well as to liberate those who are here from the danger of being consecrated by the heretical Patriarch. At the same time this was necessary to make peace, at least for now, in our nation, which is also threatening to provoke an irremediable breach for many and many years; we are also unable to keep our offices and to fulfil our duties, if we would not condescend to such an expedition. Let Your Eminence know that we are living among unbelievers, heretics, and bad Christians. We are also bishops of the Catholic Church; thanks to the mercy of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we have the disposition to shed our blood in attestation of the Catholic faith and for the union with the Holy See, whose Pontiff is the visible Vicar of the God made man. Thinking what should we do about the present state of our nation here in Chaldea and there in Malabar, so we have judged and we are persuaded. We hope that the Sacred Congregation will approve our deed (action) undertaken out of necessity, and with strong reasons, which did not allow us to do otherwise. Your most wise

²⁸ Here the bishop mentioned is Mar Thomas Rokos.

Eminence will not permit the faith and the unity of the Catholic Church, earned with many efforts, expenses as well as with blood and sweat, become prey to the derision of infidelity and taunts of heresy whether here or in India, for things of human pretensions; the more for ecclesiastical rights, which are finally subject to the supreme and divine power of St Peter the living. We bishops at the most, not to see so many evils, can give up the bishoprics and flee there where we will not see with our eyes the evils of our nation. If it is permitted, if the Sacred Congregation so wishes, allow the Patriarch, and us bishops, either all, or some to come to Rome to deal with our cause; and to retrieve (reclaim) the real rights of our nation at the throne of the Prince of the Apostles. It is true that we are poor and ignorant people, but we have obvious reasons that the Most learned Supreme Hierarch will well comprehend, and will give us ours; if not, then it will be more preferable to die there with a little bread, than to see the desolation of our nation with our eyes. It is our joint resolution that in case of orders contrary to these legitimate rights of our national Church at least many of us will take the road to Rome. Then the Most Reverend Monsignor Amanton will be able to remedy everything, with his fathers the most prudent counsellors, who even before entering here, have put disorder and the turmoil throughout the nation. The delegate from Paris itself writes to the missionary of Baghdad, ²⁹ "Patriarch Joseph is already a heretic, he is going to accomplish it"; the said father divulges the same in the full assembly of priests and active secular people. Reached Diyarbakir the same delegate makes us hear (his voice) within two days from his residence therein, that is, to excommunicate the Patriarch and the Chaldean bishops. He arrives in Mosul, he takes all the furniture and furnishings from our seminary, which were brought there by Planchet for our future seminarians; he arrives in Mosul, he takes away the same convent and seminary, and places them under the French flag. We ordain bishops for our dioceses; he pretends to suspend the entire Chaldean hierarchy with the Patriarch.

 $^{^{29}}$ For this part the author of the letter uses the present tense and we have maintained it.

Most Reverend Eminence, do the delegates have the power to expel from the Catholic union the entire Catholic Oriental nations? We have not known about it until now, nor heard of such a thing. That is why all the bishops together with the Patriarch have believed that it is not their duty to comply with (follow) his opinions, before obtaining information about it from the Supreme Pontiff. It is for this reason that they have written to the same Sovereign Pontiff, to whose See we belong, and thanks to the grace of God we hope to be united and obedient children according to every agreement and condition, without ever failing to recall to His Justice and Clemency, the renovation of the rights of our nation, of which we all recognize Your Most Reverend Eminence as the Supreme Prince Protector; and I have the honour to be,

Most Humble, most devoted and most obedient son and servant,

Bar-Tatar, Bishop of Seert, now in Mosul for the national assembly.

DOCUMENT 55

LETTER OF POPE PIUS IX TO PATRIARCH AUDO INVITING HIM TO ROME AND ASSERTING THE EXCLUSIVE COMPETENCE OF THE HOLY SEE IN MALABAR

Rome, 26 November 1860; in this letter "Hisce diebus" of Pope Pius IX no mention is made about the letter of the Chaldean Patriarch Mar Joseph Audo sent to the Pope on 16 October 1860 together with the memorial about the Chaldean jurisdiction in Malabar. It seems that the Pope based his information about the tension between the Patriarch and the apostolic delegate on the oral narration of the Latin missionary Vincent Ligier who visited Rome. As usual the Pope confirmed the position of Propaganda Fide with regard to the Malabar affairs, stating that "the examination and judgment concerning the controversy over the Malabar questions were reserved to us and to the Holy See". At any rate the Pope invited the Chaldean Patriarch to Rome with two of his co-bishops to deal with the Malabar issue (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 667-668).

To venerable brother Joseph, Babylonian Patriarch of the Chaldeans.

Pope Pius IX, Venerable Brother, greetings and the apostolic blessing.

On these days our beloved son, religious man Vincent Ligier of the Order of Preachers came to us, and has told us that you, venerable brother, are exceedingly complaining that you have not received any response from us for your letters. This complaint is to us both new and unexpected, because as soon as your letter of 2 July, also signed by four venerable brothers your co-bishops was delivered to us, we immediately responded to the same letter on 13 September, and we think also that our response has reached you. However, from the very same religious, we know, with the great grief of our soul, how you, Venerable Brother, resisted to our delegate and of this Apostolic See, especially regarding matters

pertaining to the affairs of the Malabar Church. This, indeed, was most troublesome to us, since many letters were written to you from our Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in our name, in which it was signified to you that, the examination and judgment concerning the controversy over the Malabar questions were reserved to us and to the Holy See. And since we knew that the controversy itself, because of the problems sprung up between you and our apostolic delegate, cannot be brought to the desired outcome, we commissioned our beloved son, the Cardinal Prefect of the said Congregation, to write to you a letter in our name, inviting you to undertake a journey to Rome with one or two of your co-bishops, so that you yourself, Venerable Brother, without the mediation of anyone, can treat and deal with us concerning this matter. And in compliance with our orders, the same Cardinal wrote to you a letter on 13th day of this month. However, now we give this familiar letter to you, in which we indicate to you that it is entirely our wish that as soon as possible with one or two of your co-bishops you come to us, in order that you may be able to deal with us the Malabar controversy. And in the meantime, we wish that, not only you abstain from any act concerning the controversy in any manner, but also you repeal all your acts, pertaining to the affairs of Malabar. Obviously we do not doubt that, on account of your observance (obedience) towards us and to this Apostolic See, you would be very willing to comply with our desire and wish. And with the firm hope that as soon as possible we will be able, you being present, to see you, speak with you, and embrace you, as a pledge of our special affection towards you, we permanently impart the Apostolic Blessing to you Venerable Brother, and to all the clergy and lay faithful entrusted to your care.

Given in Rome, at Saint Peter's, on 26 November 1860, fifteenth year of our pontificate.

Section Seven

ARRIVAL OF BISHOP ROKOS IN MALABAR, APPOINTMENT OF CHAVARA AS VICAR GENERAL, FIGHT AGAINST ROKOS

Introduction

It seems that the letter of the Pope dated 26 November 1860 asking the Chaldean Patriarch not to intervene in the affairs of Malabar, did not reach in time. In fact, immediately after the consecration, Rokos went to Baghdad and awaited the propitious occasion to depart for Malabar. The Chaldean priest Luis Sciauriz, ex alumnus of Pontifical Urban College in Rome accompanied him to Baghdad in his quality as patriarchal vicar, for making the necessary arrangements. The English Consul residing at Baghdad also helped them. On 17 January 1861 Bishop Rokos, two Chaldean priests, Fr. Antony Thondanatt, Fr. Thomas Kumpidiyanmackel and the 11 Malabar students departed for Malabar.

Bishop Rokos, accompanied by Fr. Antony Thondanatt and all the aforementioned persons landed in Cochin on 9 May 1861. Representatives of several churches reached Cochin to welcome the bishop and they conducted him to Thycattucherry church, where he resided for three months. Later the bishop sent orders to all the Malabar churches, asking the clergy and laity to meet him at Thycattucherry. A leading layman, Abraham Parayil (Tharakan) also invited the churches to hold a meeting at Thycattucherry.²

¹ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 350.

² Cf. Bernard Thoma, Mar Thoma Kristianikal, 721-722; A. Pareparambil, An Account of a Very Important Period of the History of the Catholic Syrian Christians of Malabar, 15-16.

A few days before the planned meeting Prior Kuriakose Elias Chavara together with some priests went to Thycattucherry and, staying in the house of Abraham Parayil, sent some messengers to Bishop Thomas Rokos asking him to show the bull of the Pope. As the well-informed author Aloysius Pareparambil affirmed: "Fr. Thondanatt replied that he should come to the bishop to see the bull. Fr. Prior (Chavara) then told the people that there was evidently no Bull and the whole affair was a mere cheat. The Prior and the priests forthwith left the place. Since no meeting could take place, the representatives of the churches also dispersed, except some who held a consultation with the bishop [...]. Chavara and his companions went back and no meeting was held, since also the representatives of churches dispersed except a few, who had a simple consultation with the bishop.

Being informed in advance of all the sinister events, Vicar Apostolic Bernardino, through pastoral letters and through the mediation of Tertiary Carmelites, required from the Christian faithful and especially from the clergy an explicit and vowed oath of obedience to the Holy See and a promise not to receive any bishop, if not immediately appointed by the same See (document 57). Kuriakose Elias Chavara, the Prior of the Tertiary Carmelites, also wrote a letter to the priests and faithful, asking them not to receive any bishop who would come without the authorization of Rome (document 56). Later Chavara was constituted vicar general for the Malabars, mainly to fight against Rokos (documents (58-59).

The vicar apostolic and the Western missionaries always communicated to the Propaganda Fide that the movement for obtaining Chaldean bishops was the work of a very few criminal, undisciplined and disobedient priests who favoured the Goan or Indo-Portuguese schism. It is true that only a small number of priests were actively involved in the movement for obtaining

³ A. Pareparambil, *An Account of a Very Important Period of the History of the Catholic Syrian Christians of Malabar*, 16. Aloysius Pareparambil (surname written also as Pazheparambil) was the first vicar apostolic of Ernakulam from 11 August 1896 until his death on 8 December 1919.

Chaldean bishops. However, the inextinguishable quench for bishops of their own rite was general, intense and constant among all the clergy and Christian faithful from the very start of Latin governance in 1599, because they wanted pontifical ceremonies like ordinations and consecration of churches as well as solemn episcopal holy Qurbana at least on solemn feast days in their own rite and liturgical language.

This is the reason why in the course of time about 86 churches fully and 30 churches partially joined Mar Thomas Rokos (only 38 churches remained faithful to the Vicar Apostolic Bernardino), in spite of the dubious canonical status of Rokos, the threat of punishments and excommunication by the vicar apostolic, and the strenuous efforts of a saintly and efficient priest like Kuriakose Elias Chavara and his companions.

Thomas Rokos, whom the Patriarch affirmed to have been sent without any jurisdiction, claimed to be the archbishop and pastor of the Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar and published some pastoral letters. Almost constrained by Fr. Antony Thondanatt, other priests and Christian leaders, in September 1861 he reluctantly conferred holy Orders (including diaconate and subdiaconate) on more than 100 seminarians gathered in the Kaduthuruthy Big Church (Southist) from many Malabar parishes. Eight deacons were also ordained to the priesthood.⁵

With his letters Vicar Apostolic Bernardino informed Propaganda Fide of the arrival of Thomas Rokos in Malabar, the provisions adopted by him for countering Rokos such as the appointment of Kuriakose Elias Chavara as vicar general for the Malabar Christians. Before and after his appointment as vicar general, Chavara and his confreres vigorously fought against

⁴ For the list of parishes, see Bernard Thoma, *Mar Thoma Kristianikal*, 726-328; A. Pareparambil, *An Account of a Very Important Period of the History of the Catholic Syrian Christians of Malabar*, 17-20. His enumeration is slightly different.

⁵ Cf. Bernard Thoma, Mar Thoma Kristianikal, 722; A. Pareparambil, An Account of a Very Important Period of the History of the Catholic Syrian Christians of Malabar, 16.

Rokos, realizing that he had come without the authorization of the Pope. In order to establish this point and to convince the Malabar priests and Christian faithful of the true facts, through his letters Chavara endeavoured to obtain clarifications and official statements directly from the Propaganda Fide and the Pope, who evidently granted the requested favour.

DOCUMENT 56

LETTER OF CHAVARA TO THE PRIESTS AND CHRISTIAN FAITHFUL OF MALABAR WARNING THEM OF THE DANGER OF BABYLONIAN SCHISM

Tripunithara, no date, but between January and May 1861; according to the order of Vicar Apostolic Bernardino, Fr. Kuriakose Elias Chavara wrote this letter to the priests and faithful of the Malabar Church, warning them of the danger of the looming Babylonian schism and asking them to remain faithful to the lawful pastor of Verapoly. The letter ends with a Marian prayer and a passage from the Synod of Diamper, which is not literally cited (Sacra Congregatio pro Causis Sanctorum (P. N. 1174), Changanacherren. seu Verapolitana, Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Cyriaci Eliae Chavara, Positio super introductione Causae et super virtutibus, Romae 1977, 214-215).

Gospel according to Luke, chapter 11, vesicle 23:

Our Lord said: "Whoever is not with me is against me, and whoever does not gather with me scatters". The meaning of these words of the Lord is this: He who enters the sheepfold without receiving authority from the Holy Father, the successor of St Peter, Vicar of Christ, and exercises that authority, is not the shepherd who gathers the sheep, but the one who disperses them. Since a shepherd (pastor), who is not united with the Holy Father, is an enemy of the Lord Himself, such a shepherd and those who join him, beyond doubt, fall into the hell of fire (Gahanna), the place established for those who are contrary to God. Those who departed from Babylon, and will enter into the sheepfold of the Lord in

Malabar, are shepherds coming without the consent and decree (bull) of the Holy Father. We are convinced that they are coming to disperse us from the sheepfold of Christ, and render us food for wolves.

Most beloved brethren, it is the word of the Lord that those who do not enter the sheepfold through the right door are thieves and wolves in the clothing of lambs. Therefore, if the aforementioned pastors come to enter the sheepfold without the decree of the Holy Father, do not lend ears to their deceiving words and do not be associated with them. But it is necessary for salvation that you be subjected to the most reverend vicar apostolic, who is the true vicar of the Holy Father at Verapoly. If it happens that you die martyrs in their hands, you consider this as a great gift of God and therefore be also prepared for this. It is also known to you that those who have permission and decree (bull) of the Holy Father, should demonstrate this decree, as a testimony, to the vicar apostolic of Verapoly or Quilon, who are vicars apostolic of Malabar,⁶ and only with the consent of one of them they can come to us and lawfully administer any sacrament among us. Having been moved by the desire for your salvation, and being afraid that there is occasion for falling again into this schism and of subjecting themselves to excommunication specially reserved to the Holy Father, Fr. Kuriakose Elias Chavara, Prior of the Mannanam monasteries etc., write this to you, my brother priests in the southern and northern regions and to my dearest faithful.

Ejaculatory prayers to be frequently recited in these days looking at the Mother of God:

"Mary Immaculate, Mother who removes all calamities of the Church, do not abandon our Church to be destroyed by this new schism. Grant that everywhere and always all be subjected to the Holy Father, who has received the authority of St Peter, Amen".

Diamper Synod, Session II, can. 1, 3:

⁶ After the constitution of the vicariate apostolic of Quilon in 1845 there were two vicariates in Malabar or Kerala.

"Touching the holy cross and the gospel I promise not to receive any bishop, now and in the future, who will come to Malabar without the decree of the holy Church. Likewise I profess to receive him, as our bishop, who will come with the decree of the holy Church and with whom I will unite".

[Kuriakose Elias Chavara].

DOCUMENT 57

LETTER OF MSGR. BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE ABOUT THE ARRIVAL OF ROKOS

Verapoly, 12 May 1861; with this letter Msgr. Bernardino, vicar apostolic of Malabar, notified the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide about the arrival of Mar Thomas Rokos in Cochin, accompanied by Fr. Antony Thondanatt, 12 students who stayed with him in Chaldea and by two Chaldean priests. He also informed that, in order to combat and defeat Rokos, he sent a pastoral letter to all the parishes and obtained an oath of fidelity to the Holy See and to the vicar apostolic (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 684-685).

Most Reverend Eminence,

In this very numerous, immoderate and unruly crowd of clergy and Syro-Malabar people, generally all expectation and hope (for ritual bishops) became dormant and almost extinct until the arrival of two known bishops from Baghdad. However, I am not afraid of it, because I am well informed, as I already manifested to that Sacred Congregation about the fabric of their secret plot, and about the last desperate resolution which Fr. Antony Junior had taken in Baghdad in the end together with his intimate supporters here to bring, in any manner, one of the persons endowed with the episcopal character, in order to have a dummy-prelate and to obtain from him valid ordination for all

 $^{^{7}\ \}mathrm{In}$ addition to Rokos, perhaps the vicar apostolic refers to Bishop Mar Gabriel.

those whom they want, but whom I should not ordain (because unworthy). Then they will come beating the chest in order to be absolved from the censures, and to be enabled to exercise the sacred ministry which more easily procure them a comfortable and worldly living with scandal, damage and destruction of churches and the faithful. And so, on (Sunday of) Ascension at 8 in the morning all of a sudden is seen: a bishop getting down from an old Arab boat in the beach of Cochin - I do not know whether one of the two consecrated by the Patriarch of Babylon or by some heretical Jacobite (bishop) or of another denomination – together with the said Antony Junior and with all young men who a few years ago went to Baghdad guided by the famous Fr. Antony Senior who was called by God to render his tremendous account and with two other priests from the said nation, escorted, as I heard, by a protestant pastor. All of them pompously went to the church and residence of a Bava, that is, a heretical archbishop brought from Antioch a few years ago (when I was at Quilon), by the Malabar Nestorians, and was then almost completely abandoned by they themselves and was exiled from the two kingdoms of Travancore and Cochin.⁸ In that guesthouse and in the company of such a person up to this day they stay (which did very much cool down the enthusiasm rekindled by the arrival of the bishop of their nation), having in the meantime sent notice to the churches, and waiting for their arrival there to receive them and lead them triumphantly to somewhere else.

I immediately sent to all the parishes, the more respectable third Order priests as my representatives with a pastoral letter of mine and a formula of oath of fidelity and obedience to the Holy See, and to the vicar apostolic for the time being, or to that prelate, whom the same Holy See through the vicar apostolic will notify to them that they should be subjected, and not to recognize the Patriarch of Babylon, nor the intruder who came recently. This oath is to be made by all the vicars, priests, clerics and leaders of each parish in the hands of these my envoys.

 $^{^{8}}$ Here the reference is to the Antiochian Bishop Mar Cyril Joachim. See Introductory Article Two, 5.3.

This is so far I can brief to Your Eminence, we will see later how this storm is going to finish. I warmly recommend myself to the memento and to the prayers of Your Eminence, and kissing your sacred purple with profound veneration I remain.

Of Your Most Reverend Eminence; Verapoly, 12 May 1861,

Most humble and most obedient servant, Friar Bernardino of St Therese, Discalced Carmelite, Archbishop Vicar Apostolic.

DOCUMENT 58

APPOINTMENT OF KURIAKOSE ELIAS CHAVARA AS VICAR GENERAL FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST ROKOS

Verapoly, 8 June 1861; Vicar Apostolic Bernardino knew well that it was the absence of a native head or bishop in the Malabar Church that provoked the schism of Rokos. Hence, in order to fight against Rokos, he adopted the best tactic of appointing Fr. Kuriakose Elias Chavara, the founder and first Prior of the indigenous Carmelite Third Order, the well-known, the most respected and the saintly priest of Malabar as vicar general of Verapoly, entrusting to him the spiritual care of the St Thomas Christians (Mannanam, Archives of the St Joseph's Monastery; Sacra Congregatio pro Causis Sanctorum (P. N. 1174), Changanacherren. seu Verapolitana, Beatificationis Canonizationis Servi Dei Cyriaci Eliae Chavara, Positio super introductione Causae et super virtutibus, Romae 1977, 216-217).

We, Bernardino of St Theresa, archbishop of Pharsalia, vicar apostolic of Malabar,

To our beloved Father Kuriakose Chavara, prior of Mannanam monastery and other monasteries.

On account of the difficulties which we experience in the administration of churches under our jurisdiction for a long time, because of our advanced age and the consequent exhaustion and indisposition, and moreover since through our administration we do not see spiritual fruits both among the priests and among the laity, in the present circumstances of things, according to the decree of the council of Trent, it is necessary to constitute a vicar general. Hence we appoint you as vicar general, so that you govern, as regards spiritual affairs, priests and lay people in the Syro-Malabar churches under our jurisdiction. In fact, I am persuaded that you have the fortitude (strength), skill, wisdom and the virtues which are necessary to fulfil this responsibility. Therefore, in addition to the authority and privileges which the common law recognizes, we grant you all those privileges and authority which our patent letter recognizes to be granted. We pray God to grant you every celestial blessing that you will be able to administer spiritual things, to priests and lay persons in Syro-Malabar churches (parishes) under our jurisdiction.

Verapoly, 8 June 1861.

DOCUMENT 59

LETTER OF VICAR APOSTOLIC BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE INOFORMING HIM OF THE APPOINTMENT OF CHAVARA

Verapoly, 15 June 1861; Msgr. Bernardino, archbishopvicar apostolic of Verapoly informed the Prefect of Propaganda Fide about the preliminary activities of Bishop Rokos in Malabar. He pointed out that although the priests and the leading faithful made the oath of fidelity, many followed Rokos. Moreover he officially notified that he appointed Fr. Chavara as vicar general. He described the good qualities and virtuous life of the new vicar general and proposed to the Cardinal that he be consecrated as coadjutor bishop of Verapoly for the St Thomas Christians because he considered this as "the most appropriate means and perhaps the only one", "in order to divert the clergy and the people and to oppose the Intruder" (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 687-690).

Most Reverend Eminence,

In my previous letter I informed Your Eminence, how the Intruder of Baghdad reached Cochin with the recommendations of those English Consuls to the Madras government and to the Residents of these two kingdoms. Because of these my request to the said authorities was not approved, but after a month he was given permission to reside in these countries as a foreigner. With regard to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction he replied me that the government cannot interfere in it (*sic*) if there is no police case; and that is enough to make all the evil they want to commit.

When the news of the arrival of the said unhappy bishop (he is 60 or more years old, cunning, deceitful, a man of no conscience and I do not know what faith he has) divulged, the most licentious and felonious of the clergy and Syro-Malabar people immediately rushed to him and adhered to him. He showed to them his patents, namely the attestations of the Patriarch which he already sent to all the parishes. In these attestations or testimonies, it is said that everything was done with the authority of the Holy See. In all the parishes the perverted priests and lay people do all what is possible, and try their level best to oblige all to follow the Intruder, so that they have no one to tangle them in satisfying their passions with peace, and to remain tranquil in every vice. I do not know now how it will come to an end. When the first fury is quelled, I think I can give Your Eminence some more information. If half of the clergy were good, the Intruder would remain almost alone, but the good and mediocre priests are very few and they groan bitterly. They together with our Tertiaries have exerted, and are exerting every effort to undeceive the crowd running to every parish with the letter of His Holiness to the Chaldean Patriarch, which luckily reached me, and after translating, I made it printed and divulged, and at the same time to demand the oath of loyalty to the Holy See by all the priests and leaders of the people. But oh God!, without any difficulty, after making the oath the priests continue with and increasingly improve their commitment, and then go to give obedience to a similar Intruder, or perhaps even to worse ones, and they do so with the hope that the Holy Father will be moved with compassion of such a great multitude and will ratify the fact. What I say, has been decided by them together with the Intruder, and they say it publically and encourage one another to remain united and strong: "it matters little (it is their expression) that now we are schismatics or heretics, in the end the Pope would not want so many people to be lost, and so he will send the brief to this bishop".

In such critical circumstances, with the counsel of my missionary confreres I judged it good to constitute, as I have done, the oldest among the Tertiary priests as my vicar general for the Surianis, who is the Prior of the antique and principal monastery, and head of the whole Congregation, truly Christian, virtuous and very prudent, very well-versed in Sacred Scriptures, most expert in Syriac language, who in this circumstance with his deeds proved himself to be very faithful to the Catholic Religion and to the Holy See, even though the Intruder and his seditious group from Baghdad itself endeavoured to draw him to their side; here also they tried all the means possible and astuteness, even promising to consecrate him bishop. If they could have obtained his consecration, all or almost all would have followed him, since he enjoys great esteem, respect and authority among all. Now therefore, in order to divert the clergy and the people and to oppose the Intruder I judged it (his appointment as vicar general) as the most appropriate means, and perhaps the only one. But my opinion, my request to Your Eminence (is to consider), whether it will be convenient to consecrate him as coadjutor bishop for the Surianis, in case the sole dignity of vicar general is not enough to hold back the multitude from going to the Intruder, and to divert them from him and from the Chaldean Patriarch. The more so (especially) since there is no hope that this Syro-Malabar people want to obey and recognize the future archbishop of Cranganore according to the concordat, so that at the end it will be convenient to the Holy See, as it was already almost in the beginning, to send them a vicar apostolic or to subject them to the Chaldean Patriarch, which according to me will be the most desperate remedy, being it impossible morally saying, that they can govern themselves without being reduced in the end to be Christians in name only. Even if this highly commented and proposed person lacks the necessary knowledge for this position, nor can he have, being from

this country, the chest (courage) that is required in a bishop in such particular circumstances, but supported by the vicar apostolic as the vine leans on the elm, and by the missionaries he will certainly bear better fruits than those of the Chaldean Patriarch, and his Intruder, because he is good, prudent and obedient, and also fascinating in preaching. Forgive me Eminence for taking the courage to advice you, but I have sincerely believed that it is my duty in conscience to express this opinion of mine to Your Eminence and to His Holiness. Whether it is expedient or a trifle, it is up to Your Eminence to judge, and to me to do what will be commanded. I only inform that the said person, namely, Fr. Kuriakose Chavara, Prior of the Tertiaries of the Immaculate Conception of Holy Mary of Mount Carmel, has the simple vow of humility, and although he did not have it, he would not accept such (episcopal) character and dignity without a precept, as I had to give him, in order to make him accept the office of the vicar general. It would be very helpful if His Holiness himself sends the admonitions to this Intruder and to the ecclesiastics who have followed him.

Recommending myself to the prayers and memento of Your Eminence, and kissing the sacred purple with reverence and profound veneration, I remain,

Of Your Most Reverend Eminence; Verapoly, 15 June 1861,

Most humble and most obedient servant, Friar Bernardino of St Therese, Discalced Carmelite.

DOCUMENT 60

LETTER OF CHAVARA AND HIS COMPANIONS TO POPE PIUS IX FOR ASCERTAINING THE TRUTH ABOUT THE MISSION OF ROKOS

Malabar, 19 June 1861; in this letter Chavara and his companions pointed out that Bishop Rokos claimed to be sent by the Chaldean Patriarch according to the order of the Pope, while the vicar apostolic asserted that he was sent against the will and command of the Pope and hence he would be excommunicated. Therefore, the authors of the letter humbly asked the Pope to explicitly state the truth about the mission of Rokos (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 690-691).

To the high and sublime See of our Holy Father Pius IX who holds the keys of Peter in hand, and the primacy of the Church of our Lord, who said to him "the gates of the netherworld shall not prevail against it".⁹

We, your humble children, poor and sick in faith, and in charity (while the most worthy and most honourable Msgr. Bernardino, visitor and vicar apostolic of Malabar, governs us together with his most faithful companions and worthy priests, who are three Discalced Carmelites) of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, conceived without original sin, and their Superior called Fr. Kuriakose Elias kneeling before your sublime majesty spiritually kiss your blessed feet, and present to Your Holiness these few lines: that is, on 9 May of this year 1861 Mar Thomas (Rokos) arrived here, who was sent from Mosul with the patent (mandate) from Mar Joseph Audo, Patriarch of Babylon and in his company there was Fr. Antony who went from here to Mosul. This bishop used to preach saying to all faithful that he was sent to Malabar with the command and permission of Your Holiness communicated (the command) to the said Patriarch for governing the Chaldean

⁹ The reference is to Matthew 16: 18.

churches of Malabar. Msgr. Bernardino, on the other hand, manifestly preached, demonstrating a letter and said that it was against the will and command of Your Holiness, this bishop was sent here by the Patriarch with his own authority, command and wish. Hence excommunicating the bishop, he excommunicates any priest who receives any kind of ecclesial authority he confers; and if this is so, all the priests and faithful who everyday go to him and agree to any of his work and walk in his footprints (will be excommunicated). We believe that before we receive a reply to this letter, all the churches will be placed under his obedience, that is, all the churches will follow him except those that are directed by the Carmelite priests; and he who knows everything before it exists knows this well (God knows that it is so).

Therefore with all humility we ask Your Holiness and supplicate with tears in our eyes, that let us be made manifestly know the truth of this thing, and let this be done in our Chaldean language, telling us what did the Patriarch ask to Your Holiness; what response was given to him; and which of these two we must obey. Guard us in this great agitation and guide us through the way Your Holiness thinks right and good, and this we ask, in order to confirm the doubtful persons.

Finally genuflecting in front of the Throne of Your Holiness, kissing your blessed feet we humbly ask again that your holy blessing may descend upon these your sons who are subject to the holy obedience of Your Holiness; may this same blessing descend on our churches, our houses and our country because here we are bound forever by the power of the idolaters.

From the Monastery of Mannanam on 19 June 1861,

Signed by Fr. Kuriakose Elias Chavara and 12 other priests, without their surnames.

Note of the original translator from Syriac: there is a line over the letter which has the following meaning; Oh our Holy Father, would you send the reply in our Chaldean language?

DOCUMENT 61

LETTER OF THOMAS ROKOS TO CHAVARA WARNING HIM OF DIRE CONSEQUENCES

Thycattucherry, 24 June 1861; as we have seen, in order to spearhead the fight against Rokos, Vicar Apostolic Bernardino appointed Kuriakose Elias Chavara as vicar general. In fact many churches did not follow Rokos only because of the intervention of Fr. Chavara. Rokos also knew well that it was Chavara's action that thwarted the full adherence of the Malabar Church to him. So in this letter with harsh words Rokos tried to humiliate, discredit and intimidate Chavara. With his letter of 22 July 1861 (document 62) Vicar Apostolic Bernardino forwarded this letter to Propaganda Fide (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 714-715).

Thomas, by the grace bishop and vicar apostolic of Malabar Chaldeans to Fr. Kuriakose (Cyriac), superior of the Mannanam Convent.

Let you know that I am well informed of the iniquity and mischief, with which in a letter sent to all the churches you call us (me) a wolf who devours (eats up) these sheep. More than that, as the magician Simon, you went to Bishop Bernardino, head of the unruly, and you have received the office of his vicar general by giving a good sum of money, and he maliciously promised you to make you the bishop of Malabar. And for this reason you go around, falsely spreading the lie in all the churches and places that you have gone to Bishop Thomas and you have seen that he has no order from the Pope or from anyone else. What a liar! What a traitor! What a deceitful! When did you ever come to us? When did you ever speak to me? When did you know whether or not we have any order? Oh senseless! Oh ignorant! Why do you say such lies? Going around with all this, was not enough for you. You are continuously spreading and announcing in all the churches that Bishop Thomas is suspended, excommunicated and is a heretic. Awkward! Doomed! Infatuated with the desire to become a bishop! From where have you come to know that we are

excommunicated and heretic? Have you received any letter from the Pope or from the Prefect of the Propaganda, or from the Patriarch? Perhaps you may say that Bishop Bernardino has told you! If our brother Bishop Bernardino would tell you that there are five gods, will you believe? Bishop Bernardino is not God, nor the Pope. Therefore, oh irrational, I suggest you to cut off one part of your tongue. Stop making turmoil. If you do not obey I will give you severe punishment for the soul and for the body, and perhaps I will drive you out from the convent. Stop preventing people from coming to me saying that there is excommunication. Do you not know the order of the king and his ministers not to give rise to disorders? Know all this and is enough.

The year of the Lord 1861, June 24.

DOCUMENT 62

LETTER OF VICAR APOSTOLIC BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA CONCERNING THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE SCHISM

Verapoly, 22 July 1861; with this letter Msgr. Bernardino, vicar apostolic of Verapoly reported to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide about the evolution of the schism, referring to the activities of Rokos until that time. He also indicated that almost half of the clergy and people already followed Rokos. To this letter he attached the letter of Rokos (document 61) addressed to Fr. Kuriakose Elias Chavara and the letter of the latter dated 22 July 1861 and addressed to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, which will be presented as document 63 (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 711-714).

Most Reverend Eminence,

In my previous letter I mentioned about the beginning of a schism of these Syro-Malabars following the sudden arrival of the bishop sent by the Chaldean Patriarch. Now I inform you that almost half, if not more, of the said clergy and people have become preys to the wolf, after they have well understood that under his

shadow they can quietly satisfy their vices, multiply disorders and scandals without any fear. Therefore they exult, and the clergy bring their vices into maximum triumph, remembering with disdain against me the travail that they had to sustain until now, waiting in the darkness of the night to satisfy them and keep them hidden. Few days ago it happened that a pseudo-vicar substituted in that office by the Intruder of Baghdad, cheerful and happy of it, not at night but in day time and in the presence of the leaders of his parish, drank the spirit of the palm (toddy) at his pleasure, blaspheming at the same time against me; then half-drunk he got up and stumbled in a vase that was in front, and fell down and blew away his four teeth.

After a few days of stay at Cochin the Intruder could obtain permission from the government to get out of it and with the help of a certain wealthy person, 10 dominant and most capable of all these Christians and many gentiles, he went together with his followers (satellites) to fix his residence in a parish about three miles distant from the said city, situated in the territory of the king of Travancore, where he stays under the help, direction and intrigues of the aforesaid overbearing leader who has his residence there. The bishop adores his signals, and his arbitrary decisions can be detected even in the acts of the usurped jurisdiction and in decrees, constituting vicars, granting the faculty of confession, etc. The Intruder depends on that leader and wants everyone depend on him; he does every art proper to the forerunner of Antichrist with the intention to snatch all if possible (also the Latins) from the bosom of the Roman Church, in order to place them in that of Babylonia. For this purpose they try to satisfy grieving lusts, as well as the passions of the more naughty and uneducated of the clergy. Already all of them confess, celebrate (what a horror Eminence!); they are vicars, masters of clerics, preachers, among whom there is an excommunicated murderer, others guilty of solicitation (seduction), others who did injustice relative to the goods or particulars of the Church etc. For the same effect, they do not cease to place me and the missionaries into disrepute and

¹⁰ The person mentioned here is Tharakan Abraham Parayil.

aversion; the Intruder himself preaches by means of an interpreter (translator) that we are their enemies but they should forgive us according to the evangelical precept, and pray to the Lord for our conversion etc. And he shows all people a letter of mine which is said to have been remitted by Your Eminence to the Chaldean Patriarch, in which I am made to say to the Sacred Congregation that this clergy and people of Syro-Malabar rite constitute only a small number (a thing that I have not even dreamed of writing, only he and people like him can say such lies without any shame); and that among the clergy there is no one able to be a bishop. Yes, this I have written, but I did not mean to say ability to become a bishop, what he has; because in this sense I would have said a solemn lie; being similar to him in telling whatever comes to mind, so to say. For this reason the good priests were greatly surprised, that how the Patriarch had the courage to consecrate and send such a perverse person; they exclaim that if such persons are elected there as bishops, what will be the (nature of) the mass of the clergy? I do not know how this Patriarch and this envoy of him could justify themselves before God. The damage they have done and are doing, and the sins of this Christianity on their spine (shoulders) are of incalculable number and weight, but they not even feel them.

I learned that this Patriarch is to come to Rome with two of his bishops, and he has written promising the Intruder that he will send the papal briefs from Rome. Your Eminence should be vigilant because they are able to send some false briefs and fulfil the work of darkness.

I attach a copy of the letter sent by the Intruder to that person – whom as I mentioned to Your Eminence in my previous letter, I have made my vicar general – after he, accompanied by his companions and leading people had visited the Intruder to ask him to show if he had any pontifical brief authorizing his journey to Malabar, in order to undeceive the crowd, which was led to believe that he has the said brief, notwithstanding my circular regarding it. However, having well-understood the aim of their visit, he told them to wait and after a long time they saw the cops brought in by the aforementioned domineering leader so that they might take

them all and lead them to the police accusing that they went there to insult him, they embarked in small boats and escaped from there. This fact and many of his other acts have already removed all doubts from those who do not specifically want to be deceived; the same fact made it clear that he had no authority and objective, other than that derives from ambition and greed.

To the aforementioned copy of the letter an Italian translation is attached. If Your Eminence wants to see the original I shall send it; it is purposely kept here in order to be shown in the court if attempt may be made to occupy the convent. Together with it I attach a letter from my aforementioned vicar general to Your Eminence, sealed by him and given me to be sent to you; really I do not know what is said in it. I inform Your Eminence that the project and proposal I made in my previous letter about appointing this person as my coadjutor, not even he, nor anyone else knows, except two of my missionary-companions under secrecy. So Your Eminence can understand that what the Intruder says in the attached copy about it is a mere assumption, and its purpose is to insult him and to slander him since I have made him the vicar general.

So far no reply has come to me from Your Eminence for which I was waiting. I received only one circular, decrees etc., regarding the residence, the report and the seminary of Propaganda.

Through the Apostolic Nuncio of Paris I sent to His Holiness 24,572 francs of offering (donation) which I could collect so far, part of it was already received there, and the next part will soon reach there. I would like to get a blessing from our Visible Head mostly on those individuals and churches, which in this collect demonstrated with facts, and distinguished themselves in their attachment and devotion to the Vicar of Christ. This blessing I ask also to justify me from the slander of those who, for preventing this duty towards the good disposition and good will, are striving to make people believe that I was doing it, not for any aim, other than to prevent the arrival of the Intruder, and to have something when I return to Europe.

This is in brief what I should now highlight to Your Eminence and please remember me, this vicariate, the unhappy Intruder and his followers in your prayers and *memento*.

Finally I kiss your sacred purple with reverence and profound veneration and I have the honour to profess myself.

Verapoly, 22 July 1861,

Most humble and most obedient servant, Friar Bernardino of St Therese, Archbishop Vicar Apostolic.

DOCUMENT 63

LETTER OF CHAVARA TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA SEEKING CLARIFICATION ABOUT THE STATUS OF ROKOS

Verapoly, 22 July 1861; since the confusion concerning the ecclesiastical status of Rokos continued, Chavara requested the Prefect of Propaganda Fide to let him and the Malabar people know the truth, namely whether Rokos was sent with the authorization of Rome. Moreover Chavara dared to reveal to the Prefect the general estrangement of the Malabar clergy and people from Vicar Apostolic Bernardino because of his rigorous comportment and the need to appoint another bishop for obtaining the conversion of those who followed Rokos. The sealed letter of Chavara was forwarded to Propaganda by Vicar Apostolic Bernardino together with his letter (document 61) presented above (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, Scritture riferite Mesopotamia-Persia, Caldei e Latini, 1856-63, vol. 21, ff. 875-877).

To the Most Eminent Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, Alexander Barnabò.

I, your humble son, Father Cyriac Elias, prior of the Tertiary Carmelites of the Immaculate Virgin Mary (conceived without the original stain), with my fellow priests who remain under the obedience of Msgr. Bernardino, honourable bishop and visitor of Verapoly:

While kissing your blessed hands and spiritually asking your apostolic blessing, we let your Eminence know a very sorrowful event that is taking place, and has happened among us these days. Joseph, the honourable Patriarch of Babylon sent to us Msgr. Thomas (Rokos), who preached to all these Christians, saying that he was sent to govern their churches according to the command of our Lord Pius IX, who had communicated such directive to the aforementioned Patriarch of Babylon, and all the priests and faithful believed his words. And these were the ones who said every day, "the commands of Msgr. Bernardino are heavy and unbearable". If Your Eminence yourself or Holiness of Our Lord (Pope), does not suspend or prohibit him, for sure, as we believe, in two months all will follow in their footsteps, even those who have remained (under Msgr. Bernardino). Hence, with perseverance and with many tears and sighs we ask Your Eminence to let us know, soon and without delay, the truth about this affair - the welldeserved reward for such a manifest opposition - and this (the letter) in our own Chaldean language so that the clergy of Malabar may personally see, read and believe it.

Finally we let your Eminence know and we manifest to you, the true thoughts (thinking) of our mind. Long since the minds of the faithful and priests distanced themselves from our Bishop Bernardino on account of his commands and his governance; he used to command every day with his characteristic zeal. Although he did this with justice and zeal, these faithful and priests of our countries, being weak and cold in charity, could not tolerate this. And therefore in all truth we think that if another bishop does not come – and if Msgr. Charles, bishop and apostolic visitor of Quilon or another one as will be pleasing to your wisdom, is not appointed here – all these faithful, who have followed the Chaldean bishop will not convert, nor will return (to the bosom of the Church), even if he is excommunicated and suspended. This petition of ours is not an inclination towards the Chaldeans. As we know from the beginning and many times the Chaldean governance is of no use, and will not bring any benefit to our souls, but in fact will cause outrage to the true faith and union with Jacobite heretics dwelling here. After having so expressed our mind, we who are all weak,

lacking in faith and charity, recommend our souls, our churches and our monasteries to the vigilance of Your Eminence.

We constantly beseech that your blessing may descend on our country, and your prayer may always be propitious for us, so that the God of eternal mercies may not reject us; he never abandons those who seek him with a contrite heart, and return to him with right conscience.

Prior Father Cyriac Elias,

From the Monastery of Mannanam, 22 July 1861.

DOCUMENT 64

LETTER OF BISHOP ROKOS TO THE PRIESTS AND PEOPLE OF MALABAR CONFIRMING THE LEGITIMACY OF HIS AUTHORITY

Thycattucherry, 13 August 1861; in this pastoral letter Rokos criticized the endeavours of Chavara and his companions to maintain the clergy and the faithful under the authority of the vicar apostolic, considering them as traitors and liars in danger of eternal salvation. He stated that his appointment for the pastoral care of the Christian faithful of the "same rite" in India was in accordance with the teaching of the Roman Pontiffs and claimed to have come with the authorization of Pope Pius IX (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 685-687).

Thomas, archbishop and pastor of Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar, majordomo (steward), faithful councilor and assistant at the throne of our Most Eminent Father the Patriarch of Babylon, to the most reverend vicars, priests, and to all our faithful subjects, greetings in Jesus Christ and blessing of the Holy Spirit.

Beloved Children; so that the words of Prophet Isaiah be fulfilled in us: "The ox knows its owner, and the donkey, its master's crib; but Israel does not know, my people do not understand", 11 even before our arrival here, our most loving brother Msgr. Bernardino paved the way for grave conflicts between our beloved priests and lay faithful by some publications (circulars) in our churches. For this reason even after our arrival some of our people close their eyes to the light of truth and are repudiating us only because of party spirit. But among these is present, in a special way our faithful son Kuriakose Chavara of Mannanam Convent with his disciples who in their gangs and in the churches rant against us and against our Most Eminent Patriarch who sent us to this place of blasphemies and infamy. They, in addition to announce that all the ecclesiastical acts exercised by the priests who are obedient to us are invalid and that all those who obey us will go to hell, with such falsity obscure the mind of simple faithful and strive to throw them into eternal ruin. Well informed of all these we are extremely sorrowful for the imminent chastisement (fate) that is upon them and those who still lend an ear to their insinuations. For, Jesus Christ in his Gospel teaches us that: the sins against the Holy Spirit, that is against the truth will not be forgiven in this life and in the life to come; 12 from the fruits, it should be known whether the tree is good or bad; 13 from the one and the same treasure the uprights draw good and the evil ones draw evil, and for every useless word one will have to give account on the day of judgment.¹⁴ Moreover, he says: "whoever is angry with a brother, he will be liable to judgment; and whoever insults a brother, he will be liable to the council, and whoever says, 'You fool,' will be liable to the hell". 15 You consider how much they will be guilty and how much they will be in danger of eternal damnation, if they desecrate the same holy sacraments against the words of the Redeemer himself and abuse (vituperate) the ecclesial authority. Having reached your painful lamentations before our Most Reverend Patriarch, which conform to the words of the

¹¹ Prophet Isaiah 1: 3.

¹² Cf. Mark 3, 28-30.

¹³ Cf. Matthew 7: 17-18; Luke 6: 43-44

¹⁴ Cf. Luke 6: 45 & Matthew 12: 36.

¹⁵ Matthew 5: 22.

prophet, that is, a flock without a shepherd are scattered and they become food for wild animals, 16 and to the words of the wise Solomon that a people (nation) without a leader falls.¹⁷ so is the case of these Syro-Chaldeans of Malabar who have no legitimate pastor who can lead them with order. Therefore, being pity of your troubles, our Most Reverend Father and Patriarch did not hesitate to give information to the unique Pastor of the Church, who is well aware of what the Supreme Pontiffs his predecessors, Nicolas I, Leo X, Clement VII, Pius V and Benedict XIV attest with regard to this matter, namely all categories of persons must recognize their own superior and their own rite, and over the churches and religious houses of each rite no one else can exercise authority of any kind except the superiors of the same rite. For all these reasons the Supreme Pontiff Pius IX our unique Superior did not hesitate to send us the bulls, in force of which, after our consecration, in conformity with your desire, he sent us to you accompanied by those whom you had sent there earlier. After we arrived here, since many churches and priests paid us obedience, we are informed that the aforementioned priests are still working with wicked intentions to achieve their goal. Therefore, beloved children, do not fall into snares of the devil, and having united to them, do not throw yourself into eternal spiritual ruin. We believe that it is our duty to let you know the truth, and we would be guilty before God if we do not inform you of all these. Reserving to us (the obligation to report) all these to the Holy See, for now we grant forgiveness to them. In order that this order of ours may be made known to all, we command that it be published on three feast days during the Mass, when many people gather together. Therefore, the vicars of the churches mentioned below, after receiving this order must make copies of it soon and send them to other churches giving due payment to the carrier. Those vicars who receive the present order must make a copy of it and they must attest the same.

Given in Thycattucherry, on 13 August 1861.

¹⁶ Cf. Ezekiel 34: 5.

¹⁷ Cf. Proverbs 11: 14.

Section Eight

CONVOCATION OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH TO ROME AND HIS SURRENDER, REVOCATION OF ROKOS

Introduction

Already on 11 November 1860 Propaganda Fide submitted a comprehensive report about the Chaldean-Malabar affairs to Pope Pius IX, who decided to convoke the Patriarch to Rome, so that, "being liberated from the influence of so many agitators, who surrounded him in his patriarchate, he could more easily recognize his errors, having disillusioned himself from his misapprehension and to accept with more docility the supreme wishes of the Holy See". So the Pontifical letter of 26 November 1860 was directed to the Patriarch, in which the Pope informed him that he entrusted to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide the task of sending an invitation letter to the same Patriarch to come to Rome with one or two bishops to settle the controversy. The letter of the Holy Father was sent on 1 December 1860 by the Propaganda to Msgr. Amanton, asking him to give it to the Patriarch.

According to the invitation of the Pope, the Chaldean Patriarch Audo, accompanied by Bishop Peter George Di Natale (ex alumnus of Propaganda) reached Rome on 31 July 1861. The Patriarch reached Rome with the hope of obtaining approval for his acts, including the expedition of Rokos to Malabar as a visitor. However, being informed of the arrival of Patriarch Audo on 11 August 1861, in accord with Propaganda Fide the Pope declared

¹ See document 55.

 $^{^2}$ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, $\it Ponenze\,1865,\,346.$

³ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 346.

that before treating any affair with the Patriarch, the following provisions should immediately be required from him: revocation of Thomas Rokos from Malabar, Bishop Michael Bar-Tatar (great supporter of the Patriarch) from Mosul and Fr. Luis Sciauriz from Baghdad (considered by Propaganda as a perverted and evil priest responsible for the falsification of papal letters and other wicked activities), a declaration attesting the falsity of the translation of the papal letter which was said to have been circulated in Chaldea in the name of the Patriarch, a letter of apology to the Propaganda Fide and to the apostolic delegate for so badly ignoring their authority, a filial and sincere profession of submission to the Vicar of Jesus Christ, who would strive to do what is needed for the true good of the Chaldean nation and of that episcopate.⁴

The Prefect of Propaganda Fide negotiated with Bishop Di Natale and directly with the Patriarch (he did not know Italian) through an interpreter, a Maronite called Mr. Francis Mahaseb to obtain from him the papal demands; Msgr. Laurence Trioche, Latin archbishop of Baghdad and former apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia also intervened in the affair. Finally, constrained by circumstances, on 7 September 1861 the Patriarch submitted three letters to the Prefect of Propaganda: the first directed to Thomas Rokos in Malabar, the second to Bishop Bar-Tatar, patriarchal vicar in Mosul and the third to the Chaldean priest Luis Sciauriz in Baghdad, revoking them from their respective places (documents 65-67). Moreover the Patriarch also submitted to him a written request addressed to the Pope asking pardon for his excesses and absolution from censures and eventual excommunication (document 68).

After all theses acts of submission, on 14 September 1861 the Pope admitted Patriarch Audo and Archbishop Di Natale to an audience of few minutes, accompanied by Cardinal Barnabò and Msgr. Annibale Capalti, respectively Prefect and Secretary of Propaganda Fide (this means the Patriarch, the father and head of the Chaldean Catholic Church could not personally speak with the

⁴ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 354.

Pope in private); the aforementioned Maronite Mahaseb served as interpreter. The Chaldean prelates were permitted only to kiss the feet of the Pope. The Patriarch asked pardon for all what he had done against the will of the Supreme Pontiff and implored benignly absolution from them, and these were granted. However, when the Patriarch excused himself saying that he accomplished those acts in good faith for avoiding greater evils, the Pope, being infuriated, scolded, reprimanded and threatened him. He again asked for pardon and implored the apostolic blessing, which was granted, pronouncing a few words of comfort and satisfaction.⁵

Then on 23 September 1861 the Patriarch wrote a pastoral letter to the bishops, clergy and faithful of his Church, in which he gave counsels and directives according to the mind of Propaganda Fide (document 69). After these events the Patriarch remained in Rome for one more month, during which he had a few meetings with the Prefect of Propaganda and some written requests for the benefit of the Chaldean Church were submitted and the Cardinal gave rather positive response (document 70).

Propaganda Fide promptly informed the Apostolic Delegate Amanton of what was happening in Rome and forwarded to him the aforementioned letters of the Patriarch concerning the Chaldeans for action and the documentation concerning the absolution granted to the Patriarch (cf. documents 66-69). On 8 November 1861 the apostolic delegate sent a response to the Propaganda, in which he expressed his fury and embarrassment because the censures he had inflicted on the Patriarch and the Chaldean bishops were not fully upheld in Rome. Moreover he judged that the letters of the Patriarch were ambiguous, insufficient and crafty (document 71).

Finally the Pope admitted the Patriarch to audience for farewell, as requested, and on 20 October 1861 he departed from the Eternal City.⁶ The Patriarch reached his see in Mosul on 2

⁵ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 355.

⁶ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 356.

December 1861. The Patriarch departed from Rome distressed and humiliated, because he could not obtain anything from the Pope and the Propaganda, including the desired recognition of his jurisdiction in Malabar, but he was constrained to rescind everything he had done. However, once he reached Chaldea the impression was created among the people that he received an extraordinary reception in Rome, the Pope approved his comportment and all his demands including the jurisdiction in Malabar were recognized and approved.⁷

DOCUMENT 65

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO REVOKING BISHOP ROKOS FROM MALABAR

Rome, 7 September 1861; Chaldean Patriarch Joseph Audo went to Rome, because he was invited by Pope Pius IX, but the Pope refused to receive the Patriarch and to speak with him unless he revoked Rokos from Malabar. Hence compelled by the Pope and Propaganda Fide with the present letter the Patriarch asked Rokos to return to his see in Diyarbakir or to Mosul (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 694-695).

Certainly you do not ignore the disagreements and disputes arisen among us and the most illustrious Apostolic Delegate Amanton in connection with the question of the Chaldeans of Malabar, and how we have sent you to that region in order to collect necessary information concerning the state of the Chaldeans living there and concerning their petitions. After your departure for those regions, upon the invitation of the Supreme Pontiff, we felt obliged to abandon the patriarchal see, and to promptly undertake a long trip to Rome.

 $^{^{7}}$ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 357.

Now with the help of God and in company of Msgr. Peter George Di Natale we have reached Rome safe and sound.

However, the Holy Father, before speaking anything with us concerning the issues of Malabar and about their ardent request, indicated his special wish to us, that is, the affairs of Malabar had to return to its pristine state as they were in the beginning.

Therefore, as the most obedient children to the voice of the head and visible pastor of the Catholic Church, we could not contradict his supreme will as in conscience we are bound to obey it.

For this reason, oh venerable brother, we demand (from your courtesy) that once this letter arrives in your hand, you abandon Malabar and return to your see of Bassorah, and in case the climate of the place is not good for you and if you want to go to Mosul and stay there until we arrive – which I think will happen soon – that is granted to you.

We have strong confidence (trust) in the Lord that His Holiness who is very keen (to find a favourable way to lead the entire Chaldean nation existing in Malabar and Mesopotamia to peace and tranquillity) will accept and maturely examine what we will explain to him with regard to this affair.

Therefore, oh my brother confide in this letter of mine and return.

Rome, 7 September 1861.

I, the undersigned attest that it is a true copy of the original: Peter George Di Natale, Chaldean Archbishop of Diyarbakir.

DOCUMENT 66

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO BISHOP BAR-TATAR IN MOSUL ORDERING HIM TO RETURN TO HIS OWN DIOCESE OF SEERT

Rome, 7 September 1861; according to the wish of Propaganda Fide, Chaldean Patriarch Mar Audo asked Mar Bar-Tatar, Chaldean bishop of Seert who resided in Mosul to return to his diocese of Seert. Propaganda Fide considered Mar Bar-Tatar as the evil genius behind the "non canonical acts" of the Patriarch. We have reproduced his strong letter to the Propaganda Fide concerning Chaldean jurisdiction in Malabar as document 54 (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 695-696).

Let Your Lordship know that by the grace of the Almighty on 31 July we arrived in Rome in the company of our most distinguished confrere Msgr. Peter (George Di Natale) and twice we had audience with His Eminence the Lord Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation, but the affairs are as before, nothing new has been done; this deal may also go very far.

We hope that by now the Christians of Mosul and Baghdad are placed in tranquillity from the disorders and inconvenient movements. It is your obligation to return to your diocese form where out of necessity and according to our command for a long time you are absent; it is your obligation that you be present at the same. For this reason we require from Your Lordship that as soon as this letter of ours arrives in your hands, you move from Mosul to Seert and also use all your skills, so that on account of your departure, misconducts and rattle may not arise among the people of Mosul and also in the surrounding villages. However, on condition that you do not leave Mosul, until Fr. Luis Sciauriz reaches there, to whom we have already written to come there, in order not to leave our new seminary without a master and director, which is too dear to our heart.

The remaining news we give you in the future. Wish you very good health.

Postscript: in this circumstance we must let you know that we have seen with wonder what you replied to the Cardinal Prefect who reminded you of the obligation of residence, that is, you are unable to surrender to his injunctions without an express order of ours, as if we must not be the first observer of canons, and orders of Propaganda; therefore it is very necessary that with the promptness of obedience you repair all those irregular things mentioned in your letter.

Rome, 7 September 1861.

It fully conforms to the original: Peter George Di Natale, Chaldean Archbishop of Diyarbakir.

DOCUMENT 67

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO FR. SCIAURIZ REVOKING HIM FROM BAGHDAD

Rome, 7 September 1861; complying with the wish of Propaganda Fide Chaldean Patriarch Mar Audo also wrote to the Chaldean priest Luis Sciauriz residing in Baghdad as patriarchal vicar, ordering him to go to Mosul. He accompanied Rokos to Baghdad and made arrangements for his voyage to Malabar (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 696).

Let you know that by the grace of the Almighty on 31 July we arrived in Rome and we had been twice to His Eminence the Lord Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation, but the affairs remain as before, no new step has been taken; it may take a very long time. With all this we hope that by now the confusions and disturbances will be in maximum tranquillity among the people of Baghdad. Therefore they will not have any need of your stay among them, the more so because Mar Michael Bar-Tatar also should return to his diocese. In order that the seminary may remain without a master and director, at the arrival of our letter in your hands, we

wish you to go from Baghdad to Mosul, to direct the college (seminary) in accordance with your zeal and all carefulness.

All your prudence should be employed so that at your departure from Baghdad there may not arise any disturbance among the people and you inform us about your departure from Baghdad and arrival in Mosul.

You will receive news about this in Mosul, and be healthy in the Lord.

It fully conforms to the original: Peter George Di Natale, Chaldean Archbishop of Diyarbakir.

DOCUMENT 68

SUPPLICATION OF PATRIARCH AUDO TO POPE PIUS IX FOR ABSOLUTION FROM EXCOMMUNICATION

Rome, 8 September 1861; the imprudent and undiplomatic apostolic delegate fulminated censors against the Patriarch and threatened him with excommunication. As usual at that time Propaganda Fide even upheld the unlawful acts of its own representative and constrained the Patriarch to request absolution from the Pope for the censures and irregularities incurred in connection with the consecration of Rokos and his expedition to Malabar. Although the Patriarch did not consider himself as an excommunicated person, being threatened, intimidated and humiliated, he asked for absolution, which was granted on 8 September 1861 (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 697-698).

Most Holy Father,

After our arrival here in Rome and the conversation (meeting) with His Eminence the Lord Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation regarding the consecration of Msgr. Thomas Rokos, bishop of Bassorah, we have some suspicion of being fallen into the censures of the sacred canons, for not attending to the prohibition of Your Holiness, transmitted to us through the most

Eminent Prefect of the Sacred Congregation, and intimated to us by the apostolic delegate. Although we did it in good faith, and believe that we are free from any ecclesiastical censures, for being obedient sons of the Holy Church and of Your Holiness, for the tranquillity of our conscience we implore from your Beatitude a full absolution, if you believe it is necessary and along with it a dispensation from any irregularities that we could have incurred in the aforementioned supposition.

Rome, 8 September 1861.

This literally conforms to the original: Peter George Di Natale, Chaldean Archbishop of Diyarbakir.

At the Audience of the Most Holy Father on 8 September 1861.

The Most Holy Father, after hearing the report about this humble petition, and all things that could be referred to it in any manner, after carefully considering the acts, by which the Most Reverend Lord, Joseph Audo, Babylonian Patriarch of the Chaldeans in Iraq recalls Archbishop Thomas Rokos from Malabar, Presbyter Aloysius Sciauriz from Baghdad, and orders Michael Peter Bar-Tatar, bishop of Seert to return to his diocese; and by which, as far as he is able to do, reparation has been made for those things accomplished directly contrary to the prohibition of the Apostolic See, disclosed through the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Christianity and through the Most Reverend Lord Apostolic Delegate, he benignly liberated and absolved, in both forums, the aforementioned petitioners, the Most Reverend Lord Patriarch Joseph Audo and the Most Reverend Lord Peter George Di Natale, archbishop of Seleucia (Diyarbakir) of the Chaldeans from all sentences, censures and ecclesiastical punishments, incurred on account of the said acts by law itself or emitted by a human person in whatever manner. Moreover, he dispensed them from any irregularity emerging from the violation of the aforementioned censures. He wished, however, to exhort them seriously that the respect and obedience towards the Apostolic See, which they often manifested

in words and now in the work of the persons present, they should continue to profess, both directly and indirectly, namely, also towards those who hold its authority and person (its representatives) under whatever title. Moreover, they should admonish the aforesaid Bishop Bar-Tatar, Archbishop Rokos, and the other bishops who participated in the aforementioned tearful facts, so that they themselves may consult their own conscience.

Given from the Office of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, day and year as above.

Alexander Cardinal Barnabò, Prefect.

DOCUMENT 69

CIRCULAR LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO BISHOPS, PRIESTS AND ALL OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CHALDEAN CHURCH

23 September 1861; constrained by Rome, circumstances the Patriarch also wrote a circular letter from Rome to the bishops, priests and all other Christian faithful in Mesopotamia, asking them to respect the apostolic delegate and the Western missionaries. He revealed that the real state of the Malabar Church, which was well taken care of by the vicar apostolic and his missionaries, did not correspond to the reports given by the Malabars in Chaldea. He was also careful to create the impression among his Christian faithful that he was well received in Rome and his requests even concerning Malabar were favourably considered by the Propaganda Fide. Obviously he wanted to save his honour and dignity among his people, as the father and head of the Chaldean Catholic Church (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 698-701).

May the divine blessing descend on our beloved sons of any grade and condition dwelling in Mesopotamia region, etc.

It is not unknown to you that in the company of our Venerable Brother Msgr. Peter George Di Natale, according to the

invitation of the Holy See and in fulfilment of our desires, we have arrived here with God's help without having suffered any inconvenience during our long journey. After visiting the Most Eminent Prefect of the Sacred Congregation and having a conversation with him in relation to the affairs for which we have arrived here, we have come to know of many things which we were unaware of earlier, and it has clarified to us that what we had been told about the affairs of Malabar does not fully correspond to the reality of the fact. As we have now learned this Sacred Congregation not only does not reject the requests made to her by the children of our nation dwelling in those parts, but rather it is fully prepared to accept, and to do in due time and with the blessing of the Lord everything what helps for their true good and spiritual advantage. Therefore we could know that several years ago, with the knowledge of the Sacred Congregation the vicar apostolic of Malabar had established and erected a college in that region for the education and training of the youths of our nation, so that, having been instructed in ecclesiastical sciences and trained in knowledge together with virtues, some of them might be promoted to the priesthood and to episcopacy, when it deems appropriate. Indeed with much satisfaction we have learned that the mentioned vicar apostolic had already enrolled a Syro-Chaldean Priest who is helping him as his vicar in the administration of the faithful of that rite on the example of what was already done for the Armenians in Constantinople before the Holy Apostolic See established the ecclesiastical hierarchy there. We likewise found the Most Eminent Prefect of the Sacred Congregation well-disposed to help us, in order that the college (seminary) recently erected in Mosul may also be set in a state of reaching the aforementioned end.

Some time after our arrival in this metropolis of Catholicism, the aforementioned Most Eminent Prefect led us to the audience of His Holiness Our Lord the Supreme Pontiff Pius IX, happily reigning, from whom we received the apostolic blessing which we requested him to extend to our entire Chaldean people both ecclesiastical and secular; and His Beatitude deigned graciously of imparting it to all, imploring for them to God all good, happiness and success in their undertakings, as well as progress in virtues.

Then in his conversation with us he strongly excited us and all our people to be united to this Apostolic See, and added, saying: 'if we are united and closely bound to Peter, we can do and overcome all things; on the contrary if we are separated from him, we can never do anything good'. After few more words he said: we must undoubtedly appear, He and we, before the right and terrible judgment seat (tribunal) of God to render a strict account of all our actions, and of the manner, in which we have governed the flock committed to our care. Therefore we should conduct ourselves towards the flock committed to us in a commendable and perfect manner, keeping them always in front of our eyes and having constantly targeted in all our operations what is suitable, and leading to the achievement of their principal, unique and only true good, and to be fervently solicitous for removing those obstacles and barriers that may cause them stumbling, and stop them from reaching the desired said end, and especially for eradicating those causes by which among the sons of our nation have aroused discord and disputes, and from which the fissures and seditions have originated.

Therefore, now considering the instructions of the Vicar of Christ, which can neither fail nor be deficient, and likewise following the advice of the Most Eminent Prefect we excite in the Lord our beloved children of the Chaldean population, both ecclesiastical and secular, to use every diligence to preserve unity among them with close ties of love and harmony, and drive away all fissures that cause hatred and animosity, diluting every party spirit, which ordinarily obfuscates the mind of its possessor and prevents him to know the truth well.

And in order to obtain this desire of ours more easily, with the present (letter) we intend to bless and absolve from any censure and ecclesiastical punishment which may be incurred by any person, ecclesiastical or secular, whether this penalty is enacted and imposed by us or by any other vicar of ours. This we do for no purpose other than to remove every obstacle that could prevent the reign of peace and concord, desired by His Holiness (May God preserve him long) and by the Most Eminent Prefect and this is what we too ardently long for.

To this end again we remove the prohibition to our beloved sons the very reverend monks that they may be able to move freely in accordance with their costumes in the city and in the villages. while we recommend them to be the first ones to endeavour for restoring peace and tranquillity, assuring them that, if they walk in conformity with their vocation, rules and constitutions, which mainly regulate the observance of unity, peace, fraternal charity and obedience due to their respective superiors, we will always keep them in the place of the most beloved children in the Lord. So finally to the same aforesaid end we want, and we exhort all our Chaldean people of any grade and condition, to be willing to conduct themselves with the Reverend Latin missionary fathers with perfect union and harmony, respecting them as our assistants in the ministry of the apostolate and reinstate them (in ministry), as we do wholeheartedly; by love, and united by thoughts and affections, they must tighten and unify the children of one and the same Father and the ministers of the one and the same Gospel.

Finally we must not forget here to recommend to our aforesaid people and exhort them to pay due respect and honour to Monsignor Apostolic Delegate, considering the majesty of the person he represents (namely the Roman Pontiff), who deserves all respect, honour, submission and obedience from all, especially from the community of Catholics, of which we form part by the grace of God.

This is what we want from you, and we earnestly desire from your obedience, beloved children in the Lord, while we pray that may the Almighty delight to pour out upon you his celestial graces abundantly, to bless you and your homes, to prosper your undertakings, and to make you grow in every spiritual and temporal wellbeing, and also to grant us a happy return to you, and to be able to see you again soon in excellent health, which we wish with all the heart, and divine blessing may descend upon you.

⁸ In the beginning the monks of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd wholeheartedly supported the Patriarch, but later they had to obey the Apostolic Delegate Amanton. So they began to be counted among the opponents of the Patriarch.

Rome, 23 September 1861.

I, the undersigned certify that this translation conforms word by word to its original: Peter George Di Natale, Chaldean Archbishop of Diyarbakir.

DOCUMENT 70

REQUESTS MADE BY PATRIARCH AUDO IN ROME AND THE RESPONSES OF THE CARDINAL PREFECT

Rome, October 1861; in addition to matters already treated during his stay in Rome the Patriarch made six more written requests to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, which he considered useful for the preservation and growth of the spiritual heritage of his Church. The responses of the Prefect appear to be rather positive, though general and without any real commitment (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 709-710).

Msgr. Joseph Audo begs Your Most Reverend Eminence to be willing (to bow) to receive his following requests, and to order, where he thinks appropriate, that they are put into effect (executed).

- 1. Young Chaldeans are not received as alumni in your Urban College without the consent of the Patriarch for the time being.
- 2. Missionaries do not go beyond the appropriate limits, pretending to have full power and ample jurisdiction over all the individuals of the nation.
- 3. They do not administer the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist in the unleavened bread to the followers of the Chaldean rite, where there are ministers and churches of the same rite.
- 4. Neither Latins, nor the other Eastern countries receive in their monastic institutes, and in their congregations or companies, Chaldean individuals, without the prior consent of the Patriarch for the time being, in writing.

- 5. The furniture and sacred furnishings which Msgr. Planchet of blessed memory assigned to the college (seminary) of Mosul and which the missionaries now hold in possession as their own should be returned to the same college.
- 6. The same Patriarch also asks for the special favour that Your Most Reverend Eminence be willing to generally benefit and promote his nation enabling him to print, in the native language, the Ritual, the declaration of Christian Doctrine of Bellarmine, the Glories of Mary (already translated into Chaldean by the same Patriarch), some other ascetical books, which Your Most Reverend Eminence believe advantageous to his people. Also (he requests) to grant him (sic) sacred furniture (vessels) for distribution in the churches, which are greatly in need of them. Finally (he supplicates) to recommend him earnestly to the Pious Society of Lyon to give him aid and relief in order that he might establish in his country colleges, renovate crumbling churches and fabricate a house to gather the nuns who are dispersed here and there with the scandal of others and in danger of their own souls.

Response of His Most Reverend Eminence to the said requests

- 1. From the part of Propaganda there is no objection, but if only the bishops agree.
 - 2. The ancient decrees will be reprinted, and will be sent.
 - 3. Provided above.
 - 4. Provided above.
- 5. Already instructions are given to Msgr. Apostolic Delegate in this regard.
- 6. It is granted, but the books are to be sent signed by Msgr. Patriarch. As soon as the sacred furnishings are available, they will be dispatched. As regards what is said at the end of the sixth article, at opportune time and place it will be written.

DOCUMENT 71

COMPLAINTS OF APOSTOLIC DELEGATE AMANTON AGAINST THE ACTS OF THE PATRIARCH IN ROME AND THE CIRCULAR LETTER

Mosul, 7 November 1861; Propaganda Fide transmitted to Amanton, apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia the documentation concerning the absolution granted to the Patriarch and his circular letter to the Chaldean clergy and people as well as the letters revoking Bar-Tatar from Mosul and Fr. Sciauriz from Baghdad (documents 66-69). In this letter of response he lamented that the censures and excommunication which he had promulgated against the Patriarch were not fully upheld in Rome. According to him the Patriarch should not have been allowed to celebrate Holy Mass in Rome, before obtaining absolution from censures. He also criticised the content and nature of the request for absolution presented to the Holy Father by the Chaldean Patriarch (document 69), the very act of absolution granted to him and above all the content of the circular letter which (document 70) the Patriarch wrote to the Chaldeans of Mesopotamia. He was not even satisfied with the revocation letters of Bar-Tatar and Fr. Sciauriz (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 701-709).

Eminence,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the letter you wrote to me on last 28 September. This letter contained two documents, that is, the supplication addressed to the Supreme Pontiff by the Chaldean Patriarch, and the circular letter sent by the same Patriarch to his nation. Please allow me, Eminence, to express my thoughts with regard to these two documents.

With regard to the first, I would have preferred not to know of it, and I regretted that Your Eminence thought that it should be transmitted to me. In addressing the Sovereign Pontiff himself, the Chaldean Patriarch dared to speak of his good faith; he dared to declare that he considers himself free from all ecclesiastical

censures, then he contented with asking, and still simply as a precaution (ad cautelam) a general absolution which did not seem necessary to him! But it is not at all up to me to pronounce on such an attitude taken towards the Supreme Pontiff. What I would like to comment is that the supplication in question allowed the Patriarch not to say a word, a single word that could refer to the censures I promulgated against him and against his bishops. Your Eminence will be pleased to observe that I do not complain about this fact; I merely notice it. For nearly a year, you have kept most absolute silence about these censures; then you called them simply threats; furthermore, the Patriarch could with full liberty celebrate the Holy Mysteries in Rome, and finally he was able to get out in seeking the absolution he needed. It is true that according to the rescript attached to the petition, this absolution is given; but it will always remain true that it was not requested at all. This is the comment I have in mind to present to you.

As regards the second document, I think it is a duty to express with frank liberty the reflections it suggests to me. I shall say briefly and clearly my thoughts.

In his circular, the Patriarch permits himself to say to his people that he was perfectly welcomed (received) by Your Eminence, welcomed in a very graceful manner — with much politeness. This is a first deception; since according to what Rev. Fr. Ligier wrote to me and from the very information emanated from Your Eminence, it is certain that the opposite took place. The Patriarch and the bishop of Diyarbakir, had a so severe reception at Propaganda that for several days they did not dare to present themselves at the Propaganda and that Your Eminence was obliged to take the initiative by sending the Patriarch the preliminary notes, the text of which I have in my hands. Such at least is what I found in the information I have received from Rome.

2. The Patriarch permits himself to announce to his people that little after reporting to Your Eminence, almost at once, according to the sense of its Arab expression, Your Eminence led him to the Holy Father. It is a second lie, because in reality little after means after six weeks; it is ascertained that the Patriarch

arrived in Rome on 31 July, and he had to wait until 14 September to be admitted to the audience of the Supreme Pontiff.

- 3. According to what Your Eminence was kind enough to write to me on 28 September, and in tune with what Reverend Father Ligier wrote to me on 21 of that month, the audience granted to the Patriarch was extremely severe: Patriarch received from the Holy Father the strongest reproaches, he was deeply humiliated, and reparation of his faults was demanded as condition for the forgiveness that he required to obtain. According to that authentic information, it is certain that the Patriarch was badly received by the Supreme Pontiff, but in the circular (letter), not only the Patriarch leaves nothing, absolutely nothing, to guess of the reproaches addressed to him, but also he misrepresents what happened between the sovereign Pontiff and him. Listening to him, the audience must be summarized thus: the Holy Father with kindness and extreme condescension deigned to bless him and his entire nation, and he confined himself to a general recommendation on the need to keep strongly united to the Apostolic See. I say a general recommendation, because the Patriarch takes good care to present it well in order not to let them suspect that it was personal. Your Eminence may doubtlessly recall that I had the charity to present the Patriarch as less culpable than others; therefore you do not assume that I wanted to see him humiliated in front of his nation so as to compromise his dignity. I never wanted it; but if the Patriarch does not humble himself, at least he should not distort the facts.
- 4. Having briefly noted what preceded, as having less importance, I have to express my views on what concerns Malabar. Above all, Your Eminence, I would ask you and in a special way, kindly observe that I am fully and completely indifferent to the subject matter of this question. Whether the Chaldean Patriarch has or has not Malabar, I do not have to worry about it; this affair is not my concern at all, it does not belong to my judgment. If I talk about it, it is only because of what the Patriarch said in his circular. Your Eminence cannot forget that you ordered the Patriarch to withdraw his hands from the Malabar issue; Your Eminence cannot forget that you urged me to act with all efforts to do everything

possible to stop the Patriarch in the sad track that he had taken; finally, Your Eminence cannot forget that you never blamed me too much for the ardour in taking more effort in the implementation of your orders. But today, despite all this, how is it that you allowed the Patriarch to proclaim joyfully to his people about the success he has achieved so quickly? How is it that you allowed the Patriarch to say to his people that the Sacred Congregation is not opposed to his desires, but already it has taken the necessary provisions to assist him? Moreover, how is it that in a circular which you must have read, the Patriarch was able to say: "it has been well clarified to us (we were made clear) that all that had been reported regarding Malabar and the rest was not in accordance with his orders"? Here there is an oriental deception, because the Arabic text of the patriarchal circular has a double meaning; these words could be equally translated as: "was not according to its state (of Malabar)" as well as: "was not according to his orders" (of Your Eminence). This ambiguity skilfully spared does not allow us to determine which of the two senses that the Patriarch wanted to give, but what is indisputable is that the latter is more natural than the first. Those who read or hear the circular, are perfectly free to interpret as they wish; and then Your Eminence can understand what is complimentary for me in these words, in the eyes of those who will explain in the second sense. Moreover, Your Eminence, regardless of the meaning we attribute to the words of the circular; there is a fact which dominates the words, a fact that does escape anyone to know, a fact that says much more than all the rest. Here it is. As the Chaldean Patriarch and his bishops dealt with the representative of the Holy See, they could not obtain from him anything, his resistance was or could not be more obstinate; on the contrary, as soon as the Patriarch was

⁹ The original phrase of Msgr. Amanton is thus: Bien plus, comment se faitil que dans une circulaire dont, vous avez nécessairement pris lecture, le Patriarche ait pu dire: « ci è stato ben chiarito che tutto ciò che ci era stato riferito in quanto al Malabar ed altro non era secondo gli ordini suoi»? However the Italian original text of Propaganda does not correspond to this: "e ci siamo chiariti, che ciò che ci era stato riferito intorno agli affari di Malabar non corrisponde pienamente alla realtà del fatto". See document 69.

able to deal directly with the Holy See, without the intervention (mediation) of the delegate, he was able to obtain everything, his desires have been fully satisfied, his success leaves nothing to be desired! This is what emerges from the circular, and one would have to be blind not to know it. Now, Your Eminence, please allow me, I beg you, to ask respectfully, how did you not feel that all such similar conduct would throw hatred about my character and make suspicion about my role? Once again, I am not complaining about what the Propaganda has felt obliged to do regarding Malabar; I complain about the fact that the Patriarch has obtained and announced his success in a way so painful for me. I have never regretted of my suffering, I believe that all that could be useful to the cause of the Church; but this I say with frankness today, I can no longer accept this sterile humiliation, under the weight of which you have left me for nearly a year. I understand very well that the Patriarch has written this circular for his own advantage; but what I do not understand is that you have sent it as it is, with an order for me to make it known to all. If someone asks me whether Your Eminence actually has well read this piece, and I must answer that no doubt Your Eminence has read it.

5. I cannot deal in detail about everything that is strange in the letter of the Patriarch; but I stop on the most salient points. Nothing is more painful than things regarding the monks. It is not for me to specify what are the current feelings of the Patriarch regarding the religious of St Hormizd: the only positive thing is that his way of explaining about them looks like an unworthy mockery: everybody understood it, and the Superior of the religious himself told me that he would have much preferred not to hear what concerns them. When the Patriarch wanted to punish the mistakes of the monks who had remained subject to the Holy See and the instructions of its delegates, he dared to mark them as traitors; he allowed to publicly read – between the solemnities of the Masses – a letter in which he accused their worthy Superior to have sold his conscience to the delegate for a fixed amount; and as if the outrages with which he charged them were not enough yet, the Patriarch had prohibited that they be allowed to say the Mass in the Chaldean villages, to pray with the priests of those villages, and that they be

given the help until them granted by the piety of the faithful. Now, for any rehabilitation, what the Patriarch does? He wants to declare in his circular that he gave the monks permission to travel through the villages, as if they need permission for that! He wants to be good enough to remove the sorts of prohibitions he had unfairly inflicted on them! And again, immediately after having deigned to grant them such indulgence, the Patriarch takes great care to recommend to the monks that they must be the first ones to procure peace! In truth, is there not a bitter scorn in this attitude of the Patriarch? Does not his language breathe more of pride and a more sovereign inconvenience? It really looks like that so far the monks were troublemakers and disturbers of peace. Would one ever think that the Chaldean monks, on the contrary, have constantly given the example of the most perfect obedience and Christian calmness? Could one ever imagine that who dares to speak so, is precisely the one who gave the example of revolt, who propagated disorder to the great scandal of all, and who prepared the ruin of his nation? ...And it must be noted, too, the Patriarch does not know simply to offer offensive forgiveness to the monks; he thought it was good to give them a lesson in front of the public. In his generosity, he would wish to receive them as children who are dear to him: but ... but on one condition, provided that they will have good care to live according to their statutes, which specially recommend them, the preservation of peace and the obedience to superiors! Frankly, he needs not be ashamed of anything, to dare to take this tone; because finally he ignores that the monks have retained peace while he was throwing disorder everywhere? Does he ignore that the monks practiced obedience, while he was giving scandal of the revolt? And then, whom does the Patriarch intend to designate in speaking of Superior? Is it the Propaganda? Is it the delegate? Or is it he? His pretentions in speaking about the monks are too well known, that it is possible to be misapprehended; and it is hard not to see an indirect threat in his words.

I will say nothing more on the monks; only I will take the liberty to make a rapprochement.

During the Chaldean struggle, an alumnus of Propaganda, Fr. Sciauriz gave evidence of the most odious ingratitude; he

expressed the most hateful spirit, and he audaciously fomented the most serious disturbances. After all this, what has been done to him? The Patriarch wrote him, not from here, but from Rome, a laudatory letter: he assumes that the disorders of Baghdad have ceased, that his presence in this city is no longer necessary, and consequently he has called him to Mosul to entrust him, to entrust to his zeal, the education of those whom he intended for priesthood! And again, it is Your Eminence yourself who sent this letter.

During the Chaldean struggle, monks behaved like true children of the Church; the Patriarch treated them in an unworthy manner, he lavished on them insults, and this, precisely because of their obedience. Then, what happened to the monks? In a writing dated, not from here, but from Rome itself, in a writing intended for the public, the Patriarch deigns to forgive the monks whom he insulted and treated in an unworthy manner, then he gives them a lesson. And moreover, it is Your Eminence yourself who sent this letter, with the order to make it known to all.

What could I respond to one who asks me, does the Propaganda reserve all moderation (restraint) for those who insult it, and leaves without support those who are faithful to it?

6. After having spoken about the monks, the Patriarch speaks about the Latin missionaries. I suppose that here the mention is about Reverend Dominican fathers, because he thought of not naming them. But in any case, even when he specifically treated of them, what restoration could they find in these few words of the Patriarch? If he had nothing against the fathers, I could understand his language; but after having publicly denounced them as the corrupters of his nation, as of men that his clergy should no longer attend, like wolves dressed in sheep's clothing, could he decently satisfy them with a simple recommendation? Is this all that he had to offer them in recognition of their long services, and especially in reparation for the outrages which he had pursued? I will not insist on this point, because I do not want to give an impression of my partiality; only I had to observe in conscience that the Rev. Dominican fathers did not get the rehabilitation that is due to them strictly.

7. I will also be brief in expressing my thought on the passage which concerns me. Towards the end of his circular, the Patriarch has two or three lines to exhort his people to respect me. He exhorts his people; but who in reality disrespected me? His people or he? And besides, what does this respect mean about which the Patriarch speaks? If he felt to give me personally a general recommendation, without regard to the past, the recommendation is a nonsense, it is unnecessary, since his people give me the respect that he refuses to me; if he felt to give the representative of the Holy See a reparation for the gross insults of which he is guilty towards him, his reparation is more than zero, it is an obvious impropriety. By just a word thrown at the end of a letter he cannot clear so outrageous injuries. Your Eminence will allow me to say, it is extremely unfortunate for the authority of the Holy See, that those who have defended its cause are treated in this way. The rest, by expressing my judgment, I do not claim anything for me; release at the earliest from the situation that you have rendered me so painful; this is the only thing I ask. By your letter of last 7 September, Your Eminence told me to see if it was not wrong that I complained of being abandoned; I can answer in conscience that now, more than ever, I am authorized to consider me as totally abandoned by the Propaganda. If our efforts had not been paralyzed, the Chaldean nation would not be today in such a greatest disorder; the Delegation would not have suffered such a profound debasement, and there would not be in Malabar such a deplorable situation as Your Eminence yourself say! No one would deny these sad results; and with regard to my responsibility, it is completely clear, for I have done, thanks to God, everything that might prevent them further; but what I do not accept is the humiliation which weighs on me, despite the conduct that I held. Nothing serious has been done since our struggles, at least to save the dignity of the mission to which I am responsible.

Before completing these latest explanations, I will also say a word regarding the publication of the circular. I was amazed when I saw that I myself was obliged to make this writing known. It is known in Rome that I am not accepted here, that I am in complete rupture with the bishops of the Patriarch, and it is I who am chosen

to transmit to them the circular. If at least there had been the precaution to send copies here in sufficient numbers and bearing the patriarchal seal, these copies would have been received without the slightest contestation; but I am reduced (humiliated) to make copies, to put my seal to authenticate them, and to send them to each bishop, although he does not recognize me. What could I do with the single copy sent to me? To make it read in the small church of the Dominican fathers, to awake among the opponents the oldest susceptibilities? To make it read in the Syrian churches is a serious imprudence; to make it read by some priests in the Chaldean churches, would constitute a mistake to me, because the hierarchy of law must be respected, even when it regards Bar-Tatar and others: I had to hand over the circular to the bishops and not to the priests.

In order to comply with the instruction of Your Eminence, and to use the only legitimate and prudent way that is at my disposal, I will send to the bishop of each Chaldean diocese a copy of the circular, a copy attested with my seal. It is only or at least less probable that this copy will have everywhere the fate it had in Mosul: or declare that they will not accept, other than the original, and to tell the truth, this will not be without some reason, because it is inconceivable that in such serious circumstances, a letter dated from Rome, the letter of a Patriarch sent to the faithful scattered throughout Mesopotamia, and is addressed to them in a single facsimile, whose copies are authenticated by an unrecognized man!... be that as it may, I will do what Your Eminence requires; I want that until the last day my conscience renders me a good testimony: at least I have executed all orders that have been given to me, even those which are painful and very humiliating for me.

Several times I have thought of writing to the Holy Father humbly begging him to be willing to examine my conduct well and judge my complaints; it is certain that the Holy Father would never allow that his representative was condemned to such a sad role, if he exactly knew the state of things. But I would be neither delicate, neither loyal, if I had recourse to the Supreme Pontiff, before informing Your Eminence about this. Therefore, I will await the response to this letter, to know what I must decide.

Accept, Your Eminence, the expression of profound respect with which I have the honour to be.

Most humble and obedient servant,

Henri-Marie Amanton.

Section Nine EXCOMMUNICATION OF ROKOS AND HIS DEPARTURE, END OF THE SCHISM IN MALABAR

Introduction

Now we examine what happened in Malabar when those dramatic events took place in Rome and Chaldea. The letter which Patriarch Audo wrote from Rome, revoking Rokos from Malabar, was handed over to him through the vicar apostolic of Malabar, but he did not consider it credible, since it did not conform to the usual style of patriarchal letters and since his name was not written on it. Also the circular letter of the Patriarch, though directed to the Chaldeans of Mesopotamia, was also sent to Malabar. Rokos informed the vicar apostolic that he had written letters to the Pope and the Patriarch for clarifications and he could not return to Mesopotamia before the receipt of replies.

No further communication or repetition of warning was made by the vicar apostolic as usual. After consulting the missionaries, the vicar apostolic excommunicated Rokos on 30 November 1861 in the church of Verapoly using the formula and ceremonies of the Roman Pontifical. The excommunication was publicly performed in the church, but there is no evidence that it was officially communicated to Rokos, who continued the visit of some churches, awaiting the response of the Patriarch to the requested clarifications. While Rokos was in Malayattoor, he received the second letter of the Patriarch (or response) asking him to return to Chaldea. Aloysius Pareparambil vividly described the reaction of Rokos at the reception of the patriarchal letter: "He at once returned and came to Narakel, whence he issued an order to several malpans and representatives of churches to meet him. Accordingly some churches sent their representatives, but no malpans came.

After the meeting the bishop bade farewell to the Syrian Christians and in spite of the entreaty of several churches not to leave Malabar, he resolved, to comply with the Patriarch's order and to start to Chaldea, thus displeasing those who had been his supporters. So he left Narakel for Cochin, and as he had no money to defray his freight to Chaldea, Verapoly offered the money required for it". ¹

Rokos departed from Malabar from the port of Cochin and reached Baghdad in June 1862. Fr. Antony Thondanatt, accompanied by two clerics: Abraham Poondikulam and Thomas Srampickal, also went with Rokos to Baghdad, where Poondikulam died. Fr. Antony Thondanatt reached the patriarchal residence in Mosul on 31 August 1862 with the intention of obtaining episcopal consecration from the Patriarch, who refused to ordain him, without explicit permission from Rome. On 17 October 1862 Fr. Antony went to the Nestorian Patriarch Simon in Kurdistan, who consecrated him bishop with the title Archbishop Abdiso.²

Bishop Rokos, after a short stay in Baghdad went to the patriarchal residence in Mosul and he was received by the Patriarch and was admitted to the celebration of divine mysteries, as if he was not excommunicated.³ Apostolic Delegate Amanton warned the Patriarch that the said bishop could not be admitted to the communion of faithful, before obtaining eventual pontifical absolution from excommunication. On 12 September 1862 the Pope himself wrote to the Patriarch, admonishing him that Rokos should be treated as an excommunicated person, and reminding him of the prohibition to interfere in the affairs of Malabar (document 83). After the reception of the letter of the Pope, the Patriarch who until then retained that Rokos had not been canonically excommunicated, decided to implore the absolution of

¹ A. Pareparambil, An Account of a Very Important Period of the History of the Catholic Syrian Christians of Malabar, 22-23.

² Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 366-367.

³ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 368.

the Holy See, writing for the same to the Propaganda Fide (document 84). Rokos also sent different letters to the Propaganda, requesting absolution (document 85).

Considering all such requests the Pope granted faculty to the apostolic delegate to absolve Rokos from excommunication. Finally after Rokos had been separated from the communion of faithful, after he had conducted secluded life in the patriarchal house for a period of time, Apostolic Delegate Amanton absolved him, however ordering him (as commanded by the Holy Father on 14 April 1863) to remain in Mosul under further disposition, not to interfere, there or elsewhere, in the administration of sacraments and in the pastoral care of souls. Also other bishops who participated in the assembly of Mosul, with the exception of Michael Bar-Tatar, bishop of Seert requested and obtained absolution at different times.⁴

Desiring to put an end to the violent and disastrous conflicts provoked by the suppression of the Portuguese *Padroado* throughout India,⁵ on 21 February 1857 the representatives of the Holy See and the Portuguese government signed a concordat, which was ratified on 6 February 1860 and published on 30 May 1860.⁶ This concordat re-established all the Padroado dioceses suppressed on 24 April 1838. Consequently the archdiocese of Cranganore was also re-established together with the Latin diocese of Cochin in Kerala.

The commissary apostolic Archbishop Salvator Saba, who came to Malabar in 1863 to execute the provisions of the aforementioned concordat, published an edict permitting the parishes which had followed Rokos to choose, within eighty days,

⁴ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 369. Bishop Rokos, titular bishop of Bassorah, who did not know to have exercised any office after his absolution from excommunication in accordance with the orders of Propaganda Fide, died as a true and obedient Catholic in 1885.

⁵ Cf. Introductory Article Two, 4.2.

⁶ Conventio inter Pium IX et Petrum V Regem Portugalliae, in R. De Martinis (ed.), Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide, vol. VII, Romae 1897, 316-322; P. Pallath, Important Roman Documents, 126-129.

between the Propaganda vicariate apostolic of Verapoly and the restored *Padroado* archdiocese of Cranganore. After the execution of this provision there were 104 parishes in the vicariate apostolic of Verapoly under Propaganda, 37 in the archdiocese of Cranganore under *Padroado* and 16 parishes divided under both jurisdictions.⁷ With the implementation of the concordat both Rokos schism and the Goan schism terminated.

Towards the end of 1863 Bishop Abdiso (Antony Thondanatt), who had gone to Chaldea with Rokos returned to Malabar with Fr. Thomas Srampickal and resided in Plassanal, but only a very few followed him. In June 1864 he had an attack of malaria and in such tragic situation he sought the help of Kuriakose Elias Chavara, who consulted Vicar Apostolic Bernardino. According to their decision in February 1865 Thondanatt made a retreat in Mannanam Monastery, laid down his episcopal insignia and then he was absolved on condition that he would remain a simple priest. After sometimes he received permission from Rome to celebrate holy Mass. When his health improved he was appointed vicar at Edamattam and then at Vilakkumadam in the present diocese of Palai.⁸

⁷ Cf. Bernard Thoma, *Mar Thoma Kristianikal*, 729-731.

⁸ Cf. Z. M. Moozhoor, Blessed Chavara: the Star of the East, Kottayam 1993, 71; A. Pareparambil, An Account of a Very Important Period of the History of the Catholic Syrian Christians of Malabar, 23.

DOCUMENT 72

LETTER OF POPE PIUS IX TO THE VICAR APOSTOLIC OF VERAPOLY AUTHORIZING HIM TO EXCOMMUNICATE ROKOS

Rome, 5 September 1861; with the letter "Hisce literis" Pope Pius IX officially informed the vicar apostolic of Verapoly that, compelled by his orders the Chaldean Patriarch revoked Rokos from Malabar. The Pope also authorized the vicar apostolic to excommunicate Rokos, if he did not return to Babylon (R. De Martinis (ed.), Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide, vol. VI, pars 1, Romae 1894, 336).

Pope Pius IX, to venerable brother Bernardino, archbishop of Pharsala, vicar apostolic of Verapoly.

Venerable brother, greetings and the apostolic blessing.

With this letter, venerable brother, we indicate to you that venerable brother Joseph, Babylonian Patriarch of the Chaldeans, compelled by our order, gave a letter to recall Bishop Rokos immediately, whom he had sent there, against our will, for administering the affairs of the Malabar Church. Our Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith sends this kind of letter to you so that you may take care to safely transmit it to Rokos without delay. We hope that he will immediately obey our order and that of the Patriarch, as it should be. However, If he will have dared to resist the ecclesiastical censors in which he has already been implicated, because of his acts against canonical norms, We have given you the mandate to excommunicate him, after having been previously warned with due observance. Finally, we willingly embrace this opportunity also to bear witness to (testify) and confirm our special affection towards you. As a pledge of this too, we wish to grant the apostolic blessing, which with the affection of our entire heart we permanently impart to you yourself, venerable brother, to all the clergy and lay faithful entrusted to your care.

Given in Rome, at St Peter's, under the ring of the Fisherman, on 5 September 1861, sixteenth year of our pontificate.

DOCUMENT 73

REPLY OF POPE PIUS IX TO CHAVARA AND COMPANIONS DECLARING THE ILLEGITIMACY OF THE MISSION OF ROKOS

Rome, 5 September 1861; with the letter "Perlibentes vestras" Pope Pius IX officially communicated to Kuriakose Elias Chavara and other priests, in response to their letter (document 60), that Bishop Rokos reached Malabar according to the arbitrary decision of the Chaldean Patriarch, against the will of the Pope, despite his order not to interfere in the ecclesiastical affairs of Malabar in any manner. This letter was sent in Latin and Syriac languages (R. De Martinis (ed.), Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide, vol. VI, pars 1, Romae, 335-336).

To beloved sons, Fathers Kuriakose Elias Prior, Alexander Elisha and other priests of the Syro-Malabar rite in the vicariate apostolic of Verapoly.

Pope Pius IX, beloved sons, greetings and the apostolic blessing.

We have gladly received your recent most obsequious letter dated 19 June (1861), in which you, beloved sons, have humbly appealed (have made recourse) to us, asking us to be willing to indicate to you, how you ought to conduct yourself towards Bishop Rokos, who came on 9 May of the current year (1861) with a letter from the Venerable Brother Joseph, Patriarch of Babylon of the Chaldeans, asserting that he had been sent by the same Patriarch by our order, in order to take up the government and administration of the Malabar Church. It has been very pleasing to us that, in such an important matter you have consulted this Apostolic See, the mother and teacher of all the Churches, so that you might remove any danger of going astray (making a mistake). Therefore, we would wish you to know that Bishop Rokos came there according to the arbitrary decision of the aforementioned Patriarch, against our express will, although we had already ordered the Patriarch not to interfere in the ecclesiastical affairs of Malabar in any manner. From this fact, beloved sons, you yourself understand that Bishop Rokos has no authority and jurisdiction over you and should be

considered as an intruder who incurs ecclesiastical censors. And hence, our venerable brother Bernardino, archbishop of Pharsala, is the true and lawful head of the Malabar Church, whom we constituted our vicar there and that of the Apostolic See, and on whom you have to depend for all matters. Moreover, we also make known to you that without any delay we commanded Patriarch Joseph to immediately revoke Bishop Rokos. While we hasten to inform you of these matters, from the depths of our heart we permanently impart to you, beloved sons, the apostolic blessing, a token of all heavenly gifts and a pledge of our paternal affection towards you.

Given in Rome, at St Peter's, under the ring of the Fisherman, on 5 September 1861, the sixteenth year of our pontificate.

DOCUMENT 74

LETTER OF CHAVARA AND COMPANIONS TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE SEEKING CLARIFICATIONS

Mannanam, 2 October 1861; Chavara and his companions briefly described the situation of Malabar after the arrival of Rokos, highlighting the fact that the only suitable means to defeat Rokos was to obtain a letter from the Pope, revealing the truth. Obviously this letter was written before the receipt of the letter of the Pope dated 5 September 1861 presented as document 73 in chronological order (Roma, Archivum Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Scritture riferite, Mesopotamia-Persia: Caldei e Latini, 1856-1863, vol. 21, 953-955; Sacra Congregatio pro Causis Sanctorum (P. N. 1174), Changanacherren. seu Verapolitana, Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Cyriaci Eliae Chavara, Positio super introductione Causae et super virtutibus, Romae 1977, 226-227).

Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord Cardinal Alexander Barnabò, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide,

We, your humble children, Fr. Cyriac, with other priests who are under the direction (obedience) of Msgr. Bernardino, bishop of

Verapoly, kissing your blessed hands, say that we are writing for the fifth time the recollection of our bitterness. Msgr. Thomas (Rokos), seeing that no profit has obtained so far with his opposition, and has also received no reply for his letters from the time of his arrival here, began to visit the churches and to give holy Orders to the learned and the ignorant, to the good and the wicked; during the last four times of the past September he conferred the priesthood, the diaconate and other Orders, and he performed all this in the Chaldean rite, which until now we have not seen before.

When the instruction, which you had sent to Msgr. Bernardino, reached here, Rokos preached in all the churches obedient to him that the said writing did not come from Rome, but rather it was composed by Bernardino himself. Then (continues Rokos), 'a letter came to us from the most illustrious David, Latin bishop of Galikia (sic), that he dispatched from Rome, and so is written to me in it': when our Chaldean Patriarch arrived at the city-door of Rome, Pope sent all the cardinals to meet him, and he was received by them with great honour. Not only that, but when the Holy Father learned that the apostolic delegate had impeded the affairs of Msgr. Thomas (Rokos), immediately he got irritated about him, and summoned him to Rome plaguing him with reproach ... So he is preaching every day and everywhere.

Because of this, we beg you to give us soon a response to our letter that we sent to our Lord⁹ and this response be in our Chaldean language with the Pope's seal, and so it will be possible: to have read the entire truth about this affair to all, especially to all those priests, who have joined Msgr. Thomas (Rokos), and finally to close the mouth of the wicked. We hope that this bishop will be called back to Baghdad, and it is certain that, at once this person is removed from here, all the tribulations and the confusion of the people will end, but if he remains here, no one will come back, even if he is excommunicated.

⁹ Here Chavara and his companions refer to the letter they sent to the Pope Pius IX on 19 June 1861; see document 60.

Finally we ask the Holy See's blessing upon us and upon all our churches. Amen.

From the Monastery of St Joseph in Mannanam, 2 October 1861,

Fr. Cyriac Elias Prior, Fr. Cyriac Albert, Servant of Christ Fr. Joseph, Servant of Christ Fr. George, Servant of Christ Fr. John, Servant of Christ Fr. Zacharias.

DOCUMENT 75

LETTER OF MSGR. BERNARDINO TO THE PROPAGANDA FIDE ACKNOWLEDGING THE RECEIPT OF DOCUMENTS FROM ROME

Verapoly, 1 November 1861; Propaganda Fide sent the letter of the Patriarch revoking Rokos from Malabar (document 65) to Vicar Apostolic Bernardino, asking him to deliver it to Rokos. With the present letter the vicar apostolic acknowledged the receipt of the said letter and that everything would be executed according to the instructions (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 718-719).

Most Reverend Eminence,

I think it is necessary to inform Your Eminence that I have been ensured that many days ago this intruder Chaldean bishop, having received a letter from his Patriarch, published it in the churches, where he goes under the title of pastoral visit, if possible, to excite or strengthen the rebellion. He gives the information that according to the letter their cases proceed well in Rome and he exhorts them to remain steadfast, because he (the Patriarch himself) will come here with another bishop.

Recently I have also ascertained, and I think I have already informed Your Eminence that the said Patriarch before his travel to Rome wrote and made to write to these rebels to remain firm in the accented determination to come here and constitute his See if he is deprived of that of Baghdad.

Let Your Eminence know also that the said Patriarch keeps the Intruder and the rebels informed of everything that happens there. They already knew of his arrival in Rome with his companions, before Your Eminence notified this to me by the most esteemed letter on 13 August 1861. Now before the arrival of the last parcel, they already knew many days ago that the Holy Father replied to the letter of those loyal clergy and I was given the order to excommunicate the Intruder. All these make me very suspicious about the duplicity of the acts of the Patriarch and his companions.

As I have accentuated, it was yesterday evening that I received the parcel of Your Eminence in which I got the two most venerable letters of the Holy Father, accompanied by your very esteemed letter dated 17 September 1861 with the letter of the Patriarch to be handed over to the Intruder Rokos and I will endeavour to scrupulously execute what is ordered to me in it. I was waiting for them very anxiously, because from the good effect that produced the previous communication of Your Eminence in the cited letter, I was expecting (deducing) the greater good that will produce the words of the Vicar of Christ himself in this Christianity. But with regard to the Intruder and his close ecclesiastical accomplices, it seems to me that except a miracle of infinite Mercy, there is no hope that they covert and obey.

Nothing more to add now; recommending me and this vicariate to the prayers and *memento* of Your Eminence, I kiss the sacred purple, and with profound respect I remain.

Of Your Most Reverend Eminence,

Verapoly, 1 November 1861,

Most humble and most obedient servant, Friar Bernardino of St Therese, Archbishop Vicar Apostolic.

LETTER OF BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA TRANSMITTING A FORGED LETTER CIRCULATED IN MALABAR

Verapoly, 4 November 1861; with his forwarding letter Msgr. Bernardino, vicar apostolic of Verapoly communicated an information which he secretly received: the vice gerent of the Chaldean Patriarchate wrote to Rokos, asking him to act only according to what the Patriarch would write after his return from Rome to Mosul. Moreover he transmitted the content of a letter circulated in Malayalam, according to which the Patriarch had a warm reception in Rome and the Pope was very favourable to the Patriarch also as regards the Malabar question. Obviously the content of the letter does not correspond to the truth (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 720-721).

Most Reverend Eminence,

Just now I have received a copy of a letter which this intruder Rokos published in Malayalam, and at the same time I received an analogous information and thus I quickly communicate both to Your Eminence, because I believe it will be helpful to you.

The copy of the said letter faithfully translated from Malayalam is here enclosed. The information is this: "The Vicegerent¹⁰ of the Patriarch in Baghdad has written to this intruder Rokos not to believe and not to give weight to what the Patriarch writes from Rome; but only he should do what he will write to him after his return to Baghdad".

Recommending me and this vicariate to the prayers and *memento* of Your Eminence, I kiss the sacred purple, and with profound veneration I remain.

Of Your Most Reverend Eminence,

¹⁰ Probably it was Fr. Louis Sciauriz who sent this forged letter. Because of his involvement in the affair of Rokos, Propaganda ordered the Patriarch to revoke Sciauriz from Baghdad and he did so (document 67).

Verapoly 4, November 1861,

Most humble and most obedient servant, Friar Bernardino of St Therese, Archbishop Vicar Apostolic.

(Enclosed copy of the letter); copy of an order came from $\ensuremath{\mathsf{Rome}}$

Letter written by Msgr. Trios (Trioche?), French archbishop and faithful servant of the Holy Father who with great zeal promotes our Patriarch and our affairs.

He says in this letter: that our Patriarch reached Rome and when he was close (to the city) the entire college of cardinals in compliance with the order of the Pope came out with the greatest solemnity to meet him with great honour and made him ascend the chariot itself of the Pope, and when he was at the papal palace he was allotted a flat there, an honour no other Patriarch so far received, and all were amazed and delighted to contemplate the venerable aspect of his grey hairs; that already the Patriarch informed the Holy Father about the oppositions and violence the missionaries and the apostolic delegate in Mosul committed and about the disorders that some of them caused to arise in our Malabar, and that the Patriarch gave this information to the Holy Father with the help of the aforementioned Msgr. Trios and he also informed him about our miseries and worries; that the Holy Father was exceedingly grieved of such information and after seriously warning them, immediately called back to Rome the bishop who departed from Portugal to India; that the letter of our Archbishop Thomas arrived in Rome together with our supplications and the writings of our adversaries; that in order to put an end to these disputes the Holy Father is determined to send here the Patriarch our father; that he will never give ears to (hear) the supplications of our adversaries; and that before the coming Advent he will take a definite decision about this affair. Finally, let all of us pray most fervently to the Lord that he may grant us the grace to be able to enjoy the venerable aspect of our Patriarch here itself and put into effect his good will and desires about us, and to grant him many years of long life.

21 October 1861, true copy of the original, Antony Cathanar.

RESPONSE OF BISHOP ROKOS TO VICAR APOSTOLIC BERNARDINO CONCERNING THE THREAT OF EXCOMMUNICATION

Malabar, 1 December 1861; through the mediation of some priests Vicar Apostolic Bernardino delivered the letter of the Patriarch to Rokos sent from Propaganda (document 65), ordering him to return to Babylon, together with his own letter, threatening excommunication. Rokos practically responded that the letter of the Patriarch, in which not even his name was explicitly mentioned, was not credible, because its style was very different from that of his Patriarch. He explicitly stated that he was and would always be obedient to his Patriarch and to the Supreme Pontiff. Msgr. Bernardino sent this letter to Propaganda together with his letter reproduced as document 76 (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 724).

Archbishop Thomas of Chaldean Malabar people to our brother Monsignor Bernardino, archbishop of Pharsala and apostolic delegate of Malabar.¹¹

We let Your Fraternity know that the letter you sent on 6 November has arrived here together with a letter on behalf of our Patriarch which was written much earlier. Since this letter does not conform to the other letters which the Patriarch usually writes to us and since not even our name is written on the same, 12 we cannot give it any kind of trust. In this letter we are asked to return to Bassorah or to Mosul, from this we understand that the Patriarch has not yet received the letters we sent him. Moreover, in your letter you order us to listen to the voice of (obey) the Supreme Pontiff and our most illustrious Patriarch and return to our country. However, you should know, our brother, that in our life until today

¹¹ Rokos qualified Bernardino as apostolic delegate, instead of vicar apostolic, perhaps because he, not being a diocesan bishop, exercised jurisdiction in the name of the Pope.

¹² This is true; the name Thomas Rokos is not found in the letter.

we have never ignored to obey the orders of our most illustrious Patriarch and the Supreme Pontiff, and still we continue to do the same. You tell us moreover that if we do not go back you will fulminate excommunication against us, but we let you know that since we are awaiting the reply for our letters from His Holiness the Supreme Pontiff and from His Beatitude the Patriarch, before receiving such replies we cannot go back, nor this people of ours will permit us to do so. Therefore, if with all this (comportment) you deliberately try to become our enemy, and to take vengeance against us, let you do so, but neither we, nor our people, will give heed to your words, nor will we receive your excommunication. However, we warn you that ultimately you will repent of having fulminated excommunication against us, but such repentance will be in vain. Keep fine.

1 December 1861 (Year of the Lord).

¹³ Rokos did not deny obedience to the Roman Pontiff nor refused to return to his native land; he declared only to await replies for the letters which he had sent to the Pope and his Patriarch asking clarifications. Humanly speaking it was unthinkable that the Patriarch who had so earnestly sent him to Malabar, only after a short time called him back.

LETTER OF BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE INFORMING HIM OF THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF ROKOS

Verapoly, 13 December 1861; Msgr. Bernardino, vicar apostolic of Verapoly informed the Propaganda Fide that Bishop Rokos did not return to Babylon according to the orders and hence he was excommunicated on 30 November 1861. He also attested that the letter of the Pope (document 73) addressed to Chavara and other priests produced good effect and all priests, except about 20 rebels remained under the authority of the vicar apostolic. He also attached to his letter the response of Bishop Rokos (document 77) to the threat of excommunication against him (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 721-723).

Most Reverend Eminence,

In the foregoing four letters I sent you in the month of November I informed Your Eminence about the proceedings and the most remarkable facts concerning this unhappy Bishop Rokos who styles himself as Thomas here, and likewise how I made him receive the letter of his Patriarch calling him back, as well as the consideration the Intruder gave to it (namely he does not count it important). Also I enclosed a circular letter of the Intruder issued after the reception of the said letter and my admonitions that accompanied it.

Now I inform Your Eminence that, since twenty two days passed after the delivery of the letter and the admonitions, without even finding any sign of his will to obey them — on the contrary, persisting in the affair and the task undertaken he quiet clearly demonstrated that he wanted to resist in every way, and to omit nothing, even the most iniquitous means to obtain success (in this affair) — at the end, on November 30 (1861) according to the opinion of these fathers (missionaries) I decided to solemnly excommunicate or anathematize him using the formula *mutatis mutandis* and with the ceremonies prescribed in the (Roman) Pontifical for this act. Having done this, through one of our

Tertiary priests, I sent the written and published sentence of excommunication to the intruder Bishop Rokos, since he was found in a parish which is about a mile distant from here, called Njarackal in the vernacular language; from the rebel priests and lay people who were found assembled there the envoy had a great number of vituperations and insults as reward. After few days of this incident, and after sending a priest to Cochin for consultation with the heretical bishop called *Bava*, his protector and director etc., he sent me a letter via post, a version of which is attached here. The other letter, which is attached herewith and directed to His Holiness, I request Your Eminence to submit to him.

The letter which His Holiness deigned to send to these obedient and faithful priests in response has been received with great respect and jubilation, and it was published in the church of the major convent with great pomp and equipment by my vicar general with an analogous sermon which produced a very positive result. Some parishes completely regressed (returned) from rebellion and even many of the defaulters repented. With the exception of about 20 priests who seem to be invaded by the prince of darkness and who in every unspeakable art and manner tirelessly strive to fulfil the desire of their father (Satan), I think that almost all have already listened and obeyed the voice of the Vicar of Christ, 14 and the Intruder would have found only with the most perverted of the clergy and lay people. The more so, because for quite some time the occult and hidden protection of the British government in favour of Baghdad completely ceased, and it has now taken the stand of non-interference. Therefore, the two Divans of these two kingdoms could emanate and rigorously observe my decree mentioned in another letter, that the Intruder cannot enter in any parish, not belonging completely to his party, with which they have taken the wind out of his sails.

¹⁴ This demonstrates that priests and people followed Rokos in good faith that he was sent to Malabar by the Patriarch according to the order of the Pope. Once the truth was revealed, priests and people abandoned Rokos, despite the intense desire for bishops of their own rite and the dissatisfactory administration of the vicar apostolic.

After the events narrated till here, the letter of Your Eminence reached me on 28 of last September with the annexed copy of the letter of His Holiness, and the circular of the Chaldean Patriarch which, I think, was immediately sent by the vicegerent of the said Patriarch. The letter, published by this Intruder, was very pleasing to him and to these rebels, who find in it reason to become more persistent, penetrating positively the sense of certain expressions contained in that circular. And they go bloated with vainglory for being declared in the letter to be people of Chaldean nation, which God forbid, have been written with malice, so that they may not be cooled down in their enterprise, since in this country each one considers as his great honour the possibility to be held as a foreigner in any manner, at least of origin.

I have received the letters which Your Eminence indicates to have sent me on 17 June, 31 August and 7 September respectively.

Recently I have understood that the rebels decided to send a deputation of 20 priests to the Chaldean Patriarch, ¹⁵ in order to verify (understand) whether the said Patriarch has changed the opinion, and for this expedition they have collected four thousand rupees which amount to ten thousand francs, obviously striping of the parishes, but I am not sure of this information. What is certain is that the Intruder has sworn to them touching the Bible that he will never abandon them, and they will never abandon him.

There is nothing more to add for now, if not asking Your Eminence to keep me and this vicariate apostolic in your prayers and *memento*, and with profound reverence kissing your sacred purple I remain.

Of Your Most Reverend Eminence,

Verapoly, December 1861,

Most humble and most obedient servant, Friar Bernardino of St Therese, Archbishop Vicar Apostolic.

¹⁵ Such a deputation of 20 priests never happened.

LETTER OF THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO CHAVARA AND COMPANIONS INFORMING THEM OF THE SURRENDER OF THE PATRIARCH IN ROME

Rome, 8 March 1862; Cardinal Barnabò, the Prefect of Propaganda Fide officially informed Chavara and his companions, who wrote to him about the activities of Mar Rokos (document 74), that the Patriarch came to Rome and asked pardon for his deplorable acts and that after his return from Rome, he would do everything necessary to effect the return of Mar Rokos (Mannanam, Archives of the St Joseph's Monastery; Roma, Archivum Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Lettere e decreti, an. 1862, vol. 353, 132; Sacra Congregatio pro Causis Sanctorum (P. N. 1174), Changanacherren. seu Verapolitana, Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Cyriaci Eliae Chavara, Positio super introductione Causae et super virtutibus, Romae 1977, 228-229).

Very Reverend Father,

In reply to the various letters which Your Paternity sent me also on behalf of your confreres I must indicate to them that during the recent unfortunate movements of the Chaldeans, they comported themselves very well in remaining united to the vicar apostolic of Verapoly, and listened only to his voice, executing the provisions ordered by him. They would have learned from the same vicar apostolic that the Patriarch of Babylon and the archbishop of Diyarbakir, called to Rome by the Holy Father, had recognized and condemned the deplorable conduct adopted by them and by their confreres in the most disgraceful incident happened there. So they asked forgiveness from the Holy Father, imploring him absolution from censures and dispensation from irregularities incurred, after they had solemnly promised to this Sacred Congregation, and repeated before the Vicar of Jesus Christ that after returning to their churches they would effectively use their authority to remedy the evils provoked by them, recalling the intruder Rokos from Malabar, Sciauriz from Baghdad and removing Bar-Tatar from Mosul. Be comforted therefore to remain

steadfast in fidelity to the legitimate authority and in attachment to the Holy See, in the hope that with the help of the Lord all the issues stirred up in Malabar may find a peaceful solution with the full satisfaction of the good people and with the sincere conversion of the strayed. I pray the Lord to grant you all good.

Rome, from Propaganda, 8 March 1862,

To the pleasure of Your Paternity, Cardinal Barnabò, Prefect.

DOCUMENT 80

LETTER OF PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE ASKING HIM TO FULFIL THE PROMISES MADE DURING HIS VISIT IN ROME

Mosul, 4 August 1862; the Chaldean Patriarch Mar Audo pointed out that he fulfilled all the promises he made to the Pope and the Propaganda Fide: revocation of Rokos from Malabar, Bar-Tatar from Mosul and Sciauriz from Baghdad. All these three persons practically obeyed the Patriarch, who demanded that those promises which he received from Propaganda Fide should also be fulfilled (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 727-732).

Most Eminent Prince.

I received two letters from you, the first was dated 12 February and the second 24 April (1862). I read them, but I found their sense very strange, because in them you exert pressure on me so that I may fulfil the solemn promises made to you and to His Holiness, that is, calling back Bishop Thomas Rokos from Malabar, Bar-Tatar from Mosul and Sciauriz from Baghdad. Finally you want from me, that I procure the Chaldean people to venerate the Latin religious and the religious of Mar Hormizd, and to extend this veneration, this love to the apostolic delegate in a special way. And you say that if I do not fulfil soon these obligations with which I am entrusted, then you will be obliged to publish all what happened between us in Rome, with regard to these matters, and in this manner you will justify the conduct of the

Holy See. And by these words you almost demonstrate that I am not the very person who did give you those well-known letters ¹⁶ for the return of the said persons, and I gave them for no reason other than that of respect to His Holiness. If it were not for this reason, I would not have given them, because I was certain that from these letters there should arise soon endless gossips and infinite damage to the Chaldean people both in Malabar and in Mesopotamia; since the matter was already forwarded, I undertook that most uncomfortable journey to Rome.

I keep silence about the sad commotion those letters produced among the people at that time. Ever since I returned from Rome to my See, I did not cease to praise and thank the blessings of His Holiness, and likewise the zeal and care of Your Eminence saying that almost you worked a lot to fulfil my desire, without thinking at all of everything that was said against me, and against my bishops, that caused to defame us, our honour, and our reputation. It was said against us not only before our departure from Rome, as for example, that we were excommunicated, arrested, crazed, etc., but afterwards the rumours multiplied further, as for example, we were expelled from the presence of His Holiness, imprisoned in the Holy Office, and we were prevented from Holy Mass etc., etc. Such narrations themselves stirred the nation, did not leave it in peace; they also exacerbated and irritated the nation in such way that they impede to make peace and establish charity among the people, something that I desired and wanted to procure with all my heart. And as we arrived with my brother De Natale in these places, we began to do everything that His Holiness exhorted us, when we had the joy to meet him, namely we started to reassure (calm) the nation by using every means and admonitions, to arrive at our intent. You are already aware of everything up to now (that the surest and the most efficient means to remove these enmities was to give in our hands a declaration with a circular letter of His Holiness, containing the assertion that Malabar belongs to the See of Babylon; and that it would be possible to consecrate bishops,

¹⁶ The Patriarch alludes to the letters revoking Thomas Rokos, Bar-Tatar and Sciauriz. See documents 65-67.

when there are pious and suitable persons in science and in directing this people. Your Eminence promised us often to give us (this), and finally nothing gave us and sent us empty handed, and now you want from us the tranquillity of the nation, and indeed as soon as we have arrived here, as if the hearts of people are in our hands.

Nevertheless, while we were procuring to persuade the nation which rejects totally any persuasion, for not having seen in our hands the aforesaid declaration, and precisely then, there came from India to the Chaldean people of these parts some letters among which was found a copy of a letter written by you and sent to Fr. Kuriakose (Cyriac) and his companions in Malabar in the Chaldean language written on 31 August 1862 (sic), number 4 and in this letter we found these words, "the great difficulty concerning the affair of Malabar has reached its peak", 17 words that so irritated and aggravated the nation as not to accept at all our admonitions and counsels, and they do not believe at all our discourses praising Your Eminence. And after a few days, there came the letters written by you and sent to the Syrian priests of Baghdad, and the religious of Mar Hormizd in Mosul, in which you tell them everything that happened secretly between us and you. To reassure (calm) your conscience, in respect of the consecration of Thomas Rokos, you hastily took the letter from us in a secret way and without knowing any one about it18, and behold the thing is published everywhere, and the same is proclaimed everywhere by the Syrian priests in Baghdad, with the strength of your letter sent to them that says in this way: "The Chaldean Patriarch and his bishop were not received in Rome, until after having obtained pardon and received absolution from excommunication etc.", and you praise those who had taken the side of the delegate, though so many times you confessed to us that he was wrong. And nothing I say about the letter you sent to Patriarch Samhiri (Syrian) and

¹⁷ [These words are reproduced in Chaldean; and such is the version made by Fr. G. Guriel].

¹⁸ [It alludes to the appeal that the Patriarch directed to the Holy Father to have absolution etc]. See document 68.

others also; I suffer everything for the greater glory of God, while I hoped otherwise from Your Eminence for having been made especially the honour of being the procurator¹⁹ of this patriarchate, and this is to increase the esteem and honour of this patriarchate, and not to demoralize (depress) and despise it in front of all other nations, and even before the lowest and simple peasants.

And these letters not only rendered null my work but also totally embarrassed me, and they made me odious in the eyes of all the children of my nation, in such a way that all my words were not listened to, not believed to, and not agreed to, and they have also begun to write letters to me and to my brother De Natale, with offensive words (discourses) against me, and against him, in such a way that one cannot suffer that at all. And copies of some of those letters have already been sent by my said brother to Your Eminence and you might have already read them. And if possible we say therefore, what were you expecting from me to tell you, and write to you an hour before as regards my wretched nation? After that you have closed the door of all means in my face? All these griefs were not enough for me; you wanted to increase them again with two of your said letters in which you threaten me of publishing everything that happened between us in Rome regarding these matters? But I do not understand, what did remain with you that you have not published to justify the conduct of the Holy See? If there is something unknown to us and known to you, you publish it as well and I will suffer it with everything that I endured so far, thanking however always for your favours! And we are already prepared to suffer all things for the glory of God, because with our patience we must earn our souls.

See that our promises have been fulfilled; we called back Bishop Thomas Rokos, Bar-Tatar and Sciauriz, each to his place, this news should certainly delight you. However I only wish that Your Eminence considers how perfect their obedience is, and they are not as it was thought of them, because they would have

¹⁹ [In order to exempt the Patriarch from the burden of keeping a procurator in Rome, and also to gratify him the Most Eminent Prefect was pleased to promise him to provide special care for the Chaldean nation].

returned before this time if they were not prevented by the cold winter and from the total opposition of the people who prevented them from leaving. Regarding Bishop Thomas Rokos, he returned although the Malabars until this day do not cease to ask us to send them other bishops instead of him. However, not being satisfied with making requests, again they sent some persons to be consecrated bishops.²⁰ If we do not want to consecrate some of them by us, about two months later perhaps they will come to Mosul, but we in advance informed our procurator in Baghdad to persuade them to return to their place making them known that we do not consecrate them at all without the expressed permission from His Holiness, but I do not think that they will be persuaded. And not even the Chaldeans living in Baghdad and Mosul etc., give up their protection in favour of them, since the aforesaid do not want to return empty handed, and if we will not consecrate a bishop they will be forced to approach the Nestorians, or the Jacobites, because the Jacobite bishop who is in India wrote to the Patriarch and to his nation asking them to act in favour of the affairs of the Malabars sent to these parts (regions), to accept them with all honour and respect, and to have them consecrated bishops for India if they have lost hope (to obtain this favour) from our patriarchate. Moreover the said bishop wanted from his Patriarch to send other bishops or clerics with them from his side to help them, about this fact Your Eminence is certain and quite sure. Therefore we request Your Eminence that after having read these lines, settle this affair according to the will of God, and according to what is required by charity towards the souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ because if you want, you can do this, and you being our principal procurator, we pray and beseech you that you procure to facilitate the affair of these poor, in order that you may not be the cause of their damnation, because we are certain that if you do not help them this time to fulfil their desires, they will without any doubt stray from your hands and from ours, and we (the Patriarch) will be free and innocent from the damage and evil that will be

²⁰ Here the Patriarch refers to Fr. Antony Thondanatt and two clerics who accompanied Rokos and at that time stayed in Baghdad.

happening both to the Malabar people and to the people who live in this place. Therefore we request you to counsel us with your opinion, but an hour before, that we may be cautious.

As regards Bar-Tatar, it was heard that he gave a dispensation in the first degree of affinity; the reports reached the Holy See are completely false and without any foundation because before our departure for Rome we had given it (the faculty) with our manuscript and he acted only according to this. If you so wish, you examine it well, and you will see that the things are as we say, because we are not too simple in our affairs, above all in this matter. We also know the canon law. Therefore stay in a good mood.

We are amazed to know how you allowed (Bishop) Khayyath to remain in Mosul outside his own diocese for about a complete year, and after you left him so, you did not tell us (about it) at least in the letters came to us from there. We desired that he remained in Mosul for the school opened in Mosul as you asked us, and after his abdication from his diocese, we told him everything that Your Eminence said about the school and he did not believe us: and he wrote to you to obtain information about this, and according to his words, Your Eminence does not want him to abdicate, but gave the permission to remain even for an year; please let us know your order with regard to this. Finally you have already heard that the college opened in Mosul was closed and the first reason was that Msgr. Khayyath did not want to stay there, since he wanted that the expenditure be made as in the previous year, but in this year since its desire was not accomplished, the nation did not want to make contributions to us and absolutely refused to deliver the expenditure as it was given in the previous year. Therefore we were forced to close it for the time being, until God have mercy on us and on our poor and unfortunate nation.

Here is in brief what was to inform you about my nation, I hope for an effective remedy to heal your sickness as soon as possible. Goodbye.

[Patriarch Joseph Audo].

LETTER OF PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE ADVANCING BITTER COMPLAINTS

Mosul, 1 September 1862; the Patriarch made serious and bitter complaints against the Prefect of Propaganda Fide for humiliating him, the Chaldean Church and the Chaldean nation. He vindicated the rights of his patriarchate and criticised the arrogant comportment of the apostolic delegates, especially of Msgr. Amanton who considered Rokos really excommunicated person, but at the same time impeded absolution from the Pope, maintaining that Rokos should do penitence for the evils committed. Moreover the Patriarch pointed out the irregular procedure followed in the excommunication of Mar Thomas Rokos and the cruel denial of absolution for him, although he did not commit any wrong, but acted only according to the order of the Patriarch and the synod of the Chaldean Church (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 736-742)

Dear and Most Reverend Brother,

I feel great sorrow that from Your Eminence I receive nothing other than reproaches, humiliation and displeasure instead of receiving consolations, triumphs and glories, although Your Eminence does not ignore that I am in the midst of the enemies of our religion. While I was awaiting with anxiety consoling news from Your Eminence, a letter of Your Fraternity reached Most Reverend Amanton dated 19 July which stated, that through the Reverend Delegate we asked to obtain absolution from Rome for our son Bishop Thomas Rokos (as the delegate wrote to Your Fraternity), and with all that we have not manifested at all to the aforesaid delegate our desires on this subject. Therefore Your Fraternity relying on the letter of the delegate says that it is not possible to absolve the said bishop before verifying and ascertaining that he is really prepared to receive the penance, because he is specifically (by name) excommunicated by the order

of the Holy Father by the apostolic delegate of Malabar.²¹ Monsignor Amanton came to me with a letter of Yours to Mar Rokos and told me to recall the aforesaid bishop from Elhabet (sic), in order that he may do penance until absolution from His Holiness will come. Since we did not agree to the demand of Monsignor Amanton we said that we would respond to Rome by ourselves, and this is our response.

- 1. Your fraternity do not ignore what I wrote before together with the bishops about our nation, to the Holy Father as well as to Your Fraternity with regard to the apostolic delegates who are found in our country. We do not receive and do not recognize at all those delegates who command over us, or over our clergy, or over our people as they like; because it is something new, and especially something that would set our patriarchate and its rights in ruin, and now we also confess that we do not recognize this right in the aforesaid delegates nor do we want them.
- 2. Before the departure of Monsignor Thomas for Malabar, in the meeting of our bishops it was decided that the said Rokos at the time of his absence should not receive any order, even from His Holiness if it does not come through us, and this decision was written, and sealed by us and all our bishops, including Monsignor Abdiso Khayyath and the Superior of the convent, and it was delivered to Monsignor Rokos.
- 3. When we were in Rome Your Eminence asked me to write the known letters to call back my vicars to their destination and the aforementioned Rokos returned to his See. At that time I did not want to write these letters and I said: "you send them, you excommunicate those whom you want, and even Monsignor Thomas, Monsignor Michael Bar-Tatar and anyone you want. You responded to me negatively and told me that this would offend my rights and it was contrary to my jurisdiction.

²¹ In this letter the Patriarch calls Vicar Apostolic Bernardino, apostolic delegate or simply delegate, perhaps because he was not a diocesan bishop or because he was delegated to excommunicate Rokos. For the order of Pope Pius IX, see document 55.

- 4. After I had placed in your hands the known letters for calling back the said bishop, during our conversation Your Fraternity told me that if the aforesaid bishop after having received this letter did not come back from Malabar, "we send the excommunication". I replied negatively, and I assured you that we would not be pleased with it at all, and I said that if (whenever) he did not want to return, you let us know and we shall do the needful for his departure without delay, and your fraternity was satisfied with this; but now it has become manifest to us that Your Fraternity has failed to keep the agreement between us, by sending the excommunication together with the abovementioned letter, we were very surprised of such proceedings and what has more amazed us is the letter of Your Fraternity sent us on 12 February, in which you speak of Monsignor Rokos asking me to keep the promise: you say, "You can, and you must act according to your jurisdiction with regard to the aforementioned, as you assumed the responsibility of his return"; remembering the promise made between us, Your Fraternity should not have failed to keep the promise. Eh what jurisdiction could we exercise on the aforesaid Monsignor, as Your Fraternity took it from us, and gave it to the Reverend Apostolic Delegate Bernardino so that he might exercise it, as he really did according to your letter to Monsignor Amanton!
- 5. When our letter reached Malabar together with the excommunication delivered from your part, the Delegate Bernardino sent it to Monsignor Thomas Rokos together with his own letter in which he urges him to get out of Malabar and return to his homeland according to the order of the Holy Father and the order of his Patriarch (and furthermore before sending the letter to Monsignor Rokos Bernardino made more copies of it and made it read in all the churches so that all the inhabitants of Malabar might know of it, before it was communicated to whom it was actually directed, that is, to the said Monsignor Rokos; if it remained a secret and if nobody read it, without doubt after having received the same he could easily leave those parts and return without clamour) and admonished him in his letter saying that if he did not want to depart and submit himself, he has authority to excommunicate him by the order of His Holiness. The bishop

replied saying that from adolescence until that day he did not disobey the Holy Father and the Patriarch, and "from this moment I submit myself to them and will follow them until death; but now I cannot ensure, whether this letter is from my Patriarch because it is not written according to the usual style of my Patriarch and because my name is not written in it; furthermore I had written to the Holy Father and to my Patriarch, making them aware of my state, and from this letter I assume that they have not yet received my letters in their hands. Therefore, before receiving the responses from His Holiness and Monsignor Patriarch, I cannot leave this country, and my fellow-countrymen would not let me depart before receiving a response to their supplications to His Holiness and Monsignor Patriarch, and therefore I must wait for the response. If you do not give me time until the response arrives, and if you want to persecute and hate me, as you have done by saying that I am excommunicated, let you know that I do not receive the excommunication from you". 22 After this response the aforesaid bishop no longer had other response from the said delegate, neither in writing, nor in words; the bishop thought that the delegate had been happy about his answer, and after two months, when the bishop went to "Kurgin" (Cochin?) he came to know of our desire about his return from that country and he immediately decided to return. Since there he heard that Delegate Bernardino had ordered the excommunication, the bishop sent a letter asking him if he really had been excommunicated. Secondly he asked the expenses for the trip, because the inhabitants of Malabar did not want to pay for it since they did not want him to leave, instead they told him to remain with them, "because we do not want to foster (serve) the Pope nor others, and we do not recognize at all his excommunication etc". And when they saw that the said bishop was not listening to their vows, they promised him to give 50,000 Lire-pounds with the condition to stay with them until the autumn, and he did not want to. At the end they were obliged to denounce him to the government so that his departure might be impeded, but with great fatigue he liberated himself and returned. The Delegate

²² See document 77.

Bernardino sent him the expenses of the trip without answering him, and letting him know anything about the excommunication.

- 6. When we sent Bishop Rokos to Malabar, we sent him to our nation, and not to a foreign country. As it is written in ancient and modern history, when we met in Rome, when we received his joyful presence, His Holiness himself explained to us verbally that Malabar belongs to us, preserved for us until we have people who can assist and govern them. Up to now neither His Holiness nor his predecessors have ordained bishops for Malabar, and the delegates (vicars apostolic) sent are momentary procurators; and then the change of the rite from the unleavened to the fermented bread and the abolition of some items in their rite in the meeting of Manabir (sic)²³ and at other times against their will, and even if it is according to their will also, it is tyranny against the canons, and against all the encyclicals of the Sovereign Pontiffs, which always state that all want them (Orientals) be catholic, and not Latins, so also in the general encyclical of 18 April of this year His Holiness Pius IX, happily reigning, has assured the Universal Church of the same. Above all it is well-known that from the time the Latin missionaries went to that place and began to minister to them, up to now the inhabitants of Malabar did not cease to do what they could with all diligence to refute this foreign jurisdiction.
- 7. We did not send the bishop to Malabar if not to remove quarrels and schisms, as well as the spiritual damage and storms which were continuous without this sending, as we wrote to Your Fraternity and explained verbally when we were in Rome.

After all we have said that, 1) the dispatch of excommunication to Bishop Rokos through Delegate Bernardino is contrary to the rights of our patriarchate. 2) If the scope (of this) was the punishment of Bishop Rokos for not listening to Delegate Bernardino, who threatened him of excommunication, this excommunication was to be extended to us and to all our bishops, and not to the aforementioned Bishop Rokos, because we ourselves

 $^{^{23}}$ [It seems that this refers to the Synod of Diamper held in Malabar in 1599].

ordered him to receive nothing from any one if it does not come through us. 3) The sending of these excommunications from your part without our knowledge according to your own confession to us by words, is contrary to our jurisdiction, and an offence to us. 4) It is something contrary to the secret established between us, relying on that we delivered the letter for the return of the said bishop. 5) The sending of the excommunication from your part is against the will of the Holy Father, therefore it is not valid, because sending this excommunication was certainly under condition, that is, if the bishop resisted, as the Delegate Bernardino declared in his letter to Monsignor Thomas Rokos, and in truth the bishop did not resist the order, but he said that he could not leave at that time and the inhabitants would not let him leave before receiving the replies of their letters from the Holy Father and from us. If the said delegate was not contented with the response of the bishop and he did not want to grant him the time to receive answers to the said letters, he had to write a second letter giving notice to the bishop before the execution of excommunication, because if Bishop Thomas had known that the delegate still persisted, he would have done everything possible to leave Malabar one day before. Therefore this order is sudden, and notified to one who was not disobedient obstinate,²⁴ and and therefore he notified who (excommunication) had failed to keep every canon and the command of His Holiness. If this order is such, it is not possible to suppose that the Holy Father gave similar authority to a delegate to notify excommunication to the aforesaid bishop; hence it is done by the delegate himself with a spirit of hatred, and so the excommunication is invalid. 6) Bishop Thomas did not commit any mistake in going to Malabar, nor in everything he had done there, because he was obedient to his superior, and to the will of the assembly (synod) of bishops, and his expedition was to a nation that desired him and that certainly did he also love. Therefore there is no room for sin, and so he cannot be castigated with such an

²⁴ The argument of the Patriarch appears to be reasonable, because Rokos never denied obedience to the Patriarch and to the Roman Pontiff. The excommunication was promulgated, without giving a second warning and sufficient opportunity for repentence.

extreme punishment like excommunication, which is the greatest penance found in the Church of God.

And thus with regard to everything that we have exposed, we let Your Fraternity know that we do not receive the excommunication at all: 1) because it is erroneous as we said. 2) Because it is notified by a delegate who is found in our regions, whom if, God does not allow (forbid), you do not want to abandon, this as of obligation, let you know that we have nothing to do with this; neither we notify it nor do we want to be responsible for the bad outcome that will ensue if you want to remain obstinate. 3) We do not want that orders of Rome concerning us and our clergy and our nation may be circulated, and gone in the hands of the delegates, or through them, but we want them through you because we are the head of this nation, and others are not. Also we do not want that you send our letters, left opened, through the delegates, who first read them, and then seal them, and then deliver to us, but we wish that outside of them there must be your seal to avoid suspicion. With these things we see well that the means used with us have only one end, namely the weakening of our patriarchate, the loss of its rights, and the expulsion of the population from the Chaldean nation. Send therefore oh dear brother orders that come from your side to our hands, with our name, and show with facts a bit of love for our nation and for its honour, as well as for our patriarchate; then you will see how much zeal will be employed by us and by our clergy for the good of the Church and for the conversion of heretics. Those missionaries who every year spend huge sums, are not able to convert a soul.

The Nestorian Patriarch has 22 years and it is not even a year that he was made Patriarch. He received a decor from the Ottoman government; and there is not a prince who governs like him without opposition in his diocese as this youth governs his rich nation. We instead (are in this situation), for the multiple adversities and wars made unjustly without our will with the delegates and missionaries. This circumstance had influence on my nation, which no longer wants to hear neither me nor others in everything that does not meet its different cravings; and there are

other things that I wanted to write, but not to give more weight I am contented with this.

We pray Your Fraternity that everything that has been written in this, and those that we wrote on 4 August of last year, one of which to the Holy Father and the other to you, you receive the better (proposals) from all that we have expressed to Your Fraternity, so that every dispute on our part may cease. Be certain that we do not have other goals if not peace and the good of souls, and we await a favourable response with care from your part. This is what was necessary to make manifest to Your Fraternity. And so it is.

Written on 1 September in the patriarchal residence of Babylon in Mosul in 1862 AD,

Joseph Audo, Patriarch of Babylon.

LETTER OF APOSTOLIC DELEGATE AMANTON TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE CONCERNING THE COMPORTMENT OF ROKOS

Mosul, 25 September 1862; after the return of Rokos from Malabar, although he was excommunicated by Vicar Apostolic Bernardino, he comported like a Catholic bishop, celebrating Holy Mass and participating in common canonical prayers. However, Propaganda Fide and the Apostolic Delegate Amanton considered Rokos as really excommunicated and hence outside of the Catholic Church. Amanton not only impeded the Holy See from granting absolution to Rokos with his communications, but also divulged the news about his excommunication among priests and people prohibiting them to pray with him. He continued to persecute and humiliate the Patriarch isolating Rokos and excluding him from common prayers (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 732-734).

Eminence, On Thursday 18 September I received your two letters addressed to the Chaldean Patriarch and to the superior of the monks of Rahban Hormizd.

I immediately handed over the one directed to the superior of the monks because he was present in Mosul that time. With regard to the one addressed to the Patriarch, I did the following. The mail had arrived here around noon, I read it, and took a copy of it, and two hours later I handed it over to the Patriarch. I indicate here precisely the time of the arrival of the mail and the time of its delivery, in order to explain clearly the intention and the conduct of the Patriarch on this issue. The superior of the monks told me to let him know what Your Eminence wrote him, because he does not know Italian, he understood immediately what Your Eminence said about the person of Rokos, but I told him to remain silent and to withdraw only from the Office (canonical prayer) at which Rokos assisted. My purpose in giving such advice was not to hit the Patriarch by a hasty disclosure of the fact; I also wanted to have enough time to see whether the Patriarch would or would not allow

Rokos to pray with the priests and to celebrate Mass, because if Rokos no longer communicate with the faithful, it was proof that the Patriarch had done his duty, and then I had nothing to say.

For that reason I kept silence on the day of the arrival of your letters; but even on that day Rokos went to public prayer as before and celebrated Mass the day after, from this it was obvious that the Patriarch took no account of what you wrote in it.

It was only after finding the prevarication of the Patriarch, I felt obliged to warn the priests who attended this Church. I simply informed them of the fact that Rokos was excommunicated and hence they should no longer pray together with him, being careful to explain the reservation I had up to now in dealing with the Patriarch, in order not to hurt him. After this warning was given to the priests, the Patriarch became aware of it and then he had worries; he felt it as a humiliation for him, when the priests refused to pray with Rokos, or if they left the church in case he would come for the Office. Then he gathered together the priests and asked each one's opinion, as if the opinion of these poor priests could be enough to confirm or deny (invalidate) the value of a fact of this nature. In this meeting Sciauriz (Louis, Chaldean priest) did all he could to ensure that this excommunication was not recognized and accepted. However, when the Patriarch asked the opinion of priests, they replied that now the matter was very clear to them and they could no longer communicate with Rokos. It is sure that if the priests had given a favourable response, the poor Patriarch would have left Rokos to say Mass and pray with the faithful as he had done since the arrival of the letter of Your Eminence. But the comportment (stand) of the priests stopped him; he realized that if Rokos appeared at the Office he would receive a public insult, since the priests withdrew, and with them also the people. Thus the Patriarch found himself forced to keep Rokos in his house and not let him celebrate; he pretends that I treated him as an enemy, and that I should have abstained from warning the priests as I did. But frankly speaking, when I found that the Patriarch did not take any account of the last letter he had received, should I have kept silence and rather make me an accomplice of this mockery and of these scandals? I believed that if Your

Eminence wrote to the Patriarch and to the superior of the monks that Rokos is an excommunicated person to be avoided (*vitandus*), your intention was that the matter be made known.

I completely refrain from any reflection on the sad state of affairs at which we arrived, and on the difficult complications of this state of affairs; but only not to omit a duty of my office, I should inform Your Eminence about what actually took place after the reception of that letter.

I have nothing positive to say about the Malabars who stay here; it is heard that, as none of them could be consecrated or ordained by the Chaldean Patriarch, they made a request to the English Vice-Consul to facilitate the access to the Nestorian Patriarch who would give heed to their desire. I do not yet know whether they really went to the Nestorian Patriarch and I cannot say (affirm) anything about that.

Accept Your Eminence, the assurance of the profound respect with which I have the honour to be.

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

Henri-Marie Amanton.

LETTER OF POPE PIUS IX TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO CONFIRMING THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF ROKOS AND PROHIBITING HIM TO SEND ANY BISHOP TO MALABAR

Rome, 25 September 1862; with the letter "Nuper nobis" Pope Pius IX reminded the Chaldean Patriarch Audo that Rokos was excommunicated by the vicar apostolic of Verapoly and hence he should be treated as an excommunicated person. Moreover the Pope reiterated and confirmed that "no bishop shall be sent to Malabar by you or by other Chaldeans, under any title or pretext" (R. De Martinis (ed.), Iuris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide, vol. VI, pars 1, Romae 1894, 383-384).

To venerable brother Joseph, Babylonian Patriarch of the Chaldeans.

Pope Pius IX, venerable brother, greetings and the apostolic blessing.

Recently your letter dated 4 August was delivered to us.²⁵ After reading it, we gave appropriate instructions to our beloved son, Alexander Barnabò, priest cardinal of the Holy Roman Church and Prefect of our Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, in order to respond to you, venerable brother, on all those matters about which you speak in your letter. Now, however, we think that you are very well aware that, already on seven September of last year our aforementioned Congregation sent to venerable brother Bernardino, archbishop of Pharsala and vicar apostolic of Verapoly, our pontifical letter given on 5 September, in which we ordered him to issue the sentence of excommunication against Bishop Rokos, if he, resisting the instructions of ours and of the Holy See, refused to leave Malabar.²⁶ And the same venerable brother archbishop of Pharsala with his letter of 20 November, also written last year, indicated that he received our aforementioned

²⁵ See document 80.

²⁶ See document 64.

letter, and then through another letter of December written in the same year confirmed that he duly warned Bishop Rokos and solemnly excommunicated him according to our commands, since he had stubbornly resisted to our orders and those of this Apostolic See. 27 Therefore we do not wish to believe what was related to us, that you, venerable brother, are so acting with Rokos, as if he was not excommunicated by the same vicar apostolic with our authority, and is not in any ecclesiastical censures, but he is permitted to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass and to attend to other offices of the sacred ministry. If these are true, you yourself see how vehemently this kind of action in this matter should be condemned and refuted and how grievous an injury you inflict on us and on this Holy See. However, now you might well remember, venerable brother, that while you were staying in Rome, you were completely forbidden to consecrate any bishop for Malabar Christians. And our above-mentioned Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, by means of its letter of 14 July of the current year, written upon our order, did not omit to manifest to you that such prohibition was renewed by us on 1 July; and it is really our will that no bishop shall be sent to Malabar by you or by other Chaldeans, under any title or pretext.

Indeed we newly confirm the said prohibition with this letter, and again command and forbid you and the same Chaldean bishops, lest you or the bishops do anything at all as regards matters concerning the Malabar churches. Again we hope that you, together with the same bishops, would wish to comply with our repeated admonitions and orders, as is due, with reverence and obsequiousness. For, on account of the office of our apostolic ministry, we have nothing more venerable than to look to (take care of) the utility and good of the Malabar churches. Finally, we impart the apostolic blessing.

Given in Rome, at St Peter's, under the ring of the Fisherman, on 25 September 1862, seventeenth year of our pontificate.

²⁷ A letter written on 20 November 1861 has not been found. The letters of Bernardino on the said theme were dated respectively 1 November 1861 and 13 December 1861. See documents 73 and 77.

LETTER OF PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA IMPLORING ABSOLUTION FOR BISHOP ROKOS

Mosul, 19 January 1863; after the reception of the letter of the Pope, the Patriarch had no choice other than to treat Rokos as an excommunicated person. Rokos went to Malabar undertaking a troublesome voyage and overcoming many hurdles according to the decision of the Chaldean Synod, in compliance with the orders of the Patriarch. So the Patriarch felt obliged to humbly request absolution for Rokos from the Pope. In this humble and carefully worded letter the Patriarch stated that already for a duration of four months Rokos obeyed the orders of the Holy See, conducting a completely secluded life in a small room at the patriarchal residence (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 757-759).

Most Reverend Eminence,

On 24 November 1862 we humbly sent to Your Eminence the reply to the last letter which Your Eminence had the honour to write to us, together with another letter to the Holy Father. We hope that both of them reached there and that you would like to give us an early response for our consolation, also for our quite and tranquillity concerning the state of health of Your Eminence; we wholeheartedly pray to the Lord to be willing to preserve your health for a long time.

In the present letter we take the freedom to say something about Bishop Rokos and beg you to be willing to be satisfied with the punishment he suffered so far. He blindly obeyed the orders of the Holy See; having been segregated from communication with people for about four months, he was locked in a small and secluded room in our residence, by which his health was affected greatly, he lost his strength and signs of old age are found in him. He completely fulfilled the orders, did not make any complaint against the omission of right conditions by the vicar apostolic in fulminating the excommunication against him, did not justify himself by placing the blame on the bishops who together with the

superior of the monastery animated him by giving him different writings, but he contented himself just by requesting mercy, forgiveness and absolution from the Holy Father and from the Holy See through Your Eminence. Hence there arises firm hope in our heart that the Holy See and Your Eminence would not reject his humble request, and would not enhance his extermination (destruction). He really belongs to the one (the Pope) who has been constituted by Jesus Christ as the good and loving (affectionate) shepherd, who does not reject the requests of the afflicted and troubled and does not throw back those who having repented, asks pardon and absolution. We hope that the Holy Father will receive this wretched man, and have mercy on him, just as in Corinth the Apostle Paul forgave most serious fault of the Corinthians at their instance, and as the Council of Chalcedon graciously welcomed those bishops who had followed the heresy of Nestorius and Eutyches once they had shown signs of repentance. Such a grace we pledge ourselves to obtain from the clemency of Your Eminence for the special care that you made us the honour of taking for our affairs and for the perfect obedience we render to the orders of the Holy See, and the Sacred Congregation, without taking into account the scorn of men and of the disgust of the people of our nation. We confide also that we will not be disappointed about our other expectations; as we have fulfilled everything that has been demanded from our part, as far as our strength and our knowledge permitted us, so we entertain the hope that Your Eminence will be deigned to satisfy our desires, reinstate our honour, and provide for the needs of this miserable country. And to verify the true disposition of our will and sincerity of our intentions, and that our words correspond exactly to our actions, here we give Your Eminence full freedom to indicate everything that will be pleasing to the Holy See and agreeable to Your Eminence. And lest it may happen to us to respond in a way not conforming to the desires of the heart of Your Eminence, and this for being unable to understand well your sentiments, we yearn that you send us the draft of the response to be presented to His Holiness and to the Sacred Congregation, and we will be always ready to sign it without any further delay. More than this no one can ever do to another man (that is, grater obedience cannot render

by a man to another). And this we will do with Your Eminence more willingly for the sake of our peace of mind and for the good of this forlorn nation, and much more because we are convinced of your love for us and of the ardent zeal you have for everything that concerns the good of our soul and of those who depend on us. We conclude this letter strongly hoping that your goodness will amply reward our obedience and throughout our life render us obliged and grateful to Your Eminence for your benefits, and we wholeheartedly pray to the Most High to keep you safe for many more years.

Humble Servant of Your Eminence, Joseph Audo, Patriarch of Babylonia.

DOCUMENT 85

LETTER OF BISHOP ROKOS TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA REQUESTING ABSOLUTION FROM EXCOMMUNICATION

Mosul, 20 January 1863; Bishop Thomas Rokos also wrote two letters to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, respectively on 28 September 1862 and 20 January 1863, explaining the circumstances of his mission to Malabar and asking pardon for his errors and absolution from excommunication. Here we present the second letter, which also gives a summary of the first one (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 759-762).

Most Reverend Eminence,

Last year on 28 September I humbly wrote a letter to Your Eminence, in which I presented to you, how two years ago an assembly of the bishops was held here, in which they nominated me as bishop against my will and how finally I had to give my consent, but with the agreement and condition that I would go to Malabar only to visit and then return; and how after my consecration, they handed two documents (writings) over to me signed by all of them and bearing their seals, together with Fr. Elias the superior of the convent; and how they compelled me

more and ordered verbally to provide that population with everything pertaining to the episcopal power, when they followed me and united to me. It took six months to reach the Malabar region, and after four months of my arrival there, all the population gathered around me, with the exception of very few as Your Eminence knows well. Then they asked me and obliged me to ordain some of them, and I, adhering to the orders and commands given by Monsignor Patriarch and all the bishops, satisfied their requests.

In my aforementioned letter, I fully exposed to you, how I had received a letter of Monsignor Patriarch sent me through Your Eminence, in which he ordered me to leave Malabar and return to my diocese or to Mosul; and another one from Monsignor Bernardino, in which he asked me to execute the orders of the above mentioned Patriarch, otherwise he would publish an excommunication against me, after three canonical admonitions. I replied to him saying that 'as I have obeyed the command of the Holy Father and my Patriarch throughout my life, I will always do the same in the future also'. After that he kept silence without giving me any response, either positive or negative. Nonetheless, I resolutely decided to depart soon, but when the people came to know about it, they threatened to kill me, if I planned to return and they would certainly have done it. So I kept this determination a secret for fear of being killed, but in the meantime I was searching for a favourable and opportune occasion to put that into action. But I did not get such an opportunity. Therefore I feigned to be sick and started to implore and ask with tears in the eyes that I would be taken to Cochin, in order to be treated by a doctor. As soon as I arrived there I expressed my firm determination to return to the home land. And they began to come to me from all sides in huge crowds to stop my return, but they could not. They offered me Rupees 10,000, but I did not want to accept the sum. Since all their attempts and efforts were in vain, at last they denounced me to the Governor of Cochin with the instance to stop my departure.

While I was suffering from such distress, the Jacobite Bishop Cyril came to visit me and told me that 'Bishop Bernardino has fulminated excommunication against you, and now you are excommunicated'. When the said bishop left me, I wrote a letter to the aforementioned Bishop Bernardino, in which I asked two things: first, to give me the expenses of the trip to return because it was not possible for me to collect it from the people, and the second to let me know whether it was true that he had issued excommunication against me, but even for this, he did not answer neither orally nor in writing. He just let me know through the priest of Cochin that if I would leave, he would give the necessary expenses for the journey. After that I had no time to write a third letter about this matter, because as soon as the government granted me freedom to depart, I embarked the ship that was ready to set sail, and so I started my return-journey.

Now the things being in these terms, I implore Your Eminence to be willing to judge whether this kind of excommunication is in conformity with the sacred canons, and whether this manner of fulminating the excommunication is immune from all spirit of aversion and contrariety, and if not it is quite unjust and injurious! But in any case the thing has happened; at the time of the arrival of the letter of Your Eminence in which it was declared to the Patriarch that Bishop Rokos was expressly excommunicated in the name of the Holy Father by Monsignor Bernardino, it was added there saying that if this bishop accepted, obeyed and asked for absolution from the Holy Father, as a loving father he would accept his request and grant him absolution. Having placed all confidence in the words and in the goodness of Your Eminence, I obeyed immediately, I accepted (the instructions) and avoided all communications with others and selected a small cell as my prison, where I stay since three months and a half waiting for the benign and compassionate response of His Holiness and Your Eminence. On 10 January Monsignor Patriarch received a letter from Mr. Francis Mahaseb in which he told that it was the desire of His Holiness and Your Eminence that Bishop Rokos went to Rome, where he would receive absolution from His Beatitude. On hearing this news from the Patriarch, my heart was kindled with the desire to visit the holy city and to see our Saviour in the person of his vicar and ask from him the absolution and also to see Your Eminence in person. My desire

was equal to that of the deer which longs for flowing streams;²⁸ and equal to that of the royal Prophet who exclaimed saying: "Oh I had wings like a dove; I would fly away and be at rest".²⁹ But what would be the use of such wishes? My days have already gone by; and now my forces do not allow me to undertake voyages any more: 1) for my advanced age: 2) for the efforts sustained, misfortunes suffered and the fears encountered during the round Malabar trip (to and fro); 3) and for the restricted and rigorous withdrawal of three and a half months. I am so tired that now I am even unable to undertake a journey of 10 days; so, I resort to the clemency of Your Eminence begging you for the love of Jesus and Mary to be an intermediary, and beseech the benignity of the Holy Father for forgiveness and absolution. I hope that His Holiness will accept my request if it is recommended by Your Eminence.

With folded hands and humble voice I beg you then to be the unique mediator between me and the Holy Father and to hold his anger back as our Lord Jesus Christ is mediator between God and humans and holds back his (God's) wrath; and obtain for me (for the wounds of Jesus Christ and the sorrows of Our Lady the Virgin Mary) from the clemency of His Holiness a general pardon and plenary absolution of my own failings and those of others attributed to me, and not attributed to those who sent me in Malabar. And in waiting for the solicitous arrival of the absolution (which as the most obedient son I am disposed to receive from any person who will be destined by Your Eminence) I beseech the Almighty to be willing to conserve you for long and shower upon you all blessings.

20 January 1863,

Most humble servant of Your Most Reverend Eminence,

Thomas Rokos, Bishop of ... (sic).

²⁸ Cf. Psalm 42: 1.

²⁹ Psalm 55: 6.

LETTER OF THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA TO PATRIARCH AUDO DENYING THE PRESUMED PROMISES ABOUT CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR

Rome, 21 May 1864; finally Rokos obtained absolution in April 1864 and thus the schism definitively ended also in Chaldea. However, the conflict between Rome and the Chaldean Patriarchate continued. Patriarch Audo never gave up hope for reestablishing Chaldean jurisdiction in India. In different letters the Patriarch asked the Propaganda to recognize the canonical right of the Chaldean Patriarch concerning its jurisdiction over the Malabar Church, pretending that such a promise was made by the Prefect of Propaganda Fide during his visit to Rome in 1861. In this last document which we present in this work the Prefect of Propaganda Fide setting aside other problems raised by the Patriarch, concentrated mainly on the Malabar question (Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Ponenze 1865, 802-806).

Illustrious and Most Reverend Lord,

After my last letter of 1 April (1864) which now has certainly arrived in the hands of Your Lordship, with the hope that the analogous reply would give me reason to submit to the Holy Father consoling news about the cessation of the most serious disorders which are afflicting that patriarchate, I would have desired not to write again to you on this very displeasing affair. However, unfortunately your two letters written to me on 2 and 12 March (1864) and the numerous appeals and reports, which are circulating from different parts about the deterioration of the religious state of that nation, also reaching both this Sacred Congregation and the Holy Father, place me in the painful necessity of writing to you this letter. It is not my intention to reply to each of the important points in those two letters, because the treatment of many items, such as those concerning the correction of the sacred liturgy, about which I already wrote to Msgr. Khayyath, the erection of the seminary and other affairs of which you speak to me must be

deferred to a more opportune time; that is, when the religious affairs of the patriarchate will be fully returned to order and regularity. At present what is more important is to provide, without delay, for the evils and scandals growing every day in that nation because of the fault, it pains me to say it (I am sorry to tell you), of Your Lordship. I limit myself however to make a few observations concerning some of your statements and concerning some facts of major importance on which I could not keep silence, since recently I got accurate and exact information about them.

And first of all, I must tell you a few things regarding a) Malabar, about which Your Lordship mentions of my promises and demands the fulfilment of the same. Unfortunately our discussions were made with the help of an interpreter, since I do not speak the language of Your Lordship and you do not understand mine. Hence, for fear of some misunderstanding I interrogated Mr. Mahaseb who assured me that he translated my discourses faithfully. I do not hesitate therefore to repeat that I did not make positive and frank promises as you suppose, but I told you and I repeat again that the system of governing the populations through vicars apostolic was a temporary arrangement especially when there is diversity of rites. Yet the Holy See does not usually modify it and adopt ordinary measures except when an ensemble of circumstances so demands and especially where there is a worthy clergy, from whom a regular head can be chosen, and whose service is beneficial to the given population, and when the reasons, for which the temporary measures were adopted, have ceased. I concluded that even in Malabar a hierarchy of its own rite could be established, when the concurrence of these factors would be verified. Now tell me, Your Lordship, whether the opportune time has already arrived. The clergy of that rite are lacking, which certainly cannot be composed only of a bishop; a seminary is missing where young worthy people are to be educated and formed. The dispositions of those populations are very uncertain, that in fact they do not merit evaluation, because of such declarations and letters written by those Malabars according to opportunities, following comfortably fitting insinuations, and those letters are not at all of loyal persons having in their eyes the true

glory of God and the salvation (interest) of souls. Your Lordship had in your residence in Rome (during the visit) the most obvious demonstration of this from me in that original letter³⁰ that you certainly would not have forgotten; the letter is carefully preserved in the archives along with other similar documents. It will never be possible to arrive at this point until such undue solicitations are ceased: be persuaded that the Holy See has never had less attention for the said populations, than that which others can boast of it. The history to which Your Lordship calls my attention can give this testimony: and when you write about it you have some documents in your archives to confirm the same. In fact as at other times, in the present century also this Sacred Congregation dealt with this issue. In the beginning of the same century Cardinal Borgia, the then Prefect of the Sacred Congregation, in execution of what had been decreed in the general meeting³¹ of the Eminent Fathers, wrote to Monsignor John Hormizd, archbishop of Mosul and administrator of Chaldean Patriarchate, 32 a rather long letter on 28 August 1802. In this letter I found that, as the patriarchal administrator believed to ordain a bishop and to send him to Malabar with two priests who would assist him, although without jurisdiction, but only to calm those people, this Sacred Congregation judged that act reprehensible for various reasons, because among other things, those people are not subject to his jurisdiction (that is, to the Chaldean Patriarch). Therefore, although the Congregation accepted the personal justifications given by Monsignor Hormizd, in order to remove all doubts, it gave the faculty for absolution, both of Hormizd and of the bishop consecrated by him, against whom also the vicar apostolic of Malabar had pronounced ecclesiastical censures. Finally, it is reported in the same letter the following mention of Pius VII: "in order to provide for the needs of the Malabar nation he assigned to Monsignor John Guriel, bishop of Salmast, in his quality as the

³⁰ [This alludes to the letter of Patriarch to the Malabars]. See document 33.

³¹ [Congregazione Generale, 23 settembre 1801, vol. 907, fol. 247, Scritture originali].

³² [Letter of 1803, vol. 285, fol. 470].

delegate of the Holy See, according to the wish of the Sacred Congregation, full jurisdiction over all the Syro-Chaldeans of those regions (of Malabar) who are truly Catholics and only in those dioceses where there are no Latin bishops, and even if there are, they are impeded from exercising jurisdiction over the said Syro-Chaldeans". The matter was treated at other times in a general assembly of 1852³³ and the conclusion was to acquire exact information on the subject, which in reality was not presented satisfyingly, as it was desired. Some measures were determined which, if accepted and executed, would have at least started a real source of good which, for the latest disgusting events well known to Your Lordship, is not only paralyzed mostly, but I would say almost extinct. I ask Your Lordship to find in your archives the aforementioned letter which will give you other useful instructions, provided that the translation you read is authentic and exact. However you could not have forgotten what you were told about the matter by the Holy Father in his brief³⁴ Nepur Nobis of 25 September 1862, and I do not want to doubt that you will observe it with due and sincere obedience.

As regards the fact of Alquosh about which Your Lordship wrote me extensively, I would say frankly that it would have been pleasing to me that Fr. Duval came to visit you,³⁵ especially if as I heard, you were in a state of bad health. But I could not understand how a simple act of incivility, if you want to qualify it so, and an alleged attempt of rebellion, which results to me positively false, you have been able to take reason to publish your circular of 22 January (1864) which was basically a true inflammatory libel, and to inhibit the apostolic missionary from exercising his ministry.

I dispense myself from descending to other details, to which your enunciated letters would call my attention. But I cannot leave unnoticed what Your Lordship asserts in the first letter regarding the suitable means to attain the amends and the reorganization of

³³ [20 December, about the Missions of Bombay and Malabar].

³⁴ [Apostolic Letter *Nuper Nobis*]. See document 82.

 $^{^{\}rm 35}$ At that time Fr. Duval was vice-prefect of the Dominican mission in Mosul.

your nation; if I must agree with you, one of them consists in strengthening its loyal and obsequious obedience. However you must agree with me that such means will remain fully ineffective, if the bishops and the head of the nation (the Patriarch) do not precede it with their example: the bishops must give examples, not less the Patriarch, in executing the orders of the Supreme Pontiff, in respecting the penalties inflicted by his representatives and in humbly asking for the absolution. Then I would not know how to qualify, omitting others, the proposition with which you do not hesitate to assert in the letter on 2 March that, "obliging the bishops to take (receive) absolution (from the censures fulminated in the name of the Holy See) is rather considered as annihilation of the same (nation) than its conduction to a better state".

With regard to the complaints, which you mention especially in the letter of 12 March, related to Monsignor Apostolic Delegate and to the missionaries of Mosul, I will not repeat what I verbosely wrote in the last letter of 1 April. I only add that if in the letter, with which Fr. Duval, the vice-prefect of the missions of Mosul communicated to you my telegram of 24 February, could be desired much more delicacy of forms (expressions), in the response of Your Lordship, given to him after ten days, is lacking even Christian charity, the priestly moderation and the dignity of a patriarch.

Meanwhile for this demand of forms and regards, my repeated telegram was despised; my letter of 27 February remained unanswered and ineffective. You have used new arbitrary and violent measures as far as the interdiction of almost entire villages, negating even baptism to children, the sacraments to the moribund, and the ecclesial burial to the dead. Chaldea was moved by such acts. Continuous complaints come also directly to the Holy Father, not only from the missionaries but also from other respectable people of the same and other countries; and all of them invoke from the Holy Father a prompt, energetic and definitive provision (measure). His Holiness is mindful of his obligations of apostolic ministry and he must give an account to God also about that portion of the Catholic Church, and thus he has already begun to take some appropriate measures, with the dispositions, which I

hasten to forward to you with another contemporaneous paper of mine. I have no doubt that you will immediately communicate them to the interested parties. Therefore I repeat to you that if the present state of affairs does not cease immediately, he (the Holy Father) will be forced to take other more severe measures as I mention in another paper, no. 5.

I pray to God that he may grant you light and courage to withdraw from the evil paths in which you are heading now with long strides, and may give you the grace to respectfully hear the voice of the Supreme Pastor and to execute his commands.

Rome, from the Propaganda, 21 May 1864.

Concluding Section

CONTINUATION OF CONFLICTS BETWEEN ROME AND THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCHATE

The Rokos schism ended with his absolution from excommunication, but the conflicts between the Congregation of Propaganda Fide and the Chaldean Patriarch continued on various grounds. Here we present the five main grounds of conflicts, the doubts discussed in the plenary assembly of the cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide for the Affairs of the Oriental Rite in 1865 and the resolutions adopted by the said assembly.

1. Five Grounds of Conflicts

- 1. Chaldean jurisdiction in Malabar: the main ground of conflict between Chaldean Patriarch Audo and Propaganda Fide was the controversy over jurisdiction in Malabar. Intimidated and constrained by the Pope and Propaganda Fide, Patriarch Audo called back Rokos from Malabar and obtained for him absolution from excommunication. However, the Patriarch continued his strenuous efforts to re-establish jurisdiction in Malabar, engendering outrage and bewilderment in Propaganda Fide. All persons concerned, apostolic delegates, vicars missionaries and good alumni of Propaganda Fide desired a definitive solution to the Chaldean claim of jurisdiction over Malabar, and the requests of the Malabars for bishops of their own rite. However Propaganda Fide believed that both the extension of Chaldean jurisdiction over Malabar and the concession of native bishops would provoke irremediable harm in the Malabar Church. The Pope and the Propaganda Fide ordered the Patriarch not to intervene in the Malabar affairs, but the problems in Malabar continued, since no definitive solution was adopted to resolve them
- 2. Pretensions on the convent or seminary of St George: the idea of erecting a national seminary for the formation and

instruction of the clergy came to the fore already during the governance of Patriarch Nicolas Zeia, the predecessor of Patriarch Audo and the Chaldean monastery of St George between Mosul and Telkef was destined for the same purpose. The Synod of the Chaldean bishops held in 1853 under the presidency of the then Apostolic Delegate Msgr. Benedict Planchet, entrusted to the latter the responsibility of restructuring the monastery as a seminary, since the Chaldean Church lacked the necessary financial resources. Utilising external charitable funds Msgr. Planchet restructured the monastery as a seminary and furnished it with necessary equipments. His intention was to entrust the seminary to the Dominican fathers (obviously Latin) in Mosul, to which Patriarch Audo opposed, who desired that the seminary should be under his direct authority. After the sudden death of Apostolic Delegate Planchet, his successor Amanton judged that the location of the seminary was not suitable and hence it was never inaugurated; he took it under his custody with the permission of Propaganda. Being afraid that the Chaldeans would violently occupy the seminary Amanton placed it under the protection of French Consulate and thus under the custody of French soldiers. Hence they could not enter the seminary or do anything there. Patriarch Audo and the bishops always lamented about this and demanded that the seminary should be returned to them. After the absolution of Rokos, when Amanton had an interval of good relationship with the Patriarch the seminary was returned, but the latter with his bishops lamented that all the equipments, utensils and other items were removed from the seminary. Upon interrogation, Amanton himself admitted this fact, providing his own explanation and reasons. Hence the controversy concerning the seminary also continued.¹

3. Subsidies of the Pious Work of the Propagation of the Faith: this was an association or society founded in Lyon (France) in 1822 by the venerable Pauline Jaricot, independently of Propaganda Fide, for the promotion of missionary activities,

¹ For details and documentation concerning this controversy, see Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 410-413.

providing financial support as well. Generally this Pious Association granted subsidies through apostolic delegates wherever they were present, especially those for the Eastern Churches. The apostolic delegates used to distribute such subsidies according to their arbitrary decision, taking into account the particular circumstances of each country. The Chaldean Patriarch, as some other Oriental patriarchs, demanded that the said subsidies should be given directly to him, since he knew the needs of the Chaldean Church better than the apostolic delegate and the missionaries. The Patriarch lamented about the subsidies, because during the Malabar controversy the apostolic delegate did not give anything to the Patriarch and to those bishops who supported him, but only to his opponents and rebels. So also on this point controversy and conflicts continued.²

4. Apostolic Delegate Msgr. Amanton: French Dominican Father Henri-Marie Amanton, belonging to the French Province was appointed titular bishop of Arcadiopolis on 10 March 1857. He was appointed apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia, Persia, Lesser Armenia and Kurdistan on 25 May 1860. As we have seen, the undiplomatic and imprudent actions of Msgr. Amanton also contributed to the deterioration of the entire situation.³ Msgr. Amanton reached Mesopotamia at the very peak moment of the Chaldean-Malabar affairs, when the bishops had already assembled in synod and decided to elect and consecrate a bishop for Malabar. Hence a violent conflict broke out between him and the Chaldean Patriarch on the election and consecration of bishops in general and on the question of Chaldean jurisdiction in Malabar. He placed the entire Chaldean episcopate and the Patriarch himself under ecclesiastical censures and threat of excommunication. With the exception of a brief interim period of relative peace in connection with the absolution of Rokos from excommunication, the conflicts

² Cf. Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 414-416.

³ Our description is based on the Report-compendium of Cardinal Bernabò: Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 419-431.

between the apostolic delegate and Chaldean Patriarch exacerbated because of various reasons: Malabar jurisdiction, confiscation of the seminary and the removal of equipments and other goods from it, distribution of subsidies to the opponents of the Patriarch and to bishops favourable to the delegate, undue intervention in all possible ecclesiastical affairs against the position of the Patriarch diminishing his dignity and authority, as well as unconditional support given to the French Dominican missionaries in Mosul. Hence the Patriarch repeatedly requested Propaganda Fide to call back Msgr. Amanton from Mesopotamia for the peace and tranquillity of the nation. On 10 December 1863 by telegram Amanton asked Propaganda Fide permission to visit Rome for grave affairs, which was granted on 12 December of the same year. Fr. Nicholas de Barcellona was appointed pro-apostolic delegate for the interim period. Reached Rome in the beginning of 1864 Msgr. Amanton asked for more faculties and powers to constrain the Patriarch to his wishes; if not he wanted to resign. The Patriarch on the other hand asked Propaganda not to send him back to Mesopotamia. Although Propaganda was not satisfied with the activities of the Apostolic Delegate Amanton, the plan of Propaganda was to send him back to Mesopotamia at least for a brief period of time in order to save the face of the Holy See and the dignity of the delegate himself, and then permitting him to abandon the country, if necessary. However Amanton wanted to return to Mesopotamia permanently, fortified with more coercive powers and faculties.

5. Dominican missionaries of Mosul: the Dominican mission in Mosul was established in 1750; even at that time the missionaries had precise indications from the Holy See concerning their dealings with the Patriarch, the clergy and the Christian faithful of the Eastern Churches.⁴ The conflicts between the Chaldean Patriarchate and the Dominican missionaries started especiallyin 1859, when the French Dominicans substituted the Italians. When Apostolic Delegate Msgr. Planchet departed from

⁴ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 431-441.

Mesopotamia, Fr. Vincent Ligiez, one of the Dominican missionaries was entrusted with the office of the delegation as prodelegate and with the keys of the aforementioned seminary of St George. The conflicts between the Patriarch and the Dominican missionaries strengthened on account of the custody of the seminary and because of their interference in the Malabar affairs. When Apostolic Delegate Amanton, also belonging to the same Dominican province of France, reached Mesopotamia the missionaries obviously supported him in everything and acted against the designs of the Petrarch and the Chaldean episcopate. The Patriarch accused the missionaries, who comported like lords ruling over the Chaldean bishops as their subjects, of immorality, luxurious life, non-fulfilment of their obligations, undue interference in ecclesiastical affairs, introduction of Latin practices among Orientals, support given to the rebels and opponents of the Chaldean episcopate, disdain of the Patriarch and the Chaldean nation, as well as arrogance and highhandedness in the shadow the French Consulate.⁵ In fact there existed a "holy alliance" between the French Consul, French Dominican missionaries and the French apostolic delegate against the Patriarch and the Chaldean episcopate.

2. Plenary Assembly of Propaganda in 1865

In order to evaluate the problems of the Chaldean and Malabar Churches and to trace out solutions the general assembly of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide for the Affairs of the Oriental Rite was held on 6 March 1865. The main point of debate was the pretended jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch in Malabar. Nine cardinals participated in the meeting: Most Eminent and Most Reverend Constantine Patrizi Naro, Lodovico Altieri, Camillo Di Pietro, Karl August Reisach, Alexander Barnabò, Antonio Maria Panebianco, Antonio Saverio De Luca, Jean-

⁵ See especially the letter of the Patriarch and bishops to Pope Pius IX, document 52.

Baptiste-François Pitra, Prospero Caterini. Alexander Barnabò, Prefect of Propaganda Fide presented a long and comprehensive report about the long standing contestation and conflicts between the Chaldean Patriarch and Propaganda, especially regarding the jurisdiction of the Patriarch in Malabar. Together with the report several documents were also provided, many of which we have already reproduced in this study. After due reflections and discussions the cardinals were asked to respond to 20 doubts or questions: the first five directly regarded the Malabar Church while the remaining 15 concerned various problems of the Chaldean Church.

2.1. Doubts Proposed to the Cardinals for Decision

- 1. Whether it is opportune to extend the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylonia over the Suriani Catholics of Malabar.
- 2. If affirmative, how the harms that could ensue from this can be prevented.
- 3. If negative, whether a bishop of their rite and nation immediately subjected to the Holy See be granted to the Suriani Catholics of Malabar.
- 4. Or else a vicar of their rite and nation dependent on the vicar apostolic of Verapoly and whether he should be honoured with episcopal character.
- 5. If affirmative to the second part, whether it is convenient to do it immediately or to wait for more opportune time.

⁶ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 461.

⁷ The Report can be found in Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 267-458.

⁸ All the documents presented to the cardinals can be found in Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 493-905.

- 6. Whether and how to provide for the erection of a seminary for the education of the Chaldean clergy under the dependence (authority) of the apostolic delegate.
- 7. Whether to satisfy the insistent request of the Patriarch for recovering the furniture (equipments) left by Msgr. Planchet in the monastery (seminary) of St George.
- 8. Whether it is to be permitted that the subsidies of the Pious Work of the Propagation of the Faith be transmitted immediately to the Eastern patriarchs; or as before the subsidies be entrusted to the apostolic delegates for distribution.
- 9. Whether and what norm should be established in the one or the other case, so that the Propaganda could know and monitor (supervise) the distribution.
- 10. Whether it is convenient that Msgr. Amanton stably returns to Mesopotamia with his qualification (title) of apostolic delegate.
- 11. Whether and with what coercive and gracious faculties (the return of Amanton), and with what attestation of fidelity and approval of the past (activities).
- 12. If the return of Msgr. Amanton in Mesopotamia is not considered opportune, what provision should be adopted for saving the reputation of the Holy See and the honour of the same prelate.
- 13. Whether it seems convenient to appoint a new delegate immediately or to proceed for now with the present pro-delegate, Nicholas de Barcellona.
- 14. What faculties should be granted to the one or the other and how to harmonize the decree of the Sacred Congregation dated 11 December 1838 with the usual formula accustomed to be used in the briefs appointing apostolic delegates.
- 15. Whether the French Dominican missionaries be permitted to continue in the mission of Mosul.

If affirmative,

16. Whether Fr. Duval and perhaps other missionaries very compromised with the Patriarch be revoked.

- 17. Whether the French missionaries be substituted with Italian Dominicans or of another nation.
- 18. And how the substitution can be made without prejudice to the honour of the present missionaries and without damaging the mission.
- 19. Whether and what provision should be adopted for the happenings in the consecration of the Monk Hanna appointed by the Patriarch to the bishopric of Aqra.
- 20. Whether one should proceed to the examination of the Chaldean Synod celebrated in Mosul in 1853 notwithstanding what was written about it to the Propaganda on behalf of the Patriarch.⁹

2.2. Responses of the Cardinals and Papal Approval

In the General assembly of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide for the Affairs of the Oriental Rite held on 6 March 1865 the cardinals unanimously responded to all the 20 doubts proposed to them. Here we provide the English translation of those responses.¹⁰

To 1: Negative.

To 2: Provided in 1.

To 3: Not expedite.

To 4: To the first part affirmative and the vicar apostolic of Malabar should be praised for the already accomplished election of the vicar of Suriani rite. To the second part, deferred and in the meantime information is to be sought from the same vicar apostolic concerning the qualities and merits of Fr. Cyriac Chavara, Prior of the Tertiary Carmelites of the Immaculate Conception of Blessed Virgin Mary.

To 5: Provision has already been made in the previous ones.

⁹ The twenty doubts can be found in Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 458-460.

 $^{^{10}}$ The responses can be found in Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze 1865*, 461-464.

- To 6: Affirmative, as soon as it could be done; as regards the manner instruction shall be given to the apostolic delegate, and according to the mind (intention), the mind is that a separate Report (Ponenza) is to be prepared on all the disorders of the Syro-Malabars and on the provisions to be adopted regarding them.
 - To 7: Affirmative as a favour.
 - To 8: Negative to the first part, affirmative to the second.
- To 9: Affirmative, imposing upon (enjoining) the apostolic delegates to render the account to the Sacred Congregation towards the end of each year concerning the financial subsidies received from the Pious Work of the Propagation of the Faith and concerning their accomplished distribution.
 - To 10: Negative.
 - To 11: Provision has been made in the previous ones.
- To 12: After reformulating the doubt, with the omission of the words "for saving the reputation of the Holy See", the Most Holy Father is to be supplicated for the promotion of His Excellency Msgr. Henry Amanton to an archiepiscopal see in the regions of infidels.
- To 13: To the first part, not expedite at present; to the second part affirmative.
- To 14: To the first part, for the time being nothing is to be innovated; to the second part, provision shall be made, when a new apostolic delegate for Mesopotamia will be elected and according to the mind (intention); the mind is that in such occasion the Holy Father be requested to order that before the sending of the briefs regarding ecclesiastical matters the minutes of the same are to be communicated to the prefects of the respective Congregations.
 - To. 15: Affirmative.
- To 16: For the time being not to expedite and with mental reservation; the mind is that the Father General of the Order of Preachers should enjoin Fr. Liony, prefect of the mission in Mosul, who now stays in Paris to return to his place, and that the mission

itself should be gradually replaced with religious of more calm nature.

To 17-18: Provision has already been made in the previous responses.

To 19: Affirmative according to the mind (with reservation): the mind is that the Monk Hanna should be ordered to newly emit the profession of faith in its integrity before the Patriarch, and signed by his own hand; it should be submitted to the Sacred Congregation. In the same manner a moth of retreat (retirement) should be imposed on the same monk; and an admonition of the Sacred Congregation is to be given to the Patriarch and to the two bishops who assisted at the consecration (of Hanna).

To 20: To be dilated and according to the mind; to the new delegate instruction should be given to procure that the Patriarch and the bishops assemble for the celebration of a new patriarchal synod. In the meantime however it should be written to the proapostolic delegate in order that he may obtain information on those points of the synod of 1853, which are said to be put into execution, even though the same synod has not been approved by the Holy See.

The decisions of the assembly were signed by Cardinal Alexander Barnabò, Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide and Relator of the assembly. On 7 March 1865 in the Audience granted to John Simeoni, Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide for the Affairs of the Oriental Rite, the decisions of the assembly were approved by the Pope. 11

From the decisions of Propaganda Fide approved by the Pope it is evident that practically none of the demands of the Chaldean Patriarch was granted. Hence the conflicts between Rome and the Patriarch continued further for many years. In order to save the honour of the Holy See, despite his excesses, Apostolic Delegate Msgr. Amanton, the archenemy of the Patriarch was promoted as titular archbishop of Theodosiopolis on 11 March 1865, although

¹¹ Rome, Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, *Ponenze* 1865, 464-465.

he had to resign on 27 March of the same year as apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia.

The question of the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch in Malabar, the mother of all the aforementioned conflicts continued and reached its climax with the schism of the Chaldean Bishop John Elias Mellus in Malabar (1874-1882). If our time and energy permit, we will treat this part of history in another future volume. We have not provided an evaluative conclusion or indicated the lessons that can be drawn from the analysis of the historical events under consideration, because they are completely left to the freedom of readers, without any kind of prejudice or preconditioning.

Part Two

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

In the second part the same 86 documents are reproduced in the original language with the same number and the same English heading of the first part in order to facilitate consultation. Brief presentation of each document and footnotes are maintained as in the original without any modification.

DOCUMENT 1

LETTER OF SOME MALABAR PRIESTS TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH NICOLAS ZEIA REQUESTING CHALDEAN BISHOPS

Copia della lettera venuta dai Caldei di Malabar in nome di Monsig. Nicolao Zaja.

Al nostro molto venerato ed eccelso Padre Nicolao Patriarca dei Caldei Siri di Babilonia. Sia con noi la sua benedizione. Amen.

Noi, poveri e dispersi Caldei Siri di Malabar facciamo sapere a V. Signoria, La Chiesa della Madonna di Curbolnot, e tutte le 150. Chiese con tutto il loro seguito, Sacerdoti, Diaconi, ed il popolo cristiano, con singhiozzi e dolore scriviamo, e facciamo sapere a V. Signoria, avere prima di questa scritto a voi, e spiegato il nostro bisogno domandando che ci mandaste Vescovi e maestri per assisterci secondo il nostro Rito. Quindi poco tempo dopo vennero il Vescovo Abramo ed i due Sacerdoti Hormisda e Giuseppe e ci hanno assistito, ma presto morirono. Poscia vennero Vescovi Italiani e ci dominarono per forza. Questi c'istruiscono da lupi in figura di pastori, ed hanno disperso il gregge, perchè essi mercenari e lupi, e non hanno pietà delle pecore. Così ci siamo dispersi non avendoci pastore vero imitatore di Cristo, che c'insegni giustamente. Per questo da circa 7., in 8. anni vi spedimmo una lettera col corriere Muraga di Telchifa, e domandammo che ci mandaste il Vescovo Pietro, ed il Primario che costitui il Papa di Roma nelle vostre parti. V. Signoria ci mandaste subito risposta, la quale letta, ci rallegrammo, e passò il dolore del nostro cuore, motivo per cui non ci affrettammo di scrivervi ulteriori lettere, particolarmente perchè non sappiamo la via, e molte sono le spese che ci costa l'invio delle lettere. In questi giorni venne quì un Vescovo spedito dal Patriarca Antiocheno dei Siri Giacobiti, ed avendolo noi interrogato di voi, rispose d'avervi veduto in Costantinopoli l'anno 1844. L'abbiamo pregato di mandarvi la presente lettera ed egli ci ha favorito. Ora dunque vi preghiamo di nuovo e domandiamo che, se voi potrete venire da noi solo, sarebbe il nostro desiderio, altrimenti spediteci il Vescovo Pietro che stà in Amida con altri maestri, affinchè ci ammaestrino, dando facoltà al detto Vescovo da potere consacrare Vescovi dei

nostri. Quanto alle spese del viaggio noi risponderemo a tutto quel che spenderanno.

O Padre eccelso, per amor di Dio accogliete la nostra preghiera e mandateci un Pastore vero, oppure venite voi da noi ed alzate la vostra destra e benediteci. Mandateci subito riscontro a questa lettera, affinchè sappiamo e ci prepariamo a ricevere il Vescovo che ci manderete. Se poi non manderete nessuno da costì, noi eleggeremo uno di quà e lo manderemo a voi per farlo Vescovo, e al ritorno condurrà seco maestri a seconda del nostro bisogno. Di queste due cose sceglietevi una e fatela, e subito mandateci risposta: Altrimenti ne darete conto a Dio nel giorno del retto giudizio, e noi saremo salvi d'ogni colpa di peccato.

Data dalla Chiesa dei Siri Caldei di Malabar il 28. Luglio 1849.

Le firme: D. Tommaso Baliabantil. D. Paolo Inivel. D. Giorgio Nitididel. D. Giuseppe. D. Paolo. D. Giacomo Scita. D. Giuseppe Flibitil. D. Giuseppe. D. Emmanuele. Gli altri nomi non abbiamo potuto leggerli.¹

DOCUMENT 2

REQUEST OF SOME MALABAR PRIESTS TO ALL THE CHALDEANS FOR THE SAME PURPOSE

Copia di seconda lettera proveniente dai Malabarici diretta a tutti i Caldei di nostra parte.

Ai nostri fratelli in Cristo i Caldei Siri Arcivescovi, Sacerdoti, Diaconi, e Cristiani della Chiesa di Babilonia. Pace sia a voi.

Noi Caldei Siri Sacerdoti, Diaconi con tutto il popolo cristiano di Malabar, vi facciamo sapere. Ora abbiamo scritto al nostro Padre Patriarca di Babilonia onde mandarci un Arcivescovo perciò preghiamo Vostra fratellanza per amor di Cristo di fare il vostro possibile e mandarci un Arcivescovo bravo, dotto, conversato nei sacri libri, e ne' riti della nostra Chiesa Caldaica,

¹ Nota del Traduttore.

perchè noi ci siamo dispersi per non avere avuto un Pastore. Noi dimoriamo nelle vicinanze di Pompei, e da Pompei sino a Cuscin vi sono 5. giorni di viaggio: noi tutti siamo nel circondario di Cuscin. Da Pompei sino a Babilonia si mettono 11. giorni col Vapore; e da Pompei sino a Cuscin si mettono tre giorni anche col Vapore. Dunque quando verrà l'Arcivescovo che manderete, non dovrà informarsi della strada da gente di altre credenze, nè anche palesare lo scopo del suo viaggio, solamente domanderà di Pompei e Cuscin, e noi staremo attendendo il suo arrivo.

Quando ci manderete lettere, fate la direzione a Cirillo Gioachim Arcivescovo dei Siri Giacobiti; così subito ci giungeranno Chi dunque sentirà il contenuto di questa lettera e non s'impegnerà dell'invio d'un vero pastore a noi, dovrà rendere conto a Dio per noi nel giorno del giudizio universale.

La grazia di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo sia con voi tutti nei secoli dei secoli. Amen.

Data dalla Chiesa dei Siri Caldei di Malabar il 28. Luglio 1849.

Le firme: D. Giorgio Nitiridel. D Paolo. D. Giuseppe Filibitel. D. Giacomo Schita. D. Giuseppe. D. Tommaso Buniabantil. D. Paolo Tnibil. D. Emmanuele.

DOCUMENT 3

LETTER OF MAR CYRIL JOACHIM TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH PRESENTING THE REQUESTS OF MALABAR PRIESTS

Copia della lettera di Cirillo Gioachim Arcivescovo dei Giacobiti che ci pervenne da Malabar in nome di Monsig. Nicolao Zaja.

A Nicolao Zaja Patriarca dei Caldei Siri di Babilonia salute.

Ti facciamo sapere che in questi giorni si sono presentati a noi due Sacerdoti Caldei Siri, D. Giuseppe e D. Giorgio della Chiesa della Madonna di Corbolnott, e ci hanno consegnato queste due lettere pregandoci di spedirle a te, poichè essi non sanno il mezzo di mandarle. I suddetti sacerdoti ci hanno raccomandato molto per

456 PART TWO

l'invio di queste lettere che quì accludiamo a te, e desiderano assai avere da te risposta intorno a quel che ti domandano. Se tu manderai la risposta ai detti sacerdoti, farai la seguente soprascritta = All'Arcivescovo dei Siri Giacobiti Cirillo Gioachim in Cuscin = così presto giungerà e la consegneremo ad essi. I Caldei Siri quì in Malabar sono molti, ed hanno molte Chiese, ma un Vescovo Italiano della famiglia dei Carmelitani li governa da molto tempo sino al presente, perchè non avevano Arcivescovi Caldei Siri. Io pertanto ti ho scritto queste parole d'amicizia, affinchè gli mandasti la loro richiesta: del resto non ho altro affare fuor di questo.

La pace di nostro Signore G. C. sia con voi nei secoli dei secoli. Amen.

Dall'Episcopio dei Siri Giacobiti di Cuscin in Malabar 30. Luglio 1849.

Queste tre lettere, due delle quali, spedite dai Caldei di Malabar in nome di Monsig. Nicolao Zaja e in nome di tutti i Superiori, sacerdoti, ed il popolo Caldeo di Babilonia e suo circondario, sono state da me io Giuseppe Audo Patriarca di Babilonia della Nazione Caldea, trascritte parola per parola senza aumentare o togliere niente in esse.

Alkusci li 22. Novembre 1849.

DOCUMENT 4

LETTER OF THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE SEEKING PERMISSION TO APPOINT CHALDEAN BISHOPS IN MALABAR

Lettera del Patriarca Caldeo di Babilonia all'Emo Prefetto.

Eminentissimo Principe

Si rende consapevole l'Eminenza V. Rma che, mentr'eravamo occupati indefessamente, e studiavamo il modo e il come edificare e diriggere, anzi atturare le grandi aperture, e le molte perturbazioni e lontane e vicine che si sono trovate e trovansi in questa nostra Chiesa Caldaica di quì (per calmare le quali non sarebbe sufficiente la nostra debole forza se non venisse

corroborata dalla potenza divina, cui ogni cosa facile, e dell'ajuto efficace di V. Eminenza), ecco ci giunsero lettere dai nostri figli Caldei di Malabar, nelle quali ci pregano caldamente domandando di stabilire un buon Vescovo per le loro Chiese colà, che da molto tempo sono prive di un pastore Caldeo per motivi ben chiari e noti a V. E. Per questo ci siamo mossi alla pietà, sì per riguardo alla Fede, che per riguardo alla nazionalità, e tralasciando, in certo modo, altre cure, abbiamo preso a pensare del modo con cui possiamo corrispondere alla loro domanda. Ma siccome la nostra volontà, non che la nostra autorità dipendono da V. Eminenza e senza la bilancia giusta della S. Sede Apostolica non possiamo bilanciare niente, abbiamo voluto riferire quest'affare a V. E. accludendole anche le lettere che ci giunsero dai sacerdoti di quelle contrade soprascritte in nome di Monsig. Nicolao Zaja, insieme alla lettera del Vescovo Giacobita, che le ha spedite, affinchè V. E. ne comprendesse il contenuto.

Il defonto Monsig. Couvrié aveva già ottenuto da questa S. Sede il permesso al nostro predecessore Monsig. Gio. Hormisda onde poter eleggere due soggetti idonei, consacrarli Vescovi, e spedirli pel governo di quelle suddette Chiese. Laonde abbiamo la fiducia che anche questa volta venga ridato simile permesso Apostolico, affinchè queste Chiese ritornino sotto il governo del Patriarca Caldeo, ch'è commissionato della Sede Apostolica com'era per lo passato. Domandiamo questo non per animo sregolato, absit, ma perchè noi vediamo che se ne caverebbe gran vantaggio, specialmente per le suddette Chiese, le quali, come sappiamo per lettera, e dai racconti dei nostri avi, soffrirono delle corruzioni e furono disperse da che le mancarono i propri pastori, e continuerebbero pure a soffrire questo, come sembra a noi, se rimanessero nell'attuale stato. Non importerebbe a V. E. se venissero governate da noi o d'altri. Se venissero governate per mezzo nostro, uno sarebbe il governo, cioè, quello che proviene dalla S. Sede, cui noi siamo indegnamente soli ajutori, e servi. Dunque noi abbiamo affidato quest'affare, non solo, ma anche ciò che riguarda noi alla giusta decisione di V. E. da cui attendiamo sollecita risposta.

Le suddette lettere del Malabar ci giunsero disigillate dopo avere fatto un giro grande in più luoghi, passando da mano in mano d'uomini avversari e nemici della S. Sede, cioè Protestanti, Metodisti, e Giacobiti, i quali fanno i loro sforzi per impedire il ritorno de' scismatici al seno della pietosa Chiesa Romana, ed allontanare gli Orientali dalla fede, dicendo loro, se voi seguite il Papa, vi domineranno i Latini ed aboliranno i vostri Riti. Sempre loro confermano questa idea, come in fatti molte volte abbiamo inteso ripetere tali parole che passano in proverbio presso la gente di Malabar. Per chiudere dunque la bocca di questi falsarj, sembra giusto ed assai opportuno che ora si dia ordine da V. E. onde i Malabarici ritornino al proprio Rito.

Ho avuto due lettere di V. E. riguardanti il Vescovo Elia Taddul per dargli un'assegnamento, ed il fu Giuseppe Hasan che morì costì. Quanto al Vescovo Elia gli abbiamo scritto che si portasse da Babilonia e fin'ora non è venuto dicendo che per causa della presente sua infermità non potrà partire finchè non sarà finito l'inverno. Quanto poi al defonto Giuseppe Hasan, abbiamo ricevuto risposta dal nostro agente il quale dice che gli furono mandati col P. Giuseppe Carmelitano cento Gazi,² ma ritorneremo a scrivere di nuovo su questo particolare, e ne daremo parte a V. E.

Il dì 27 Novembre del corrente anno inviammo a V. E. un'altra dove le dicevamo che non era ancora giunto a noi Monsig. Delegato Merciai, che non sapevamo quando giungerà, che fin'ora non abbiamo ricevuto il Firmano del Gran Signore da Monsig. Salvian, il quale ci chiese 23 mila piastre, e che noi non abbiamo la possibilità di dargli questa somma. Domandando pertanto da V. E. un sollecito riscontro su quest'affare, preghiamo il Signore di conservare per molto tempo la di lei vita Amen.

Alkusci 24 Decembre 1849

Giuseppe Audo per Grazia, Patriarca di Babilonia per la Nazione Caldea.

_

² 88. Colonnati.

DOCUMENT 5

LETTER OF THE PREFECT OF THE DOMINICAN MISSION IN MOSUL TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Paragrafo di lettera del P. Agostino Marchi Prefetto della Missione Domenicana di Mossul all'Emo Card. Prefetto di Propaganda.

Musul 6 Gennajo 1850

Eminentissimo Principe

Due lettere in data del 28 Luglio 1849 scritte a nome di tutti i Caldei cattolici del Malabar, firmate da cinque preti di quel rito, l'una al Patriarca Caldeo di Babel, l'altra alle Cristianità caldeocattoliche di Babel, di Musul, di Amedia, di Mardin, di Diarbechir, venute testè a mano di Monsig. Giuseppe Audo Patriarca Caldeo per mezzo de' Giacobiti di Musul, hanno destato qui e ne' dintorni, come avviene in tutte le cose straordinarie, un'avvicendare di giudizii e discorsi così stravaganti, come lo sono i concetti e le idee di chi li pronunzia. Il Patriarca mi rimise nel Mezur (dove era in Missione) copie esatte di queste lettere, scongiurandomi di scender subito presso di lui a consigliarlo del modo da tenersi in quest'affare spinoso. Abbandonata senza esitare la Missione che aveva a mano con liete speranze di conversioni, e assoluti nella solennità del S. Natale 8 Nestoriani già bastantemente istruiti, il 29 Decembre raggiunsi il Patriarca in Telescof, e combinammo nel modo che sono ad esporre.

Avvegnaché i Caldei del Malabar (adducendo in quelle lettere di essere «odiati, oppressi, e dispersi, per non trovare negli Italiani che li reggono dei pastori, ma de' mercenari e de' lupi» secondo le loro gentili espressioni) richiedano questo Patriarca caldeo o di recarsi egli stesso presso di loro se può, e di spedir loro l'Arcivescovo Pietro di Diarbehir accompagnato da preti addottrinati ne' libri santi, oppure conceda loro facoltà di eleggersi un d'essi da mandarsi qui per essere ordinato Vescovo, e affrettino una risposta; io stimai necessario inculcare al Patriarca doversi ben guardare dall'accondiscendere a tal'una di queste istanze prima di averne informato e interpellato cotesta S. C, a scanso di eccitare

460 PART TWO

uno scisma manifesto: così lo persuasi di rimettere all'Emza Vostra Revma copia esatta delle lettere in Caldeo Letterale, e *pro interim* contentarsi di rispondere ai Malabaresi che prendeva in considerazione le loro istanze, ma intanto ammonivali di esser docili e rispettosi alle determinazioni prese e da adottarsi dal S. Padre per cotesta S. Congregazione a spirituale vantaggio di quella cristianità. Dal piego che accludo all'Emza V. Revma potrà conoscere appuntino il contenuto e lo spirito di quelle lettere; però dispensandomi dal dire di più, sottometto in vece all'Eminenza Vostra qualche osservazione che sembrami indispensabile tanto più, in quanto che ignorasi da noi quando sia per arrrivare qui il novello Delegato Apostolico, e dove ora si trovi.

E innanzi tutto farò osservare che quelle lettere spedite per l'organo di un Vescovo Giacobita, smarrito a caso o a malizia il sentiero, andarono a Londra, donde ripresero il cammino per Musul vennero a mano de' Vescovi Giacobiti di questa città, poi di altri parrochi d'ogni setta, e da ultimo del Patriarca Caldeo, ma aperte; e però il contenuto delle medesime essendo già noto a chi meno si conveniva, si renderà inutile l'avviso da me dato a Monsignor Giuseppe di non mostrarle a tutti i curiosi. Secondariamente si vuol'osservare che non ha guari ha fatto ritorno in Musul da Bombai il noto Myster Bagger già Missionario quì 6 anni addietro come ministro della Chiesa Anglicana, ora cappellano militare della Compagnia delle Indie, e se ben mi sono avvisto, Puseista. Arroge a questi è arrivato poi da pochi giorni un Metodista da Aleppo, e presavi stanza ha già incominciato a predicare nella sua casa, e un venti e più Giacobiti sono i suoi soli, e venali uditori. Questi due ministri Eterodossi e i Giacobiti di queste parti e del Malabar, è da temere che afferrino l'opportunità di eccitare in più guise lo spirito tribulento de' Caldei del Malabar, favorendo cadauno la propria setta: e que' Caldei conoscendo di essere smascherati e contrariati ne' loro disegni, potrebbero adottare una determinazione che distruggesse in un giorno solo le fatiche apostoliche di molti anni, e dare un'esempio assai scandaloso agli altri cattolici dell'Asia. È duro, ma par necessario a ridirsi: i cristiani d'oriente d'ogni setta d'ogni ceto, fino i cattolici, serbano tutti un'antica ruggine, un'animo mal disposto per la

Chiesa Latina. Questa trista verità non può essere ignota a Roma: ma è fuor di dubbio che non la è nota in tutta quella estensione che si dovrebbe. Per questo, per arrogante che sembri il mio modo di agire, non debbo dispensarmi dal proporre a cotesta S. Congregazione, che nel caso qui addotto il più sano espediente mi sembra quello di dare ai cristiani del Malabar de' Vescovi di rito Caldeo. Conosco e conoscono tutti i miei compagni di missione ciò che si pensa qui su questo proposito, non essendo questi cristiani così accorti dal non far travedere l'animo proprio. Rammenterà ancora cotesta S. Congregazione che uua determinazione da Lei adottata 3 anni addietro nella dimissione del Patriarca Caldeo Nicolao di Giacobbe di istituire pro interim Vicario della Diocesi di Bagdad e di Musul Monsig. Trioche allora Delegato Apostolico della Mesopotamia, produsse una specie di scisma; alla testa del quale erano i preti caldei, e che più monta chi tra questi era stato alunno di Propaganda. E se cotesta S. Congregazione conoscesse come ci sia stato difficile di riparare a questo disordine, che sbigottì lo stesso Delegato, e il nostro Prefetto Merciai, io son sicuro che la non esiterebbe punto, anco da questo sol fatto, ad accordare a questo Patriarca Caldeo la facoltà di ordinare e mandare al Malabar uno o più Vescovi di questo rito e della stessa nazione. Il Patriarca Giuseppe mi si raccomanda in guise pur di bassezza di favorirlo presso cotesta S. Congregazione. Ed io e il P. Cecchi, l'unico compagno che abbiami ora in Musul, raccomandiamo questa, causa non pel Patriarca o per altri che sia, ma per la bella causa della Fede cattolica di cui siano immeritevolmente conservatori; cosi si eviteranno senza dubbio delle triste conseguenze: e il disinteresse di Roma le farà molto onore nell'Asia occidentale e orientale.

Omissis etc.

462 PART TWO

DOCUMENT 6

REPLY OF THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO THE LETTER OF AUGUSTINE MARCHI

Risposta della Propaganda alla Lettera 6 Gennaro 1850 del P. Marchi Prefetto de' Dominicani di Mossul.

Roma 24 Marzo 1850

Colla possibile sollecitudine saranno sottoposte all'esame di questa S. C. le richieste dei Siri Caldei di Malabar, ed insieme le osservazioni aggiuntevi da V. P. nella sua dei 6 dello scorso Gennajo. Non posso intanto non approvare il prudente e savio consiglio suggerito da Lei a Monsig. Patriarca di Babilonia di astenersi da qualunque innovazione prima, che dalla S. Sede venga emanato il relativo giudizio, e di esortare piuttosto in questo frattempo quelle popolazioni a rimanersi docili e sottomesse all'autorità del Vicario Apostolico Latino, da cui sono dipendenti.

DOCUMENT 7

REPLY OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH CONCERNING CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR

Risposta della Propaganda alla lettera scritta li 24 Decembre 1849 da Monsig. Ando Patriarca Caldeo di Babilonia.

Roma dalla Propaganda 5 Luglio 1850

In riscontro alla sua dei 24 dello scorso Decembre vengo a significarle, che la S. C. si va già occupando della richiesta fatta dai Siri del Malabar per avere qualche Vescovo del loro rito. Non appena vi sarà in proposito qualche risoluzione, che io non mancherò di porgerla subito a notizia di V. S. Fa d'uopo intanto ch'Ella faccia ciò conoscere ai postulanti, ed in specie faccia loro intendere, che parte per le passate vicende, parte ancora per l'indole della richiesta l'affare esigge necessariamente tempo e pazienza.

Quanto all'altra istanza fattami in altra sua di poter dispensare in alcuni casi matrimoniali, sappia V. S. che detta facoltà è stata già accordata al nuovo Delegato Apostolico, per cui rivolgendosi Ella al medesimo potrà facilmente ottenere il medesimo intento. Prego il Signore etc.

DOCUMENT 8

REPORT OF THE VICAR APOSTOLIC TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE CONCERNING THE PETITIONS OF MALABAR PRIESTS

Informazione data da Monsig. Ludovico di S. Teresa Vicario Apostolico del Malabar al Card. Prefetto sulle istanze dei Siro-Malabarici.

Emo e Rmo Principe

Nel riscontrare la pregiatissima di V. Eminenza Rma dei 23. dello scorso Luglio sopra la supposta petizione, che amasi asserire, d'essere stata avanzata al Cattolico Siro-Caldeo Patriarca di Babilonia dai Cattolici Siro-Malabarici di questo Vicariato, non posso omettere, anche in nome espresso di quella cattolica nazione, e specialmente del suo numeroso Clero, di manifestarle la sorpresa di sì fatta proposta, e di protestare in pari tempo nel loro stesso nome contro tale clandestina petizione. Essi vogliono assicurare la S. Sede, che mai hanno desiderato un Vescovo di proprio loro Rito, nè sapeano, che in Babilonia esistesse un Patriarca Cattolico Siro-Caldeo. Di più m'impongono di farle conoscere, che se per ventura avessero mai bramato, o bramassero in seguito una si benigna concessione, non ad altri la dimanderebbero ch'alla S. Sede direttamente per l'intermedio del Vicario Apostolico, siccome avanzarono il desiderio, ch'il detto loro Vicario Apostolico fosse rivestito della dignità d'Arcivescovo. Pregano pertanto la Sagra Congregazione a volere considerare quella supposta petizione, siccome un parto malizioso d'alcuni pochi aderenti allo scisma Indo-Lusitano, quali sotto velo di convenienza, di riunione, e di bene religioso, voleano, se eragli possibile, perpetuare, anche con suprema autorità, il funesto scisma; ma il Signore ha sconcertate le loro indegne trame.

464 PART TWO

Costoro sono ben lungi dal desiderare un Vescovo di lor proprio rito: conoscono, e facilmente prevedono, ch'una tale concessione, quantunque di convenienza si fosse, li porterebbe ben presto a disordini, partiti, rivoluzioni, e scisma, ed anche all'antica Eresia. I Siro-Malabarici Nestoriani, checchè pochi a proporzione dei cattolici, essendo questi più di 136,000., e quelli non ammontando a 23,000. sono divisi in quattro partiti, ciascuno avendo alla testa un denominato Vescovo, metran, due cioè nativi, e due venuti dalla Caldea. Si lacerano tra se, ciascuno travaglia ad ingrossare il suo partito, e sono più gentili, che cristiani: I sacerdoti sono tanti Vescovi, perchè è contro la loro natura l'assoggettarsi ad uno della propria conosciuta stirpe. Il medesino addiverrebbe ai presenti cattolici, se mai venissero ad essere presieduti da un Vescovo loro naturale. Egli è vero, che sono ora esemplarmente attaccati e devoti alla S. Sede Apostolica, e questa bella unione, e attaccamento, a mio giudizio, durerà fino che verranno governati da un Vicario Apostolico, poichè si reputano assai più onorati d'essere governati dalla S. Sede immediate per via di Esso, che da un Vescovo proprio ma mediate. Conviene però, ch'il Vicario Apostolico sia circospetto, e prudente, non mostrando maggiore deferenza per i Latini, ma deve diportarsi eguale con ambi i Riti, quantunque segua il Latino. Questo si è il mio parere su tale proposito, salvo meliori judicio.

Ciò premesso passo a spiegare l'arcano di quella supposta petizione, che dicesi avanzata dai Cattolici Siro-Malabarici di questo Vicariato, e che sembra aver incontrato qualche favorevole considerazione, anche prima di ben conoscere la verità dell'esposto, e la sincerità degli esponenti. Prima di tutto però mi si perdoni Emo e Rmo Signore, la libertà, che mi prendo d'avvertire codesta S. C., di non essere facile a prestar fede alle suppliche degl'Indiani, se pure non siano comprovate dai rispettivi Superiori, o verificate d'altra maniera; poichè per loro indole, sono inclinatissimi alla menzogna, all'inganno, all'esagerazione, alla calunnia, alla vendetta: non conoscono la sincerità, motivo per cui facilissimi essi sono a rappresentare uno scritto particolare in nome d'una popolazione intiera, apponendovi sottoscrizioni arbitrarie, ed esponendo a seconda delle loro passioni, interesse, o vendetta,

esponendo tutto ciò, che ad essi sembra opportuno per vincere l'impegno. Dico questo per mia propria esperienza presso che diaria.

Eccole la soluzione dell'arcano. In forza dell'Apostolico Breve "Multa praeclare" tutta la Nazione Cattolica Siro-Malabarica in un col suo numeroso Clero si sottomise esemplarmente a quanto ivi saggiamente si disponeva. Dieci, o dodici solamente di quei sacerdoti con alcuni dei loro parenti secolari ricusarono d'ubbidire. Questi sacerdoti, che certamente non erano i migliori, essendo già stati per delitti, sospesi o scommunicati dall'allora defonto Governatore Archiepiscopale di Cranganor, erano stati ricevuti, ed assoluti, contra ogni buon diritto dal celebre De Neves Governatore Episcopale di Cochin, ora defonto anch'esso. Sotto le sue scismatiche bandiere, e sotto la sua immediata direzione percorrevano le Parrocchie di loro rito per suscitarvi disordini e scisma; ma siccome erano generalmente odiati da tutti, così ogni loro sforzo fu inutile, voltaronsi quindi allo strattagemma in questione. Per consiglio, e dettatura dello stesso De Neves scrissero quei degni sacerdoti una lettera al Patriarca menzionato, dimandando un Vescovo del proprio rito; (perchè la speranza della venuta di Vescovi Portoghesi per le Diocesi estinte era ormai perduta.) Egli, dicesi, che rispondesse, che se veramente bramavano un Vescovo di proprio rito, abbisognava una supplica fatta in nome di tutte le Chiese. Quei refrattarii preti con una quindicina dei loro parenti che erano di diverse Parrocchie estesero la petizione non solamente in nome delle Parrocchie alle quali essi appartenevano d'origine, ma anche in nome di tutte le altre, vi apposero un buon numero di false sottoscrizioni, e con una lettera di raccomandazione d'un denominato Arcivescovo Bava Nestoriano ad un suo amico in Levante, la spedirono per un Caldeo, che quà si trovava elemosinando. A questa supplica non ancora ebbero risposta. Tanto mi riferiscono quei sacerdoti stessi, che sottoscrissero quella petizione, e che ora si sono sottomessi alla mia obbedienza. Di quei sacerdoti che forgiarono (sic) quella supplica restano soli 3. tuttora ostinati nella disubbidienza, gl'altri o si sono sottomessi, o sono morti. Il loro intento altro non era, che

466 PART TWO

perpetuare lo scisma, e così trionfare del loro impegno sotto speciosi pretesti di convenienza, di riunione, di bene religioso.

Sul punto poi di potersi facilitare con tale provvedimento il ritorno degl'eretici Nestoriani alla cattolica unità, sembrami umanamente impossibile, ed inadequato il mezzo; solo una pioggia, anzi un diluvio della potente Divina grazia potrà muovere, parlandosi della generalità, quei cuori ignoranti sì, ma ostinatissimi nella loro opinione. Troppi sono i lacci, con i quali il Diavolo li tiene avvinti. L'acciecamento del cuore, l'ostinazione, la persuasione d'essere essi i primi cristiani, l'erronea, ma radicata opinione d'essere il Patriarca eretico d'Antiochia il vero successore di S. Pietro; l'odio perciò innato verso il Papa, e la S. Sede Apostolica; quindi il maritaggio del clero; il vivere more pecudum in quanto ai costumi, e poi il venale interesse, l'aperta usuale Simonia per essere ordinati, e per ottenere pingui Parrocchie, e per l'amministrazione dei Sagramenti, l'essere nati eretici, e mille altre cose sono pressochè insormontabili. Del resto circa gli errori di Nestorio pochissimo, o nulla ne sanno; ma è percio che più difficile si rende la loro conversione. Il mezzo più opportuno per ridurli alla cattolica unità si è il convertire le famiglie in particolare per via anche dei loro parenti cattolici. In fatti annualmente non se ne convertono meno di 300. È priva poi di fondamento l'asserzione di coloro, che dicono, i protestanti attirare a se una grande porzione di essi, mentre pochissimi ne hanno sedotti, e questi solo per interesse di qualche lucroso impiego, ed anche con ciò la proporzione di quelli che vengono a noi, o ad essi si è da 100. a 1. o 2. cioè se a loro vanno 1. o 2. a noi vengono almeno 100. Egli è vero, che nel 1813. se non erro tentarono una fusione; la quale sembrava apparentemente eseguita; fabbricarono Collegi, Seminari, ed altri stabilimenti in commune; ma non ancora eseguita si era in effetto, che di nuovo si separarono, ed ancora pendono le dispendiose liti nelle Corti sopra la proprietà delle accennate fabbriche. È impossibile, che questi Indiani amantissimi dell'esteriore, possano seguire una setta tutta spirituale qual'è la Protestante.

Non è la mancanza de' Vescovi del loro Rito, che formi una difficoltà grandissima agli Scismatici Eretici per tornare al seno della Cattolica Chiesa, nè il farli toccar con mano dai Protestanti,

che ove si rendano Cattolici debbano assoggettarsi ai Latini non senza discapito del rito loro nativo; In quanto alla prima difficoltà io risponderei, che se questi Vescovi procederanno dall'eretico Patriarca che essi dicono riconoscere, sarà sì da essi riconosciuto; ma se emanerà dal Papa, saranno sempre al principio, per le ragioni di sopra dette. La seconda poi sembra a mio parere una bella invenzione. Non sono forse i Protestanti considerati anch'essi Latini? dunque con tale insinuazione, se pur fosse reale, porrebbero un'impedimento anche a se stessi; ma posso io assicurare, che i detti Protestanti solo insinuano l'odio contro il Papa, la S. Sede, e contro tutto ciò che da essa emana, di tal sorte, che se un Vescovo Siro-Caldeo, o Malabarico, il quale per essere cattolico emana o directe, o almeno indirecte dalla S. Sede, venisse concesso, direbbero, che proviene dal Papa, e ciò basterebbe per non riconoscerlo, e per restare incalliti nella loro ostinazione. Io inclino a credere, ch'ogni umano rimedio sia inadequato per muovere quei cuori educati nella indifferenza, e nei pregiudizi. Solo il più certo per mantenere i Siro-Malabarici cattolici uniti, e devoti alla S. Sede Apostolica, ed anche per ricondurre a poco a poco gl'eretici scismatici si è il mantenere il presente religioso sistema già sanzionato, per usare la loro espressione, dal costume. Questo costume negl'Indiani ha più forza dell'Evangelo stesso. Sono già secoli, che governati vengono da Prelati Latini, ed ora che sono superbi d'essere immediatamente retti dalla S. Sede per via d'un Vicario Apostolico, sarebbe a mio parere fuori d'ogni religosa prudenza alterare il sistema per essi gradito. Eccettuate le sacre ordinazioni, che si conferiscono anche ad essi secondo il Rito Romano; ma che le ammonizioni si ripetono loro in lingua loro nativa, nel resto in nulla sono molestati, seguono liberamente il loro rito, e si mantiene nelle publiche adunanze perfetta egualità coi Latini.

Dal fin quì detto facilmente potrà formarsi un'opinione sulla malizia raffinata della supplica, e supplicanti in questione, e ciò che più convenga pel mantenimento della Cattolica unità in questo importantissimo Vicariato Apostolico.

Passo ora a soddisfare l'altra dimanda intorno allo stato delle Chiese, loro luoghi, e come siano queste amministrate sì nello 468 PART TWO

spirituale, che nel temporale. 113. sono le Chiese Parrocchiali di Rito Siro-Malabarico, e 86. le Cappelle ad esse subordinate tutte sotto la giurisdizione immediata di Verapoli. Tranne 4. Chiese Parrocchiali, e 5. Cappelle, che sono situate in territorio soggetto immediatamente alla onorabile Compagnia Inglese, tutte le rimanenti sono poste nei territori appartenenti ai Re di Travancor, e di Cochin, i quali sono tributari alla lodata Compagnia, e da essa diretti nel governo per mezzo d'un Residente, il quale ha assai più potere, che i Re stessi, i quali per vero dire altro non sono, che titolari stipendiati.

Ciascuna Parrocchia viene amministrata nello spirituale da un Parroco, o Vicario amovibile *ad nutum*, e da altri due o più sacerdoti a seconda del numero dei parrocchiani: anche le Cappelle sono stabilmente proviste d'un sacerdote idoneo per accorrere alle necessità spirituali dei fedeli di quelle vicinanze: in alcune vi si permettono ancora i battesimi, i matrimonj, e sepulture dei morti, attese le difficoltà tanto della distanza, che delle strade pericolose per andare alla Parrocchia.

Lo stipendio che questi ricevono ricavasi generalmente dalla metà delle sepulture, dalle decime sulla dote dei matrimonii, dalle feste, e da tutto ciò, che diritto di stola s'appella. Alcuni poi sono stipendiati dalla Fabrica, ed in questo caso, eccetto il diritto di stola, il resto si versa nella cassa della Fabrica. Altri pochi sono mantenuti da una sottoscrizione del popolo, con qualch'altra cosa che vi aggiunge il Vicario Apostolico. Queste ultime Chiese sono poverissime poste nelle montagne tra gl'animali d'ogni specie; per cui non di rado addiviene che gl'elefanti distruggono la piccola Chiesa, o Cappella ed il Vescovo poi debba riedificarla intieramente, o almeno concorrere con considerabile somma. E qui mi cade pure in acconcio di manifestarle l'antico costume che vige ancora tra questi cattolici Siro-Malabarici, il quale consideralo in se sarebbe eccellente; ma molto nocivo al miglioramento del Clero nella prattica, ed è quello delle distribuzioni mensuali, quasi a norma dei Capitoli delle Cattedrali d'Italia. Tutti gl'Ecclesiastici d'una Parrocchia cominciando dai tonsurati, ricevono una distribuzione eguale, che ricavasi dalle decime, dai matrimoni, da funzioni funeree ecc. Coteste distribuzioni furono stabilite

anticamente ad oggetto di matenere onestamente il Clero; ma siccome addivenir suole in tutte le umane istituzioni, checché eccellenti esse siano, che per la malizia degl'uomini si corrompono, si viziano, e quindi nocive poi si rendono al bene istesso per il quale furono stabilite; queste distribuzioni eziandio sono ora molto nocive alla concordia tra i parrocchiani, una sorgente di dispute interminabili tra il Clero, e questo col popolo, ed ambedue poi servono di tormento al Prelato; oltre a ciò per l'ingordigia di quelle, i parenti infondono la vocazione ai loro figli, d'abbracciare lo stato ecclesiastico, non per servire a Dio, ed alla Chiesa; ma sì bene al loro ventre. E siccome vige ancora l'uso delle Parrocchie dare l'adozione a questi postulanti, quando tale adozione è passata il Vescovo si trova coartato ad ammetterli alla tonsura ecc., il che difficilmente può negare senza infinite discordie, e rivoluzioni. Queste adozioni sono eziandio una perenne sorgente di dissensioni, litigi, e di perpetue interminabili inimicizie tra le famiglie; perciò il mio parere sarebbe di porre un'argine a tutti e due questi casi, che di presente abusi appellar si possono.

Il mezzo più proprio, ed anche più facile ad eseguirsi, qualora la S. C. l'approvasse, si è di abolire assolutamente l'adozione delle Parrocchie e lasciare intiera libertà al Vescovo di scegliersi il suo Clero; ma nel medesimo tempo continuare le anzidette distribuzioni con questa differenza, cioè in futuro tutte si versino in una cassa commune in mano del Prelato, e questo poi le distribuisca a coloro, che per la loro esemplare condotta, e servizio meglio le meriteranno. In questo modo, si diminuiranno le vocazioni, siccome dette di sopra, i sacerdoti diverranno migliori ed i meritevoli assai meglio provisti, e le dissenzioni, ed inimicizie troncate, almeno per questi motivi. Attendo le debite istruzioni su ciò.

L'amministrazione poi temporale delle dette Parrocchie è ora stabilità nella maniera seguente. Due, o 3 Fabricieri unitamente al Parroco ricevono tutte l'entrate siano d'affitti di terreni, siano di sepulture, di Decime, o d'altro: fanno le spese necessarie pel mantenimento delle Chiese, Cappelle ecc., ed in ciascun'anno devono rendere i conti al popolo, quindi al Prelato per la sua

approvazione; si eleggono dal popolo i nuovi Amministratori, e dal Vescovo si confermano, se meritano d'occupare quell'importante officio. In quell'anno i detti amministratori, sono considerati Capi popolo. Sotto i Vescovi Portoghesi rimanevano nell'amministrazione parecchi anni; ciascun Fabriciere agiva separatamente dagl'altri, tutto portavano in loro casa, ed i beni della Chiesa servivano per rovinare le famiglie: tutti rubavano quanto più potevano. Io ho date appropriate regolazioni, tutto devesi fare in commune, e tutto devesi conservare in una Cassa, o Cofre di tre chiavi, una delle quali deve possederla il Parroco in nome del Vescovo. Ora per grazia di Dio le cose s'incamminano bene. Molte delle Parrocchie hanno dei fondi in terreni coltivabili o a Riso, o a Cocco: alcune si mantengono con sottoscrizioni del popolo, ed altre con l'eventualità delle sepulture, e Decime. Tale si è lo stato delle Chiese Siro-Malabariche tanto nello spirituale, che nel temporale.

Soddisfatto, siccome penso, alle dimande contenute nella citata lettera di V. Eminenza Rma; mi resta di pregarla che voglia compiacersi d'ottenermi la facoltà di poter porre le stazioni della via Crucis, e d'applicarvi le SS. Indulgenze appropriate, e di poterla anche communicare ai miei Missionarj; poichè questa divozione si estende assai in questo Vicariato, dacché dalla Francia vengono le Immagini, e le Chiese se ne provvedono, e mi dimandano di erigerle; ma io non ho cotal facoltà, che per altro se questa fosse inerente al Vicario Apostolico *pro tempore*, Sarebbe bene.

Ho avuto il grandissimo piacere di godere dell'amabile compagnia per più d'un mese di Monsig. di Prusa Vicario Apostolico del Coimbatur, il quale sul principio dell'Agosto scorso passò a Verapoli, anche per ristabilirsi in salute. Egl'è un'eccellente Prelato, pieno di zelo e di buona volontà; ma la porzione della Vigna alla sua coltivazione commessa è molto sterile: L'ho trattato come meglio ho potuto, e come meritava la sua indebolita complessione e l'alta sua dignità richiedeva da un Confratello affezionato.

Col più profondo rispetto, e deferenza baciandole riverentemente la Sacra Porpora ho l'onore d'essere

Della Emza V. Rma

Verapoli 4. Novembre del 1850.

Umo Dvmo ed Obbmo Servo e Suddito, + Fr. Ludovico di S. Teresa C. S., Arcivescovo di Cirra, Vicario Apost. del Malabar.

DOCUMENT 9

LETTER OF SOME MALABAR PRIESTS TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO RENEWING THEIR REQUEST FOR CHALDEAN BISHOPS

Traduzione della lettera (19 Gennaro 1851) mandata da alcuni Preti del Malabar a Monsig. Giuseppe Audu Patriarca Caldeo di Babilonia. Inserta alla lett. 29 Aprile (stile antico) 1851 scritta dallo stesso Patriarca alla Propaganda.

All'onoratissimo Monsig. Audu Patriarca dei Siri Caldei di Babilonia, la sua orazione ci protegga: amen.

Noi Siri Caldei di Malabar della chiesa di Curbalnat, e delle altre chiese che sono 157, Preti Diaconi, e cristiani, tutti uniti ed in comune facciamo conoscere a V. Eccellenza, e chiediamo, onde dia ascolto brevemente alla nostra propria afflizione; già prima di ciò abbiamo fatto noto a Lei, onde ci avesse mandato dei Vescovi, e dei Maestri come prima fu; e Lei ci ha risposto, che ha ricevuta la dignità Patriarcale per per ordine di Sua Santità Papa Pio IX, succedendo nel posto di Monsig. Nicolao Isaja; così ci ha fatto conoscere, e ci ha scrito ai 18 di Gennaro 1850; di più ci scrisse Lei, che avea fatto noto al Papa, e da lui avea chiesto il permesso di mandarci dei Vescovi, e Maestri: subito da Roma venne l'ordine al Vicario Apostolico Italiano, che con violenza domina sopra di noi oggigiorno, onde osservasse bene l'affare di cui scriveste al Papa, allora il detto Vescovo scrisse iniquamente, che nel Malabar non si trovano Siri-Caldei, e questo l'abbiamo saputo con certezza. Di più Ella ci scrisse per sapere, che lingua parliamo nel Malabar: la lingua del paese è lingua Malabarica; però i Preti, i Diaconi (Ecclesiastici) parlano nella lingua Siro-Caldea letterale: nel Malabar vi sono 157 chiese Caldee; la Chiesa di Curbalnat, che è la principale dell'altre, contiene nel suo Distretto essa sola 13 mila case, e sono molto ricche.

Adunque vi supplichiamo di mandarci un Vescovo, che sìa pieno del santo timor di Dio, e che fugga il male: esso girando fra di noi, conoscerà la nostra intenzione coll'osservare giustamente tutto, e così con segni manifesti scriverà al Vescovo, che ci manderete; da Coscin a Bombay è viaggio di tre giorni col Vapore, ed il posto per uno costa 18 rupie; da Bombay a Bastra è viaggio d'undici giorni, e costa 150 rupie; da Rastra poi a Bagdad la strada non conosciamo; però il Vescovo, che ci mandate appena giunge a Coscin, gli consegneremo 1000 rupie; ma se fuori del Vescovo, ci mandale qualche Prete, o qualunque cristiano, non vi sarà alcun giovamento; noi vogliamo un Vescovo, il quale osservi bene la verità; e noi secondo le nostre forze l'onoreremmo, e gli daremmo dei doni e dei regali; da quì, ancorchè mandiamo qualcuno, come avete scritto, sarà di nissuna utilità ma sarà d'afflizione di spirito; e se non ci manderete un Vescovo, come v'abbiamo scritto, di questo sarete corresponsabile d'avanti al Tribunale di Dio nel giorno del giudizio per noi.

Le lettere che ci mandate, dirigetele a Monsig. Cirillo Gioachino Vescovo dei Siri Giacobiti a Malabar, e lui ce le farà avere subito; non vogliamo che ci scriviate a nome d'un altro: così desideriamo.

Questa lettera è stata scritta nella Chiesa della Madre di Dio nella città di Curbalnat; an. 1851. ai 19. di Genuaro.

D. Emmanuelle, D. Giorgio, D. Giuseppe, D. Paolo, D. Giuseppe, D. Ciriaco, D. Giacomo, D. Tommaso, D. Emmanuelle, D. Giorgio, D. Paolo, D. Giuseppe, D. Pinaco, il Diacono Giorgio, il Diacono Luca.

 $^{^3\,}E$ ' una moneta Indiana, che corrisponde ad un testone romano. Nota del Traduttore D. Giuseppe Guriel.

DOCUMENT 10

LETTER OF THE SYRO-JACOBITE ARCHBISHOP IN MALABAR TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH

Traduzione della lettera (21 Gennaro 1851) che dal Malabar scrisse Cirillo Gioachino Metropolita Siro-Giacobita a Monsig. Giuseppe Audu Patriarca di Babel inserta alla lettera di quest'ultimo.

In Nome di Dio onnipotente a cui sia gloria etc.

All'onoratissimo Monsig. Giuseppe Audu Patriarca dei Caldei, Cirillo Gioachino Metropolita Siro-Giacobita nell'Indie, e Malabar: premesso un cordiale (sostanziale) saluto, faccio conoscere a V. Eccellenza, che è giunta la vostra lettera la quale mandaste al Prete Giuseppe ed al Prete Giorgio e ad altri Preti, Diaconi e Cristiani della Chiesa di Curbalnat, e delle altre Chiese; ed appena giunse nelle mie mani io la consegnai subito a loro: però conveniva, che scriveste piutosto a me su tutte queste cose, giacchè io fui la causa di questo affare, e conoscete la strada: adunque scrivo brevemente, e (vi dico), che io sono propriamente Siro, e non v'è costume di frammescolarsi negl'affari delle altre Nazioni: però v'è sempre luogo (eccezione) che sia ricevuta una preghiera, che vien fatta da molti: siccome fu fatta dal Prete Giuseppe della Chiesa di Curbalnat e dagl'altri Preti come vi dissi di sopra; voi chiedeste (dai Malabaresi) onde vi mandassero uno, il quale vi informasse degl'affari di queste Chiese; e questi chiesero da voi, onde gli mandaste un Vescovo per investigare la verità: adunque qui vi sono molte Chiese Caldee, ed una popolazione innumerevole; e se queste cose voi conosceste, verreste personalmente voi stesso a Malabar; ora questa popolazione Caldea di Malabar è divisa in due parti; una parte è unita al Vescovo Italiano (Bernardino), l'altra parte poi è rimasta senza Pastore; l'ordinazione poi dei Preti, e dei Diaconi, ora vien fatta dal Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli, ed alcuni vengono ordinati dal Metropolita Portoghese; però tutti desiderano, che gli mandiate un Vescovo; e quando lo mandi, e che viene questo Vescovo, badi bene di non osservare gli andamenti dei Romani (Frati Missionarj), poiché essi sono contrarj: e quando giungerà a Koscin cerchi di me, giacché io

mi trovo sempre nell'istessa Città; allora io condurrò i Preti della Chiesa di Curbalnat per portarlo con grande onore. Adunque se mandate lettere, indirizzatele a mio nome, e datele a Mister-Rassam⁴ onoratissimo, ed esso le manderà per la via d'Alessandria, e così prestissimo ci giungeranno; per la via poi di Babilonia non ci mandate le lettere, perchè non ci giungono presto.

State bene, ed ecco che vi giunge la lettera con questa per mezzo dei mentovati.

Dal nostro Palazzo Vescovile di Koscin e Malabar 21 Gennaro 1851.

DOCUMENT 11

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Traduzione della Lettera (25 Aprile stile antico 1851) di Monsignor Audu Patriarca Caldeo alla Propaganda inserta alla Lettera 6 Maggio 1851 del P. Marchi.

Eminenza Revma

Ho avanzato a Vostra Emza due istanze, 1'una sotto la data del 19 Settembre 1850, e l'altra del 5 Febbraro 1851 contenenti diversi affari, e ne attendo ancora la risposta, e principalmente riguardo agli affari de' cristiani del Malabar, de' quali le ho esposto distintamente la loro dimanda, e le ho rimesso 1. Decembre 1849 le copie delle loro lettere. Mi sono pervenute ora altre lettere dai suddetti, ne' quali mi dimandano in modo speciale d'inviar loro un Vescovo per esaminare minutamente i loro affari religiosi, ed altre cose significatemi da loro per due volte, siccome conoscerà dalle incluse loro lettere. Quantunque io conoscessi bene la necessità dell'applicazione di un rimedio efficace per la loro guarigione, non ho osato di prendermi la cura di un affare si grave senza il permesso, e consiglio di Vostra Emza. Per la qual cosa

⁴ Questo è il Console Inglese, figlio d'un Prete Nestoriano, ed è nemicissimo del nome della Chiesa Romana. (Nota del Traduttore G. Guriel).

ecco che le rimetto per la seconda volta le copie delle loro lettere pervenutemi, perchè conoscesse minutamente ed appieno le cose accadute e che tuttora accadono nel Malabar, ed i danni che potrebbero ricevere i cristiani dal ritardo di un acconcio e sollecito riparo, potendo questi per il commovimento e tumulto, che va crescendo presso loro, ricadere, Iddio non voglia, negli errori de' Giacobiti, o in altra eresia di quelle dalle quali sono circondati. Io finora non ho dato loro alcuna risposta, sebben mi trovo quotidianamente importunato da molti, o di mandar loro un Vescovo, o d'andare io stesso da loro; pure mi credo in obbligo di aspettare prima di ricevere da Vostra Emza una sollecita risposta per conoscere quali disposizioni potrebbero prendersi in riguardo di questi Caldei, che per la grazia di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo formano una parte della nostra Nazione: e come persuaso della cura e sollecitudine che mostra sempre per il bene e vantaggio generale e particolare de' cristiani di tutto l'universo, non mi prolungo in darle degli schiarimenti intorno questo affare tanto grave ed importante. Se Vostra Emza giudicherà conveniente affidarmi il maneggio di quest'affare, io le dico e l'assicuro in tutta la certezza, che non ho idea di mandarvi nessuno de' Vescovi; ma mi propongo d'andarvi io stesso per vedere, esaminare e disporre, col favor del cielo, ogni cosa conforme al parere, beneplacito, e consiglio di Vostra Emza. Egli è vero che il viaggio è lungo e faticosissimo, ma non importa trattandosi della gloria di Dio e bene de' Fedeli.

Non è ancor ignoto a Vostra Emza la mia richiesta fattale una volta, di conoscere precisamente quali sono i privilegi del Patriarca di Babilonia in quanto al concedere le indulgenze, e fin dove si estende la sua potestà nel dispensare gl'impedimenti matrimoniali nati da consanguinità o affinità, e quali sono le cose che Egli può da se e colla sua autorità Patriarcale concedere e *dispensare* nei casi di necessità. Vostra Emza ha rimesso la cosa in allora al defunto Delegato Monsig. Antonio Merciai, il quale mi avea comunicato i privilegii che gli erano stati concessi per servirmene durante la sua vita; or che Egli è morto nel Signore, ne son rimasto privo siccome ero per lo passato. Quindi è che torno ora a pregare la sollecitudine di V. Emza di volermi inviare un rescritto speciale

contenente tutte le cose che io posso concedere e *dispensare* conforme a quello dato al suddetto Delegato, ovvero ai Frati Domenicani, non potendo in tutti i casi di necessità ricorrere ai suddetti Missionarj, o a V. Emza per averli; e principalmente per mio governo nel trattare gli affari e non far cosa contro i canoni della chiesa.

Avevo ancora chiesto il permesso di mandare uno de' miei sacerdoti per fare un giro nelle parti tranquille dell'Europa facendovi una questua dai Fedeli a prò de' bisogni di questa povera nazione, come in risarcire alcune chiese rovinate, aprire delle scuole ne' luoghi che ne hanno bisogno. Spero di averne una risposta. Finalmente mi offro divotamente a V. Emza, che merita tutta la sommissione ed il rispetto.

Mosul 29 Aprile Orientale (ossia del Calendario antico) 1851.

Giuseppe Audu cattolico per la grazia, Patriarca di Babilonia sopra la Nazione Caldea.

DOCUMENT 12

LETTER OF FR. AUGUSTINE MARCHI TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Lettera del P. Agostino Marchi Missionario Domenicano in Mosul alla Propaganda sulle nuove istanze de Malabaritani.

Musul 6 Maggio 1851

Eminentissimo Principe

Chiusa la mia ultima missione nel Mezur col chiudersi il tempo Pasquale mi sono affrettato di scendere in Musul, dove ho saputo, che i noti Caldei del Malabar hanno testè spedito nuove lettere a questo Patriarca Giuseppe Audo, insistenti nel chiedere da lui un qualche provvedimen *per liberarsi dalla presidenza dei Pastori Latini*. Io non dirò quanti e quali di questi benedetti Caldei mi abbiano non pur tentato, ma importunato in varie guise affinchè non impedisca al Patriarca di secondare i desiderj e le istanze ripetute di quella numerosa cristianità. Il Patriarca stesso mi parlò a lungo su questo argomento, ma non avendomi recato le lettere de'

Malabaresi, risposigli di riserbarmi a dire il mio parere dopo averle esaminate. Jeri recaimi alla residenza di Lui, e conosciuto il tenore delle medesime lo persuasi di non tentennare, sì di schermirsi risolutamente da questi importuni che lo trattano da uomo di poco, e dai Malabaresi irrequieti, dicendo agli uni, e scrivendo agli altri esiggere il suo dovere, che non metta mano in cosa di questa natura indipendentemente dalla Santa Sede Apostolica, la quale ha modo e mezzo da venire a capo di conoscere meglio di tutti il vero stato di quelle dissenzioni, e senno da provvedervi. Eccitailo a far copia esatta di quelle lettere, incaricandomi io stesso di accluderle in una mia per farle venire in mano di cotesta Sagra Congregazione acciò le prenda ad esame e deliberi nella sua nota prudenza. Aderendo al mio consiglio, il Patriarca mi ha rimesso le suaccennate con una sua che accludo in questo foglio all'Eminenza Vostra Revma, acciò dal tenore delle medesime conosca qual misura sia più convenevole da adottarsi.

Se ben mi ricordo, quando rimisi a cotesta S. Congregazione le prime lettere dei Caldei del Malabar l'anno p. p. mi feci lecito accompagnarle di qualche osservazioni, le quali mi dispensano dal replicarle in questa circostanza. Con tutto ciò credo di poter aggiungere, che merita *qualche considerazione* la lettera del Vescovo Giacobita sia rapporto alla divisione che accenna di quella cristianità in due partiti, sia in ordine ai lamenti che fa con questo Patriarca perchè non lo abbia onorato di poche linee come persona che non ha altro a cuore che il bene de' supplicanti. ... sia da ultimo sullo inculcare al Patriarca di mandare le sue risposte col mezzo di questo Console Inglese e per la via più spedita di Alessandria.

E appunto in vista di queste cautelate premure, è da desiderarsi che cotesta S. Congregazione dia una sollecita risposta a questo Patriarca in quella guisa, che più stima conveniente, avvegnachè egli pure come tutti gli altri Orientali di questi paesi sia mollo impaziente di questi ritardi.

Dirò di più, che oggi ho stimato bene d'inculcare al Patriarca Giuseppe di non dare ai Malabaresi risposta di sorta prima che abbia sentito il consiglio di cotesta S. Congregazione.

Omissis etc.

Raccomando all'E.V. me, e la mia missione protestandomele Divmo e Obbmo figlio, Fr. Agostino Marchi de' PP. Pred.

DOCUMENT 13

LETTER OF FR. LAWRENCE PUCCINELLI TO PROPAGANDA FIDE ABOUT THE STATE OF THE CLERGY IN INDIA

Il P. Lorenzo Puccinelli della Compagnia di Gesù Missionario del Madurè informa sullo stato deplorabile del Clero Soriano (8 Decembre 1851).

Monsignore

So ch'ella pure desiderebbe qualche mia osservazione sul presente clero indigeno in questi paesi: sembrami che tutt'i sentimenti filosofici dedotti dall'indole e dalla natura ed abitudini degl'Indiani, dalla condizione del paese, e da tutte altre circostanze non siano per avere tanto di forza su questo tema o problema che si voglia chiamare, quanto i fatti che l'esperienza giornaliera ci mette sotto gli occhi, e ci fa toccare e palpare colle mani. Veda un poco p. e. il Madurè campo di mia missione, là vi sono pure 14 preti indigeni o Goani: il minor male ch'essi fanno è forse quello dello scisma; dissi il minor male, perchè qualcuno potrebbe scusarli col supporre in essi una non so che cotal convinzione, o un'ignoranza invincibile. La vita ch'essi vi menano non è certo la più esemplare; l'oziosità, la pigrizia e la mollezza non permette loro altra azione, che quella alla quale non la grazia o l'amor di Cristo o il zelo delle anime, ma l'amore dell'argento o il vile guadagno, o l'ambizione, o lo spirito di partito li conduce e li trae quasi animali attratti dall'istinto naturale. Sfido chiunque abbia conosciuto e si sia trovato a contatto di così fatti preti, a notarmi in essi azioni generose dettate dalla retta ragione o dalla mozione soprannaturale della grazia. Il sonno, il giacere sdraiati quasi nudi affatto sopra un letto o una poltrona fumando il sigaro o la pippa con una bottiglia di raca accanto, attorniati dai loro amici in continua conversazione sopra oggetti e materie le più insulse, e non di rado le più ontose al pudore, od alla riputazione del prossimo, l'ungersi con olii, il bagnarsi, il mangiare, e così avvicendare talfatta azioni vegetabili e

animalesche, formano e chiudono il circolo delle loro 24 ore giornaliere. E che! non vi sarà forse spazio in tal circolo pel breviario, per letture e preghiere per la messa, e per le altre funzioni del sacro ministero? È raro trovarsi fra dieci preti indigeni uno che reciti puntualmente ogni giorno il breviario, se specialmente non ne capisca niente. In quanto alle letture, non vi sono per essi danari più sacrilegamente spesi, che nei libri; di che aborriscono l'aspetto, e sì guardano bene di permetterne l'adito in casa loro. La messa, è vero la dicono le domeniche, e tutte volte che il danaro ne cola nelle loro mani. A confessare ad amministrar matrimonii, a far le feste, nelle quali consiste tutta la religione dell'India, corrono pure et quidem velociter, perchè son queste le beate fontane che gettano quattrini a lor piacere. Che del resto il predicare, il fare il catechismo ai fanciulli, il zelare in altri modi la salute dei prossimi son cifre per essi dell'alfabeto arabo, di che non si brigano poi tanto a comprenderne il significato. Per smuoverli poi dalle loro case, a fin di condurli a dare l'estrema Unzione a qualche moribondo, che non ci vuol mai ? Mentre quel poveretto stà rendendo gli ultimi respiri, il prete consulta e dibatte in casa sua sulla necessità o non necessità di recarsi tosto, o fra due ore, o più al moribondo: e così il più delle volte prima che il prete abbia finito i suoi dibattimenti, e si sia determinato d'andarvi, prima ch'egli si sia lavato, abbia sputato il paccu ed il betel che stava masticando, si sia vestito, ed i portatori del palanchino siano arrivati, il poveretto ha già resa l'anima a Dio senza Confessiosione e senza estrema Unzione. Requiescat. I funerali rendono al prete qualche poco; oh a questi sì, che si corre con precisione. Basti il fin quì detto; lascio tutte le riflessioni che si potrebbero fare.

Mi si dirà forse che ho esagerato un poco. Nò; anzi asserisco che non ho detto neppure un terzo di ciò, che il fatto ci mostra evidentemente in questi preti; e sopratutto della loro libidine ed incontinenza, con che non voglio imbrattarmi la penna. Che del resto a chi non vuol credere, ripeterò *veni* et *vide*. Potrebbesi subsumere, che questo fatto non esisterà che fra i preti di Goa che in fine sono scismatici. Rispondo che per mia disgrazia ho dovuto dimorare e convivere 9 mesi l'anno scorso fra questi preti latini e

siriaci del Malaalam (Malabar) che sono pure Romani cattolici, e che ora già da una ventina di giorni sono stato obbligato a ritornare fra essi, e vi dovrò stare fintanto che piacerà a Dio, ed asserisco che l'India è India tanto a Madurè, che nel Malealam: anzi mi pare che questi Malabarici non la cedano punto, ma superino i Goani in pigrizia, in oziosità ed in mollezza; e che le 24 ore del Cattanero del grosso ventre, e quelle del Latino col petto nero non si passino punto meglio di quelle del goano scismatico. I 41 preti Latini, e 397 preti cattanari avrebbero bene in che occuparsi con 228,006 cristiani; quanto bene non potrebbero fare essi in catechizzarne i fanciulli, in udirne le confessioni, in istruirli, in predicare, ed in simili altri ministerii!! Ma la religione cristiana in questi paesi non consiste già in cosifatte cose. In che consisterà dunqu'ella? Tutta, tutta affatto nelle strepitose feste, nei matrimonii, nei funerali. Nel Malabar fra chiese latine e siriache contansi 241; ed in ciascuna devesi fare una o più volte all'anno una gran festa, deve durare 10 o più giorni con illuminazioni, con fuochi d'artifizio, con mortaletti, musiche, processioni, messe cantate, e pranzi magnifici d'ogni giorno. Il presidente della confrateruita che ne fa le spese tanto più di gloria ne conseguisce, e tanto più eloquente è 1'elogio che ne riporta nell'ultimo giorno della festa inter missarum solemnia, quanto più di preti lo hanno servito nelle funzioni, e si sono assisi ai festivi banchetti. La precipua solennità dei matrimonii e dei funerali, che non debbon esser pochi nel giro di un anno in mezzo a tanto numero di cristiani, consiste tutta in pranzi suntuosi. I preti non vi debbon mancare, altrimenti cede e vien meno tutto lo splendor della festa. È vero che i preti Latini sarebbero obbligati d'astenersi dai pranzi nuziali, ma sanno intervenirvi senza che i Superiori lo sappiano. Un parroco di una cura assai grande presso Coccino, mi diceva giorni sono, che tanti erano i pranzi che per feste e funerali sopratutto era egli obbligato di onorare, che rade volte accadeva doversi accendere il fuoco nelle sue cucine. Un ricco Malabar mi mostrò 1'anno scorso 26 biglietti d'invito ad altrettanti preti per un solenne banchetto, che doveva dare fra qualche giorno per l'inaugurazione di una cappella, ch'egli si era fabbricata in un suo palmeto. Che ha da farsi? sono costumanze, che il pretendere d'abolire, sarebbe un dare occasione a rivolte e scismi.

Del resto vi sarebbero cose assai peggiori a cui converebbe por freno: alla sodomia dico, alla fornicazione, alle sollecitazioni nell'atto delle stesse Confessioni. Ma che? *Velis nolis* i superiori debbono inghiottirne delle pìllole amare; e si debbono contentare di sospendere e gastigare per cosiffatte materie quei soli, contro i quali il popolo reclama più per altri motivi d'interesse o di partito, che per l'istessa pubblicità dello scandalo. Per palliare poi la loro incontinenza a che non arriva mai la loro sopraffina malizia? O Dio! inorridisco a pensarvi. Sanno lavorare proprio nelle fucine d'inferno le più ributtanti calunnie contro la stessa integrità la più illibata e la più specchiata dei loro stessi superiori. Lo stupido popolo che suol credere ciò che sente dalla bocca di un prete, per ragion dell'istessa autorità di chi lo dice, non si maraviglia più di qualsiasi ontosa disonestà, di che possa essere spettattore in loro.

È naturale poi che lo spirito di doppiezza, di rivalità, di picche tanto naturalizzato in tutt'altro Indiano non dorma o stia ozioso in cosifatti preti. Ed ecco una delle loro occupazioni in piani e progetti di vendette, di rovinarsi gli uni cogli altri, di formarsi partiti, e quindi in mettere fra le angustie i poveri superiori, in formar cause e processi a certi secolari.

La loro superbia non gli permette di veder di buon occhio Vescovi e missionarii europei. Vorrebbero pure governarsi da loro stessi, i Siriaci a parte per un Vescovo di lor casta, i Latini a parte per un vescovo indigeno eletto fra loro: già formano piani, già stendono lettere e petizioni piene e zeppe di ragioni le più seducenti; quelli a Babilonia ed a Roma, questi alla Propaganda. Ma quando vengono a dibattersi sul soggetto da eleggersi, quà stà il nodo della questione; ciascuno vorrebbe esser lui il Vescovo e non vuole assolutamente vedersi governare da un suo consimile, o rivale. Formansi per ciò dei club segreti per guadagnarsi i voti; si vengono a scoprire, eccoti battaglie. Si ricusano le soscrizioni, ed ecco che le lettere e le petizioni già messe in buona copia vanno a monte. Non ci possiamo accordare quì fra noi, mi dicono alcuni, che del resto a quest'ora addio vescovi e missionarii europei. La chiesa Nestoriana che conta quà circa 40,000 individui annovera 4 Vescovi o Patriarchi, e ciascuno pretende di esserne l'unico ed assoluto Pastore: quindi si anatematizzano gl'uni gli altri, e si

fanno accanita guerra sia fra loro, sia sui tribunali della Compagnia inglese, sia su quelli del re pagano di Coccino, e del re di Travancor. Il Residente della compagnia ne prese uno sotto la sua protezione; il re di Travancor ne tiene un altro in Trivandeeram, cui promise già sua parola di farlo trionfare dei propri emoli; gli altri due, che fan lor residenza verso i monti, si disputano davanti il re di Coccino. Così vanno gli affari delle mitre sulle teste dei preti indigeni. Che belle istorie non si vedrebber mai, se un giorno qualche mitra venisse a posarsi su qualche bella fronte malabarica! Certo addiverrebbe essa come seme di scismi, eresie, discordie, guerre, e quell'una darebbe un prodotto di, Dio il sà, quante.

Mi si potrebbe dire, che non sarà poi di tutti i preti quanto vengo di descrivere. S'intende bene che parlo della maggiorità, non di tutti matematicamente. Ma quei pochi, che non sono così bizzarri si contano sulle dita, la loro bontà consiste in una mediocrità, in non farne cioè delle grosse: eppure lor costa non poco, il doversi vedere come messi alla berlina, e perseguitati dalla pluralità per modo che talvolta perdono il coraggio.

Non credo che non si possa apportar rimedio a tanto male: ma che vuole che facciano un sol Prelato, e tre missionarii europei? Uno di questi dirige il Seminario di Verapoly, l'altro una parrochia, il terzo studia la lingua malabarica. I soggetti sono i più distinti che possan desiderarsi e per sapere, e per prudenza e per tutte virtù religiose ed apostoliche. L'inclito Ordine a cui appartengono, quello cioè di S. Teresa, è dei più esemplari ed osservanti che adornino la chiesa di Cristo, e perciò il più proprio ed adattato alla riforma della chiesa malabarica. Essi desiderano ardentemente, e la Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda è già per accondiscendere ai loro voti, di riorganizzarsi quà sull'antico sistema avanti la soppressione degli ordini religiosi. Una quindicina o più di missionarii Carmelitani Scalzi dirigevano allora queste missioni e questo clero. Ciascun missionario presiedeva come gran vicario a dieci o più parrocchie, ed ai preti che le governavano, essendo loro di esempio in catechizzare i fanciulli, in istruire il popolo, in riceverne le confessioni, ed in tutt'altra opera di zelo apostolico. I missionari eran quelli che presiedevano ai seminari siriaci, che v'insegnavano la lingua siro-caldaica, la filosofia, la teologia, che davano al clero in tre o quattro mute gli esercizi spirituali una volta all'anno: ed allora sì, che gli affari correvano col santo timor di Dio. Coll'occasione della soppressione degli ordini regolari, si volle fare un'esperienza di lasciare a se stesso, infuori del vescovo che fu sempre europeo, il clero indigeno dell'India. L'esperienza si è fatta: eccone il risultato! Se non vi si ripara tosto, ritornando a quel che facevano i nostri santi vecchi, la chiesa del Malabar non tarderà guari ad accorgersi di una eclissi funesta, che farà gran paura a tutta l'India.

Un altro grande argomento, che ci potrebbe dare occasione a far seriose riflessioni sulla formazione di un clero indigeno nell'India, è ciò che ci presentano le missioni di Pontichery del Cernate del Bangolar. Dall'epoca della soppressione dei Gesuiti sino a questo giorno, quanti sforzi non fecero, quante industrie non adoperarono i missionarii francesi di quella inclita Congregazione che ha per istituto di formare clero indigeno nelle missioni, e di mettere la mitra in testa ai più distinti fra i formati da loro al sacerdozio? In 70 e più anni quanto non travagliarono per ciò nel seminario di Pontichery! Ma quali ne sono stati i risultati? Lascio contemplarli a lei o Monsignore; che conosce quella missione meglio di me. I preti formati in tanto spazio di anni arrivano o nò a cinque? Uno di questi trovasi in Trichinopoly, e chiamasi Arokinader scismatico, sospeso, scomunicato, e capo brigata degli scismatici, con una moglie pubblicamente accanto, e con qualche figliuolo o figliuola come dicono. Gli altri due che vidi a Pontichery al mio arrivo da Europa 9 anni fa, non mi dispiacquero molto; ma sempre in mezzo ai zelanti missionarii europei, non è maraviglia ch'essi sappiano contenersi.

Non la finirei più, e dovrei forse empire qualche volume se volessi tutti qui annoverare i fatti, di che fui spettatore in soli 7 anni nell'India sù questo non aggradevole argomento. Mi si dica ora, se conviene o no, cominciare un clero indigeno laddove non ha mai esistito sino al presente. Non le voglio Monsignore io rispondere a questo quesito. Le risponda il R. P. Valerga carmelitano scalzo, rettore del Seminario di Verapoly, soggetto di non ordinaria scienza esperienza e santità. Nò assolutamente, egli dice, dove non v'è, non se ne deve fare. «In questi calamitosi tempi

di scisma, in questi paesi dove ciascun vicariato apostolico non è che in uno stato per così dire, d'infanzia, dove vivono ancora in gran parte cristiani già guastati dagli antichi preti di Goa, dove nessuna missione si è organizzata in maniera da esser contenta di se stessa, nò non devesi ancora intraprendere una tal opera, che certo è la più difficile e scabrosa di quante altre mai possano progettarsi. Convien perciò attendere tempi migliori quando cioè ciascuna missione abbia soggetti di consumata esperienza del paese, dei costumi, dell'indole, e di quanto altro fa d'uopo per dirigere e governare come si deve un clero Indiano.»

Omissis etc., Verapoli 8 Decembre 1851 Umo servo in Cristo, Lorenzo Puccinelli S. J.

DOCUMENT 14

NEW LETTER OF SOME PRIESTS OF MALABAR TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH JOSEPH AUDO

Traduzione dal Caldaico di una lettera scritta dai Caldei del Malabar il dì 28. Gennaro 1852. a Monsig. Giuseppe Audo Patriarca di Babilonia per la Nazione Caldea.

Succinto

Bmo Monsig. Giuseppe Audo Patriarca de' Caldei

Abbiamo ricevuto la vostra lettera che abbiamo letto con sommo piacere dando lode a Dio per la cura che vi siete preso per noi, avendo promesso di mandarci un'Arcivescovo e due Maestri. Ora abbiamo inteso l'arrivo a Pompei di un'Arcivescovo ed un sacerdote, i squali ci hanno mandato una lettera per mezzo di un prete Italiano, e questi non ci l'ha consegnata, non solo, ma ci burla e beffeggia dicendo che i vostri Padri girano qua e là in Pompei: oggi vengono, domani arrivano e vi ajuteranno, per il che ci siamo sturbati assai.

Vi facciamo sapere pure, che avendo l'Arcivescovo di Verapoli Monsig. Ludovico Italiano saputo d'avere noi scritto a voi per mezzo del scismatico Giacobita Sig. Cirillo, gli dispiacque assai, ed all'istante sospese ingiustamente tutti i sacerdoti che avevano messo le loro firme nelle lettere che abbiamo scritto a voi, particolarmente il sacerdote Giacomo nostro direttore, detto Cutbascira, il quale per lo passato rimase sette anni sospeso da lui; ed ora sono due anni ch'è sospeso, e tutto questo per aver'egli scritto a voi, e per impedire che nessuno abbia carteggio con voi. Non basta questo, ma gli ha tolto la Chiesa nuova, e gli ha dato quella di Alcalel motivo per cui nacque confusione grande, e tutti quanti se ne deridono: per questo il suddetto Arcivescovo ha sospeso tutti i sacerdoti che unitamente col mentovato D. Giacomo scrissero a voi, come si è detto di sopra.

Così per lo innanzi faceva il Vescovo Franceseo il quale sospese due sacerdoti per 12. anni. E così ora fa lo stesso il Vescovo Ludovico, cioè a dire, sospende li sacerdoti per due, per sette, e per dieci anni. Per queste sospensioni, e per le scomuniche di gran copia, alcuni sacerdoti nostri si sono fatti protestanti e hanno preso moglie. Uno di questi morì, e l'altro rimane colla moglie. Diversi altri sacerdoti giacciono ancora sotto questa sorte di sospensione, cioè, di due, e di quattro anni. Se li sacerdoti Italiani abbiano da assistere la nostra popolazione, certamente fra non poco tempo tutti diventeranno Giacobiti, e protestanti.

Padre benedetto; noi ci troviamo in una grande angustia, ed afflizione indicibile per la derisione, e l'ingiuria che ci viene arrecata dagli altri sì nazionali che esteri. Alcuni di noi avendo seguito gl'Italiani, ed abbandonato la comunione della Chiesa, dicono pubblicamente essere noi scismatici e scomunicati: per questo siamo angustiati e per le parole ingiuriose di costoro nascono confusioni e risse, e ci troviamo dispersi come le pecore senza pastore fra lupj rapaci. Le opere degl'Italiani, la loro condotta, e la loro invidia, Iddio solo le conosce, e noi ci dispensiamo di farne menzione a Vostra Paternità.

Padre benedetto; vi preghiamo colle lagrime agli occhi di quanto prima mandarci un Vescovo con dei maestri per soddisfare ai nostri bisogni, istruirci, e liberarci dal mare della tristezza. Se il Papa nostro Signore non vi permette di mandarci un Vescovo mandateci prima due maestri affinchè stiano sulla faccia del luogo e ci istruischino in ciò ch'è necessario, ed allora ogni cosa si potrà accomodare con amore, e dopo sistemata la nostra popolazione e le

nostre Chiese, manderemo a pregare Roma per fare venire un Vescovo. Che se non manderete un Vescovo e maestri che conoscono la lingua Caldaica per governare le nostre Chiese Caldaiche come i Vescovi Latini governano le loro, voi sarete responsabile dei nostri peccati nell'ultimo giorno in cui verrà nostro Signore G. C. per giudicare i vivi e morti, e noi saremo innocenti.

Padre benedetto; ci prostriamo ai vostri piedi, e vi domandiamo caldamente di rispondere al più presto possibile alla nostra domanda, e così speriamo di essere conservati, mediante le vostre preghiere, dai dardi del maligno nostro avversario, baciamo le vostre sante mani, e quelle di tutti i Vescovi di Babel insieme ai sacerdoti, salutando anche i diaconi ed i secolari di Babel e di Musul etc. etc.

Vi sia noto: II territorio del Malabar è sotto il dominio di due Re infedeli. Uno di Cusci, e l'altro di Tarbancur, ed ambedue sono soggetti al Re d'Inghilterra, ed a lui pagano tributo. Vi sono più di 300. Chiese grandi per i caldei, oltre le piccole. Da Cullem fino a Scebihet ci vogliono due Vescovi; per la parte del mezzo giorno ci vuole uno; e per il Nord ci vuole un'altro. Fra queste ci sono 38. Chiese sole per i latini. Molti sono i sacerdoti caldei nel Malabar. Le scuole non sono più di 6. o 8. La maggior parte de' sacerdoti parlano poco il caldaico, e dicono Messa ed Ufficio in caldaico, ma la lingua loro volgare è malabarica. Pochi sacerdoti parlano il caldaico. Da Bagdad fino a Cusci sono 15. giorni di viaggio col Vapore.

Padre benedetto: scriveteci, e mandateci risposta soddisfacente rapporto alla spedizione del Vescovo e dei maestri. Fate il seguente indirizzo alle lettere che ci manderete = Al Sig. D. Bot Peridiota della Chiesa di Pettor: Alpui. Oppure = Al Peridiota della Chiesa di Cator. Oppure = a Cutim al Sig. D. Filippo dei Giacobiti; così ci giungeranno le lettere sicure.

Data nella Chiesa di S. Tommaso Apostolo di Pelli il dì 28. Gennaro 1852.

Questa lettera è firmata da 39. sacerdoti, li quali hanno messo il nome senza cognome, e sono: Marco, Pietro, Giuseppe, Zaccaria,

Matteo, Sebastiano, Agostino, Marco, Giuseppe, Filippo, Antonio, Abramo, Giacomo, Giorgio, Tommaso, Giacomo, Zaccaria, Marco, Matteo, Giacomo, Giacomo Abdisu, Tommaso, Giorgio, Ciriaco, Matteo, Luca, Alessandro, Giorgio, Tommaso, Simone, Tommaso, Giuseppe, Paolo, Emmanuele, Gio. Filippo, Tommaso, Giuseppe, Tommaso.

DOCUMENT 15

LETTER OF PRO-APOSTOLIC DELEGATE PLANCHET TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Paragrafo di lettera del Pro-Delegato Apostolico della Mesopotamia in risposta alla interpellazione fattagli dalla S. C.

Mossul 25 di Aprile 1852

Eminenza

II Patriarca Caldeo sta oggi in Bagdad, dove ricevette ultimamente nuove lettere del Malabar in risposta alle sue. I Caldei di quel paese molto si lagnano e non vogliono più sottomettersi all'Ordinario latino ed aver rapporto coi missionarii. Mi scrive il Patriarca che ha mandato a Roma una copia di queste lettere, e mi esorta ad ajutarlo presso la S. C. per ottenere il suo intento. Egli strepita molto, suppone che tutta la nazione Caldea sia in movimento e bollore, e che, se Roma non gli permette di estendere la sua giurisdizione fin sopra i Malabaresi, tutta la nazione considererà questo come un ingiusta e dura oppressione della S. Sede, e sempre più si confermerà la voce commune in Oriente che i Latini non vogliono altro, se non tirar a se tutti i riti per farli anche latini; sciocchezza evidente.

Per fortuna che il Patriarca tiene per se poco partito nel popolo, ma in certi punti ed in certe questioni, si radunano facilmente questi spiriti quando vi trovano un fine commune. Quest'affare de' Caldei Malabaresi potrebbe facilmente pigliar proporzioni più grandi, e per evitar qualche risoluzione estrema, mi pare necessario che la S. C. non troppo tardi a dare decisiva risposta.

Il punto principale mi sembra che sia di accertarsi se quei Caldei del Malabar abbiano qualche fondato motivo di lagnarsi, e se poi converrebbe pel bene di quei popoli che fossero sottomessi al Patriarca della Mesopotamia.

Dalla parte delle lagnanze, la V. E. ne saprà più di me. Sento dire solamente che quei Caldei sono per rapporto alla religione in uno stato deplorabile e che la corruzione del popolo e del clero vi è estrema. Ma anche mi si racconta che i missionarii di quelle parti sono di vita poco edificante, o almeno poco apostolica a cagione del lusso nel quale vivono. Quanto poi al mettere quei Caldei sotto la giurisdizione del Patriarca Caldeo, non so se vi sia qualche impedimento a cagione di qualche disposizione particolare per quei luoghi, ma certo è che se non vi sia grande inconveniente, vi sarà, credo, poco vantaggio. Il Patriarca non tiene soggetti da mandar là; abbiamo molto stentato per trovar, nell'elezione de' nuovi Vescovi, due soggetti non troppo indietro di quel che richiede quella dignità, e più luoghi quì mancano di Prete.

In vista di questi riflessi non saprei se non sarebbe opportuno che la S. C. mandasse qualche Visitator Apostolico per poter meglio osservare lo stato delle cose di ambedue le parti e darne giuste e precise informazioni.

Sono con profondo rispetto, baciandole la S. Porpora.

Della Vostra Eminenza

L'umilissimo Servo, B. Planchet S. J, Pro-Delegato Apostolico.

DOCUMENT 16

ANOTHER LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Lettera (18 Giugno 1852) di Monsig. Audu Patriarca Caldeo di Babilonia all'Emo Prefetto Card. Fransoni.

Eminenza Rma

Espongo a Vostra Eminenza Rma, che sotto la data degli ultimi di Marzo le avanzai un plico contenente la professione di

fede de' due Vescovi da me consacrati per le diocesi di Amadie, e di Giazire, colla copia di una lettera de' Caldei del Malabar.

Le esposi ancora, che col consiglio di Monsig. Delegato e de' Vescovi della Nazione ordinai i suddetti due Vescovi. Le notificai inoltre di aver proveduto il Vescovo Elia coll'avergli data la Diocesi di Elaakr, la quale deve Egli governare non come Vescovo ordinario; ma come Vicario Patriarcale. Finalmente la supplicai, affinchè si degni di darci un sussidio per poter terminare la fabbrica della nuova Chiesa di Musul.

Riguardo ai Caldei del Malabar supplico 1'Eminenza Vostra Rma di ascoltare le loro istanze, come ancora di avere in considerazione i miei reclami, e di tutta la Nazione Caldea; la quale non cessa di supplicarla umilmente, affinchè si degni di permettere che vengano da me ordinati de' Vescovi pel governo de' detti Caldei del Malabar, poiché il loro desiderio è di non voler seguir più a lungo altro rito, che quello della Nazione a cui appartengono. Questa petizione non si oppone alle leggi Canoniche: anzi è conforme ai decreti della S. Sede, la quale ordina che ciascuno resti nel rito della propria Nazione. Io ho letto una lettera mandata dal defonto Vescovo Pietro Cabiri (Coupperie) a Monsig. Iuhannan Hermez mio predecessore, colla quale l'esortava, dicendo: = La Sacra Congregazione mi ha scritto ingiungendomi di esortare Vostra Signoria Illma e Rma, affinchè si prenda premura di ordinare un buon Vescovo, e mandarlo a governare le Diocesi abbandonate dei Caldei del Malabar etc. = Il Patriarca non sì curò di eseguire ciò in quel tempo per motivi, che per brevità tralascio di esporre. Se in quel tempo era volontà, della Santa Sede che sì mandasse un Vescovo nel Malabar pel governo dei cattolici della Nazione Caldea, perchè ora ciò viene negato a me ed a tutta l'intiera Nazione, la quale conoscendo il pericolo, in cui si trovano i suddetti Caldei (come anche Vostra Eminenza Rma avrà conosciuto dalle copie delle loro lettere che le mandai) supplica caldamente per ottenere il bramato permesso? Prego perciò l'Eminenza Vostra Rma a darmi il permesso di ordinare Vescovi per il fine sopradetto, e nell'istesso tempo di dare la proibizione ai Vescovi Carmelitani di governare i Caldei: all'opposto la prego a farmi conoscere i motivi, per cui non mi si

accorda questo permesso, affinchè possa io dare una risposta alle loro continue petizioni.

Omissis etc.

Bagdad 18 Giugno 1852.

Umile Servo Giuseppe Patriarca Caldeo di Babilonia.

DOCUMENT 17

OPINION EXPRESSED BY FR. PUCCINELLI TO PROPAGANDA FIDE REGARDING MALABAR ISSUE

Parere esternato dal P. Puccinelli della Compagnia di Gesù Missionario nel Madurè a S. Eccellenza Rma Mons. Barnabò Segretario della S. C. di Propaganda.

Eccellenza

Ricevetti la veneratissima sua del 12. Giugno corrente, nella quale mi acchiudeva due lettere dei Siro-malabarici a Monsig. Patriarca Caldeo di Babilonia, un altra del medesimo Patriarca a S. E. il Signor Cardinal Prefetto di Propaganda, la risposta fatta alla interpellazione della S. C. dal Vicariato Apostolico del Malabar, come pure la nuova istanza degl'istessi Siro-Malabarici del 28. Gennajo passato al medesimo Patriarca, ed infine un paragrafo delta lettera del Pro-delegato Apostolico della Mesopotamia alla S. C. in data 25. Aprile anno corrente.

L'E. V. R. Dopo aver fatta una chiara, e netta esposizione dello stato della questione presente, passa ad esprimermi nella lodata sua il desiderio, che le «dia sopra quanto è stato esposto dall'una parte e dall'altra una esatta informazione, accennandole ancora con tutta imparzialità qual sarebbe il mio sentimento in ordine alla richiesta grazia.»

Due sono i precipui capi delle domande quivi accennate, contiene il primo una esatta informazione di quanto è stato esposto dall'una parte e dall'altra; che per maggior chiarezza partirò in due articoli. Nel I. Art. verrò annotando le osservazioni, che mi occorse di fare sopra quanto è stato esposto dalla parte dei Siro-Malabarici.

Il II Art. verserà sulla istanza rimessa dal Patriarca Siro,⁵ e dal Prodelegato a S. E. il Sig. Card. Prefetto.

Nel I. Articolo è da osservarsi 1. la qualità delle persone, che hanno sottoscritto le tre lettere, l'una al Patriarca Nicolo Zaja, l'altra alla Chiesa Siriana 28. Luglio 1849., e la terza a Monsignor Giuseppe Audò Patriarca pure di Babilonia 28. Gennaro 1852.

Costoro non sono certo le migliori persone del Malabar: nelle loro segnature riscontrai parecchi di quelli istessi, ai quali alludeva nell'Art. III. della precedente mia risposta a V. S. EE. Una decina e più fra essi capitanati da un certo prete Giacomo soprannominato Giacchetto, fin da quando stavano sotto la giurisdizione del Governatore il P. Pescelto della ex-Diocesi di Cranganor, avevano incominciato a turbare ed intrigare tutt'ordine in modo, che parte per ciò, e parte per la loro cattiva condotta in fatto di costumi, furono da lui sospesi, e scomunicati. Trovarono per altro nel P. Gioacchino Neves governatore dell'ex-diocesi di Coccino chi li assolvette. Dopo la morte del P. Pescetto, quando tutte le Chiese Siriane in forza della bolla Multa praeclare si assoggettarono a Verapoli; ancora essi questi ribelli colle loro Chiese fingendo ravvedimento per motivo forse di qualche loro interesse privato, si resero. Ma non tardarono guari a stancare anche la pazienza di Monsignor Francesco Saverio da S. Anna, il quale si vide costretto a rinnovare sopra loro le censure ecclesiastiche. Rivoltaronsi allora di nuovo al Neves, e fu per suo consiglio, e sotto la sua dettatura che scrissero per la prima volta al Patriarca Babilonese. Questo avvenne nel 1841.

Devesi in 2. luogo notare la data di queste lettere. In quella del 1849 dicono essi così. «Per questo da circa 7: in 8. anni vi spedimmo una lettera col corriere Muraga di Ielchisa, e vi domandavamo che ci mandaste il Vescovo Pietro...» ciò fu nel 41., ossia due o tre anni dopo la promulgazione della bolla *multa praeclare*, (la quale avvenne nel 38.), e della unione della diocesi di Cranganor con Verapoli. Rispose il Patriarca siccome apparisce da quel che segue «Vostra Signoria ci mandaste subito risposta, la quale letta ci rallegrammo etc...» Dicesi di più che il detto Patriarca

⁵ Cioè Caldeo.

significasse loro, che se veramente bramavano un Vescovo di Babilonia dovessero farne supplica a tutte le Chiese Malabariche. Incredibile è quanto moto si dessero quei ribaldi, percorrendo le parrocchie per suscitarvi disordini e scisma, e cavare segnature a quest'effetto; ma siccome erano generalmente detestati da tutti, così non pervennero che dopo 8. anni a grave stento sotto l'influsso dello scismatico Neves, a raccozzare dai preti discoli, o sospesi quel numero di sottoscrizioni, che si leggono nelle due lettere del 30. Luglio 1849. Morto il Neves scismatico qual visse, qualche mese dopo la data di quella lettera, avvenne la congiura del exprocuratore di Verapoli Don Francesco de Crux, di che parlai nel mio precedente rapporto all'Articolo III. sopra citato. Non parve vero a quei ribelli Cattanari di trovare in lui un sostenitore forse più valoroso del defunto ex-governatore, e col mezzo della famosa calunnia della vedova, e delle altre in appresso, ingrossarono il lor partito di pochi altri Cattanari o scapestrati o stupidi. L'ultima lettera del 28. Gennajo 1852. correva nel distretto di Coccino unitamente alle calunnie contro l'ottimo Arcivescovo sul cader dello scorso anno, e sull'incominciar del presente, mentre mi trovava colà, ed ascoltai d'alcuni di quei rivoltosi dire, che a grande stento potevano arrivare a carpire sottoscrizioni, perchè come essi mi asserivano «non ci possiamo né intendere né unire, e la divisione sta fra noi» il che notai pure nel sopra riferito rapporto al detto Art. III.

Viene in 3. luogo a considerarsi il numero dei Cattanari sottoscritti. Nelle due lettere del 49. si leggono soltanto 8. o 9. nomi; gl'altri (annota il traduttore) «non abbiamo potuto leggerli.» Dal testo Siro-caldaico della lettera apparisce, che ben pochi ne restavano. La lettera del Gennajo di quest'anno 52. «è firmata da 39. sacerdoti, li quali hanno messo il nome e senza cognome e sono...» Ottimamente, e con molto giudizio! I poverini erano rimasti troppo scottati delle due lettere precedenti del 49. Eh! il restare sospesi, ed il disseccarsi tosto la benefica vena dei fanò è colà una istessa cosa: ma è altresì il mezzo più efficace a metter giudizio a chi ne manca. Suppongansi tutte queste sottoscrizioni veridiche, il che per altro non posso nè debbo ammettere. E che pretenderebbero mai 39. individui contro 609., contandosi di clero

cattolico Siro-Malabarico soggetto a Verapoli 397. preti, e 251. minoristi?! ... Si consideri la cifra 39. come cifra di voti affermativi per ottenere un Vescovo Caldeo; non ne avrebbe essa 609. in contrario? Anzi il vedere tanto numeroso clero resistere intrepido agli sforzi di quei quattro intriganti, che hanno tentato tutto, nulla omesso per distaccarlo da Verapoli, mi pare che ciò sia il più valido argomento che ci obbliga a deporre ogni pensiero di esaudirli.

Avvertasi in 4. luogo il numero delle Chiese a nome delle quali pretendesi scritta la lettera. In quella del 49. dicevasi «La Chiesa della Madonna di Curbolnot, e tutte le 150. Chiese con tutto il lor seguito sacerdoti ecc...» Nell'altra del 52. leggesi «Vi sono più 300. Chiese per i Caldei oltre le piccole...» Ora il fatto stà, che 111. si annoverano le Chiese grandi Siro-Malabariche cattoliche, e le cappelle ad esse affiliate 76. quindi fra grandi, e piccole 187. e non già 300. oltre le piccole. Pare dunque che i cospiratori per gettare un esca onde attirare il desiderato Vescovo dalla Siria, abbiano compreso nelle 300. anche tutte le Chiese Giacobite o Nestoriane. Forse che all'arrivo di un Vescovo cattolico da Babilonia i quattro Bava, o Vescovi Giacobiti del Malabar cederanno tutte pretenzioni sopra quelle poche Chiese dì loro setta, che già da tanti anni, e con tante spese si disputano?

Nè debbono omettersi, in 5. luogo le osservazioni calunniose, giacchè la menzogna, e la calunnia saranno sempre i caratteri dell'iniquità = asseriscono essi nelle lettere del 49. «Poscia vennero i Vescovi Italiani, e ci dominarono per forza. Questi ci istruiscono da lupi in figura di pastori, ed hanno disperso il gregge perchè mercenari e lupi...!! Nella lettera poi del 52. si diffondono molto in asserire che il Vescovo Lodovico Italiano, ed il Vescovo Francesco, sospendono, e scomunicano sacerdoti per 10., per 12., per 2., per 7. anni ecc., e che «il sudetto Arcivescovo ha sospeso tutti i sacerdoti che unitamente col mentovato D. Giacomo scrissero a Voi» di più «Per queste sospensioni, e per le scomuniche di gran copia, alcuni sacerdoti nostri si sono fatti protestanti, hanno preso moglie!! Le opere degli Italiani, la loro condotta, la loro invidia, Dio solo le conosce, e noi ci dispensiamo di farle conoscere a V. S. «Primieramente potrebbe rispondersi

«quod gratis asseritur, gratis negatur.» Che provino loro assersioni. Del resto questi calunniatori non sono certo degni del benefizio, che il Signore ha fatto ai Malabarici in dar loro nei PP. Carmelitani Scalzi uomini veramente Apostolici. «Dominano per forza!» dov'è che essi adoperino la sferza? Ci istruiscon da lupi! Eppure nè il Vescovo, nè i Missionarj del Malabar non percepiscono pure un mezzo quattrino nè dal clero, nè dai cristiani, e vivono dei pochi fondi della missione, e dei sussidi della Propagazione di Lione. «Sospendono, e scomunicano!...» certissimo neppure un terzo di quelli che meriterebbero. Anzi vi chiudono quasi troppo gli occhi. «L'Arcivescovo ha sospeso tutti i sacerdoti che unitamente col mentovato D. Giacomo scrissero a Voi!!» Menzogna manifesta. Il sopra riferito Giacomo o Giacchetto avendo aperta una soscrizione di 500 ruppie (1250. franchi) per pagare il viaggio ad un prete Siriano ordinato Vescovo dal Patriarca eretico di Babilonia, e che dicevasi arrivar fra giorni al Malabar: alcuni Cattanari lagnandosi all'Arcivescovo di quella estorsione pecuniaria: egli s'indusse a minacciare le censure ecclesiastiche a chiunque vi si fosse associato. Dicesi «alcuni sacerdoti nostri si sono fatti protestanti» ma soggiungesi «uno di questi morì, e l'altro rimase colla moglie.» Dunque erano due. Qual meraviglia che di 648. fra Cattanari, e sciamazzi, due soli non abbiano resistito agl'incantesimi dei Ministri Anglicani, quando con enormi spese, sforzi, e cabale tentarono una intera fusione della Chiesa Siro-malabarica colla Protestante!! E poi resta a vedere se quei due sacerdoti fatti protestanti erano cattolici o Giacobiti. Nell'ultima sentenza citata, tolto il termine invidia, che si ha da rovesciare sopra i calunniatori, mi servirò delle altre loro stesse parole ripetendo con essi «Le opere degli Italiani, la loro condotta.... Dio solo le conosce» le conoscono altresì gli uomini dabbene, ed onesti; ma Dio solo, cui sono meglio note che a chicchealtro verranno riguiderdonate come si conviene nella istessa guisa, che le opere dei calunniatori non sfuggiranno al divino suo Tribunale.

Osservinsi in 6. luogo le domande. Chiedono il Vescovo....... «Affinchè ci ammaestri, dando facoltà al detto Vescovo da poter consacrare Vescovi dei nostri!! Se poi non manderete nessuno da

costì, noi eleggeremo uno di quà, e lo manderemo a Voi per farlo Vescovo» cosi nelle lettere del 49. Ecco lo scopo delle loro inquietudini, ecco la verità dei fatti. Vogliono un Vescovo che li governi a modo loro, questo non possono averlo dall'Italia, lo cercano in Babilonia: appunto per rendere una vera Babilonia tutto il Malabar; perchè primieramente questo Vescovo non sarebbe ricevuto che dal solo Giacchetto, e forse da una decina dei suoi compagni. Seminerebbesi quindi la confusione per tutto; giacchè se Giacchetto aspira alla mitra gli altri pure vorranno la mitra: da ciò partiti, divisioni, scisma, quali sono presentemente fra i Giacobili Malabarici.

Finalmente notisi in 7. luogo il mezzo di corrispondenza frà loro, e Babilonia, ch'è l'Arcivescovo eretico Giacobita del Malabar. Son testimone io stesso, che non solo i buoni Cattanari e Sciamazzi del Malabar inorridirone, e altamente disapprovarono tale condotta, ma persino i meno buoni, anzi li stessi licenziosi la condannarono attesane la intrinseca inonestà dell'azione in se, ed i motivi di emulazione, e picche fra loro ed i Giacobiti. Il carattere dell'iniquità in tendere ai suoi fini per vie lecite ed illecite è da per tutto l'istesso.

Per queste sette osservazioni, o piuttosto informazioni, già vede V. S. EE. RR. qual conto debba farsi della presente questione.

Il II. Articolo riguarda alcune osservazioni sù quanto è stato esposto dalla parte del Patriarca di Babilonia, e del Pro-delegato Apostolico.

Nella lettera 24. Decembre 49. di Monsig. Patriarca tre asserzioni ricolgo, che quasi supposizioni negar si possono 1. dice egli «Per questo ci siamo mossi a pietà, sì per riguado alla fede, che per riguardo alla nazionalità.» Qui sua Eccellenza suppone che i Siro-malabarici siano come una colonia Siriana. 2. Prosegue egli «Affinchè queste Chiese ritornino sotto il Governo del Patriarca Caldeo, che è commissionato dalla Sede Apostolica, come era per lo passato.» Suppone che queste Chiese siano state in addietro governate dal Patriarca Caldeo-cattolico. 3. Nel decorso poi della lettera suppone, che i Protestanti prendono argomento a tirare a loro i Siro-Malabarici dall'aver essi Vescovi latini. Il Prodelegato pure è nella supposizione «Che quei Malabarici siano Caldei. 2.

Che siano per rapporto alla religione in uno stato deplorabile, e che la corrutela del popolo, e del Clero sia estrema. 3. Che i missionarii di quelle parti sono di vita poco edificanti a cagione del lusso nel quale vivono.»

Con buona pace di ambedue, affinchè la verità abbia il suo luogo negar si debbono tutte queste proposizioni o supposizioni. E prima negasi, che quei Malabarici siano Caldei, o colonia caldea. Essi sono naturali, puri, pretti, indiani senza mischianza alcuna di sangue caldeo, siccome indiani sono i Bramani, i Nairi, i Cieghi, e le altre Malabariche Tribù. Essi sono Siri, o appartengono alla Siria come p. e. i Cinesi sono Romani o colonia Romana. Non occorre aver navigato colà per convincersene ed esserne persuaso; basta consultare il Bartoli, il Raulin, il Maffei, l'India Cristiana del P Paolino, e del P. Kirker, o qualsiasi altra storia dell'India che abbia parlato dei cristiani di S. Tommaso per capir tosto, che quei che ora che chiamansi Siro-Malabarici quì abusivamente, colà non sono conosciuti sotto altro nome, che con quello di Nazzareni, nome che fu loro dato dal S. Apostolo Tommaso; o sotto quello di Tomeaz Christuverghel (cristiani di S. Tommaso). Sono essi un rudero un frantume, un avvanzo di quel gran colosso di cristianità, che colà fondò ed innalzò il grande Apostolo, cui diede Vescovi, preti, e tutta la gerarchia congiuntamente alla liturgia Siro-caldaica di S. Giacomo di Gerusalemme. Quindi si parrà ancora, che questi cristiani malabarici non hanno già la liturgia da Babilonia, o dalla Caldea, ma immediatamente dal loro S. Apostolo Tommaso. E non solo le istorie citate, ma molti altri monumenti ancora, che ho avuto occasione di raccogliere, trovandomi colà frà loro, evidentemente ci istruiscono che non fù che dopo l'ottavo secolo, che lupi rapaci, o Vescovi Orientali vennere fin da Soria a separarli dall'unità cattolica, e a corromperli con l'eresia di Nestorio, e di Dioscoro. Da quell'epoca in poi cioè dal dopo 800. fino al 1597. mai si rimasero di venire a ogni tanti anni due, o tre di loro a ordinarvi ministri del sacro Altare, a predicarvi il loro guasto evangelio, e riformare se in nulla eran discadute le cerimonie ed i riti proprii della loro setta. Nel 1597. morto l'ultimo dei Vescovi Nestoriani Marabraham, il chiarissimo Alessio Menesses Agostiniano Arcivescovo di Goa per commissione di Clemente

VIII. e di Filippo III. Re di Spagna radunò il Sinodo Diamperitano presso Coccino nel 1599. Dove i 153. Cattanari riuniti, ed i 671. eletti Procuratori al Sinodo dai popoli delle 164. Borgate, abbiurati i deliri di Nestorio e la sede patriarcalo di Babilonia, si attaccarono alla pura fede Romana, e giurarono di unanime consenso a non volere più in appresso ricevere o riconoscere altri Vescovi, o Patriarchi che di rito latino. Da quest'epoca sino alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù, la Diocesi Arcivescovile di Cranganor ebbe quasi sempre prelati Gesuiti. Fu diretta quindi fino al 1838. da Governatori designati dalla corona di Portogallo, ma non consagrati; benchè fin dal 1659, una quarantina circa delle sue parrocchie si fossero assoggettate a Verapoli. Alla publicazione del breve Multa praeclare, tutta intiera questa cristianità di S. Tommaso prestò la dovuta ubbidienza al medesimo Arcivescovo del Malabar. E questo per ora basti a mostrare quanto mal si apponga. 1. Chi pensasse che i Malabarici siano caldei, 2. Chi supponesse con Monsig. Audò, che queste Chiese sono state governate in addietro dal Patriarca caldeo cattolico.

Imperocchè non si legge in tutta l'istoria di questa cattolica Chiesa Malabarica, che essa abbia mai avuta alcuna comunicazione o relazione mediata o immediata col Patriarca cattolico di Mesopotamia. Lo scismatico Don Gioacchino Neves siccome sopra dissi scorgendo ornai perduta la speranza di Vescovi porteghesi per quell'estinte Diocesi, fù il primo che la consigliò e promosse forse con mira di vendetta e contro i Carmelitani Scalzi, e contro questa S. C.

La 3. supposizione sembrami alquanto ridicola. Forse i Protestanti ammetterebbero in grazia loro la liturgia caldaica? Allora come sarabbero essi chiesa anglicana, o di altra setta ch'esclude ogni liturgia, che non è in lingua volgare? Il volgare di quei cristiani è pure il Malabarico. Fecero è vero essi nel 1815. tentativi e spese enormi per attirare specialmente i Nestoriani o Giacobiti, ma vi perdettero tutta la loro riputazione.

Osservo inoltre che il Prodelegato sembra male informato in supporre nella sua lettera, che «la corruttela del popolo, e del Clero sia estrema» giacchè non essendo essa nè più nè meno di quello che potei notare nel 2. Rapporto all'articolo II., non arriva

certamente a quel grado di estremità, cui si troverebbe ora, se la Chiesa Siro-Malabarica fosse presieduta e governata da Prelati Caldei.

Non è d'uopo, che ripeta ciò che diffusamente mostrai nei due precedenti rapporti per indicare che l'istesso Prodelegato erra su sinistre informazioni, in darsi a credere «che i missionarii di quelle parti sono di vita poco edificanti a cagione del loro lusso.» Di tale scandalo occasionar forse si potrebbe il lusso di quel solo, che perciò la S. C. rimosse, due anni sono, dal Vicariato di Bombai.

Nel secondo capo riduco la risposta alla domanda di V. E. che è della forma seguente «accennandogli ancora nella sua imparzialità qual sarebbe il di lei sentimento in ordine alla richiesta grazia.» Per amor di brevità e chiarezza lo verrò accennando tre articoli. Nel I. noterò gl'inconvenienti in ordine all'assoggettare o *mediate*, o *immediate* i Siro-Malabarici al Patriarca Caldeo. Nel II. quello che potrebbe farsi con essi. Nel III. ciò che converrebbe fare col Patriarca Caldeo, e col Pro-delegato della Mesopotamia.

Nel I. Articolo degli inconvenienti, notisi che l'istesso Prodelegato gli ha quasi presentiti e prevenuti, dicendo egli nella sua lettera «Quanto poi al mettere quei caldei sotto la giurisdizione del Patriarca Caldeo, non so se vi sia qualche impedimento a cagione di qualche disposizione particolare per quei luoghi, ma certo è che se non vi sia grande inconveniente, vi sarà credo poco vantaggio.» Sembrami dunque che «vi sia qualche impedimento» a cagione del giuramento prestato da tutto quel clero nel Sinodo Diamperitano, Azione II. Decreto 1. § XVII. «Spondeo itaque, voveo, et juro Deo, Cruci, et Sanctis Evangeliis, nullum me in praesens, vel in posterum in hac Ecclesia et Episcopatu montensi Episcopum, Archiepiscopum, Praelatum, Pastorem Gubernatorem admissurum, praeter illum, qui a S. Sede Apostolica, per Papam et Pontificem Romanum fuerit immediate constitutus; atque ipsi ita costituto, tanquam proprio et vero Pastori obedientiam praestiturum omnino independenter, nulloque expectato consensu aut nominatione a Patriarcha Babilonico.» Quì è chiaro che un Vescovo cattolico inviato dal Patriarca eziandio cattolico di Babilonia non sarebbe più immediate costitutus dal Pontefice Romano, e per conseguenza contro la 1. parte di questo

giuramento. Nella seconda parte della formula del giuramento non parlasi espressamente di un Vescovo eretico inviato dal Patriarca eretico di Babilonia; devesi intendere *in subjecta materia*, cioè di un Vescovo cattolico *immediate constitutus* del Papa, cui giurano prestare ubbidienza *nullo expectato consensu aut nominatione a Patriarcha Babilonico*. Per il che pare che questo giuramento sia stato proposto ai Malabarici espressamente per farli dimenticare e mettere in orrore di Babilonia. Vi è quindi una terza parte in cui si passa a rigettare, a condannare, e ad anatematizzare il Patriarca eretico di Babilonia come Nestoriano etc. ... dunque l'impedimento che sospettava il Pro-delegalo sembrami che esista realmente.

Ma v'è ancora il poco vantaggio, sia per parte della Mesopotamia, perchè come osserva l'istesso Prodelegato «Il Patriarca non tiene soggetti da mandar là, abbiamo molto stentato per trovare nell'elezione di nuovi Vescovi due soggetti non troppo indietro.....e più luoghi quì mancano di preti.» Per parte poi dei Malabaresi; poichè se tanto poco hanno essi profittato in addietro, e profittano ora sotto la direzione di valenti maestri, e di Prelati saggi e zelanti, qual vantaggio è a sperarsi da loro sotto un Vescovo caldeo meno istruito di quel che richiede quella dignita?

Aggiungasi le inconvenienze, che n'emergerebbero, le quali quì toccherò sol di volo.

- 1. Dall'ignoranza, che col diminuire con ciò l'istruzione, si accrescerebbe frà loro.
- 2. Dalla petulanza, e dal trionfo che ne menerebbero gli audaci, i quali riusciti in questo sconvolgimento, si farebbero maggiormente arditi a tentare a lor grado sollevazioni, ogni qual volta le passioni o i partiti ciò esigerebbero.
- 3. Dall'avvilimento in che caderebbero i buoni, e tutti gli altri i quali non si vollero intrigare nei folli maneggiamenti di questa mezza dozzina di perturbatori.
- 4. Dal ricusare che nettamente farebbero di staccarsi da Verapoli quella quarantina e più di parrocchie, che fin da un secolo vi si unirono, e molte altre, cui o per affezioni, ovvero per motivi umani od interessi non tornerebbe conto separarsene.

5. Dallo scompiglio che si cagionerebbe in varie parrocchie, le quali sono miste di latini, e di siriaci in una medesima Chiesa, e dirette da due Parrochi che vivono in una medesima casa. Quindi in una medesima Borgata, in una medesima Chiesa, in una stessa casa o famiglia occorrerebbero due giurisdizioni, due Vescovi, due autorità.

Aggiungasi 6. che l'ultimo ossia il vero scopo di tutti questi maneggiamenti, siccome sopra toccai non è in fine che l'ambizione della mitra, la quale messa colà sulla testa di un nero conviene metterla ancora sopra la testa di tutti, e così moltiplicarvi le mitre a proporzione delle teste nere consagrate, al sacerdozio. Altrimenti sorgerebbe la guerra somiglievole, e forse più accanita di quella che esiste attualmente fra i Giacobiti o Nesloriani Malabarici, la quale sembrerebbe incredibile a raccontarsi se non accadesse sotto gli occhi di tutti. Quattro mitre vi erano già fra essi, benchè non contino che 32000. anime; ora dicesi esserne arrivata anche una quinta da Babilonia. Tutte si cozzano insieme; delle due che stanno sulla fronte dei due Bava caldei, l'una viene assistita nella battaglia dal Re Pagano di Travancor, l'altra dal Residente della Compagnia Inglese: le due altre, che si misero sul capo di lor propria autorità due potenti famiglie indiane emule fra loro, si azzuffano in guerra continua, e fra se e colle altre due babiloniche, avendo l'una a sua scorta il Re idolatra di Coccino, l'altra uno scelto drappello di famiglie nobili e ricche; di maniera che pare che colà sussistono ancora quei tempi eroici, e favolosi, quando «Mulciber in Trojan et pro Troja stabat Apollo, Aequa Venus Teucris Pallas iniqua fuit.» Ed ecco ancora a che ridurrebbesi tutta la cattolica Chiesa Siro-Malabarica di 158,826. anime, di 187. Chiese, di 397. Cattanari, e di 251. Sciamazzi, se la S. C. si provasse un poco ad aprirle questo bello sportellino di Babilonia.

Nel II Articolo verrò toccando quanto stimo convenevole farsi con questi Siro-malabarici.

Coi ribelli non giudico che convenga venire a misure dirette per fiaccarne l'orgoglio, ma piuttosto farebbe mestieri, mettere a dirittura in esecuzione certi mezzi indiretti, con cui s'impedirebbe d'ingrossare il loro partito, e si scemerebbe quello che già si è formato. Questi sono oltre ai tre mentovati nel 2. Rapporto Articolo II. Cioè 1. un numero sufficiente di Missionarii Carmelitani: 2. La riunione dei 14. piccoli Seminarii in due grandi diretti nelle lettere, e nello spirito dai medesimi Padri: 3. L'organizzazione dei due Conventi Cattanari che vengano ora formandosi, due altri che qui soggiungo.

- 1. Per diradare le tenebre dell' ignoranza iu fatto di dogma e di morale, cui soggiace quel clero, e che son cagione precipua dei suoi presenti disturbi, e dei più gravi malanni, che non tarderanno guari a soprastargli, se non vi si ripara tostamente, dico esser necessario che la S. C. non indugi molto a fare eseguire e pubblicare una traduzione in lingua malabarica di nno scelto compendio della Teologia Morale, e Dogmatica, come pure un epitome della Istoria degli Atti, e dei Canoni del Sinodo di Odiamper celebrato dall'Arcivescovo Alessio de Menesses nel Giugno del 1599.
- 2. Sarebbe a discutersi ancora se convenga o nò fare che in luogo dell'antico Arcivescovado di Cranganor, il Prelato attuale di Verapoli fosse stabilito Arcivescovo del Malabar in propria sede; e che quindi se gli aggiungesse un Coadjutore Religioso Carmelitano ordinato pel rito Siro-Malabarico, il quale dovrebbe seguirne la liturgia, in essa conferire gli ordini sagri, ed essere come il gran Vicario dell'Arcivescovo in riguardo alla Chiesa Siro-malabarica; ma senza diritto di successione al Vicariato Apostolico, attesa la precedenza che il rito latino deve sempre avere.

Nel III. Art. Quanto a ciò, che potrebbe farsi col Patriarca caldeo e col Prodelegato: Sembrami che convenga disingannarli sul punto Siro-malabarici, come che niuno rapporto nè di Nazionalità, nè di religione sia giammai esistito tra la Siria, ed il Malabar, se non quello che da qualunque secolo in quà prima i Patriarchi Nestoriani di Babilonia, ora i Giacobiti spedivano colà di tanto in tanto Vescovi a mantenervi l'eresia in una piccola frazione di essi: Che del resto nè si legge nelle istorie, nè si ha da documenti di veruna sorta, che i Patriarchi cattolici Caldei abbiano avuta ingerenza alcuna sui malabarici; nè che l'India abbia ricevuta la liturgia Siro-caldaica da Babilonia, avendogliela lasciata l'Apostolo S. Tommaso insiem colla fede, e colla gerarchia che vi

stabilì; la quale poi sformata e corrotta dai Nestoriani di Babilonia fu spurgata, ed emendata nel Sinodo di Odiamper nel 1599. Una succinta esposizione di questo fatto si confarebbe bene all'uopo. Ed intanto affinchè questo affare dei Malabarici non venga a prendere proporzioni più gravi in Caldea, e peritare qualche risoluzione estrema, mi pare necessario doversi avvertire il Prodelegato di queste o somiglievoli rimarche, perchè disponga a poco a poco il Patriarca, che sembra alquanto più caldo, a tranquillarsi sul conto dei Siro-malabarici, e ad aprire gli occhi sui falsi passi, in che avrebberlo messo pochi perturbatori di quella numerosa cristianità, compromettendo così il suo onore, e quello di tutta la nazione.

Maggior avvisamento converrà certo usare in scrivendo all'istesso Patriarca per cautelarlo da qualsiasi azione precipitosa. E poichè V. S. E. mi concede piena libertà di aprirle in tutto i miei sentimenti, mi faccio ardito di tracciare qui la forinola di una tal lettera.

Al Patriarca Caldeo etc.:

«Non lascio d'informarla per sua quiete, che si ricevette (la di lei lettera del 24. Ottobre 4849.) oppure (la lettera del Prodelegato Apostolico 25. Aprile 1852.) che accompagnava i fogli provenienti, siccome asserivasi dai Caldei del Malabar. Mentre pertanto rimangono i detti fogli sotto esame, e debita considerazione, converrebbe che V. S. Illma si astenesse dall'attiva corrispondenza con quei supplicanti, anche per risparmiarle sollecitudini che la S. Sede ha riservate a se.»

Eccole EE. RR. quanto nella mia pochezza ho potuto annotarle tanto sopra i cenni da lei addomandati, quanto sul mio sentimento in ordine al presente negozio. Che se più del dovere le ritardai la presente, la prego a non volermene incolpare di negligenza, ma ad accagionarne parecchie altre occupazioni, che ne' preteriti giorni m'involarono tutto il mio tempo. Ritorno ad esibirle la mia servitù, ed in baciandole le mani passo a segnarmi con piena venerazione stima ed affetto dell' EE. V. RR.

Dal Gesù 5 Luglio 1852. Infimo in Cristo Servo, L. Puccinelli S. J., Miss. Apost. del Madurè.

DOCUMENT 18

REPLY OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO FR. PLANCHET SJ, PRO-APOSTOLIC DELEGATE OF MESOPOTAMIA

Risposta della Propaganda al P. Planchet Pro-Delegato Apostolico della Mesopotamia.

Roma 3 Luglio 1852, Omissis etc.

Venendo ora alla richiesta dei Siri Maroniti, io nella lettera scritta al Patriarca su questo punto mi attenni a bella posta sulle generali, conoscendo pur troppo che avrei dato maggior campo al medesimo d'insistere sulle sue pretese e promuoverle ancora qualora fossi entrato in minuti dettagli. I Siro-Malabarici non ebbero mai alcun rapporto nè di nazionalità nè di religione coi Caldei di Mesopotamia, se non quello che da qualunque secolo in qua prima i Patriarchi Nestoriani di Babilonia, e dipoi i Giacobiti spedivano colà di tanto intanto a mantenervi 1'eresia in una piccola fazione di essi. Del resto nè si legge nelle storie ne si ha de documenti di veruna sorta, che i Patriarchi Cattolici Caldei abbiano avuta ingerenza alcuna sui Malabarici; ne sembra che l'India abbia ricevuta la liturgia Siro-Caldaica da Babilonia, avendogliela lasciata l'Apostolo S. Tommaso insieme colla fede e colla gerarchia che vi stabilì, la quale poi sformata e corrotta dai Nestoriani di Babilonia fu spurgata ed emendata nel Sinodo di Odiamper nel 1599; dove tutto quel Clero giurò che non avrebbe mai ricevuto altro pastore se non quello che immediatamente sarebbegli stato dato dal Romano Pontefice. Io mi riservo a dargli una più lunga esposizione di questi fatti qualora l'opportunità il richiegga. Intanto affinchè questo affare dei Malabarici non venga a prendere fra codesti Caldei proporzioni più gravi e forse a provocare qualche risoluzione estrema, io ho creduto bene di doverlo avvertire delle disposizioni che sonovi in contrario, anche per i molti inconvenienti i quali emergerebbero qualora si aderisse all'istanza; dei quali alcuni sono accennati anche da V. P. e ciò affinchè disponga a poco a poco il Patriarca, che da qualche tempo sembra alquanto più caldo, a tranquillizarsi sul conto dei Siri Malabarici, e specialmente ad aprire gli occhi sui falsi passi in cui

avrebberlo messo pochi perturbatori di quella numerosa Cristianità compromettendo così il suo onore e quello di tutta la nazione. Io poi vado a scrivere al medesimo nella forma che P. S. potrà leggere nella lettera, che a tale effetto le accludo a sigillo volante; e qui resto pregando il Signore che la conservi e la prosperi.

DOCUMENT 19

LETTER OF FR. PLANCHET SJ TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Lettera del P. Planchet Pro-Delegato Apostolico della Mesopotamia.

Mussul 1 di Febbrajo 1853

Eminenza Rma., Omissis etc.

Il Patriarca Caldeo pare spiegare un nuovo carattere, o più tosto modi nuovi di agire. Egli è ritornato tutto cambiato da Bagdad. Da quel che sento, sarebbe stato molto scontento dell'esito dell'affare del Malabar, e sembra voler pigliarsela contro di me. In tanto comparisce più che mai la sua conosciuta antipatia contro i Latini, non vuol sentir nessun consiglio, e pretende governar d'una maniera assoluta, minacciando sempre, se non si fa la sua volontà, di ritirarsi.

Oggi si trova imbrogliato in un affare, il quale può diventar serio. Il vescovo di Giazire considerando l'istanze del suo popolo, la differenza che vi è questo anno, di cinque settimane, fra la nostra e la loro pasqua, e la prossimità del Sinodo, dove pensa che si adotterà per tutti il nuovo calendario già adottato in più diocesi della nazione Caldea, aveva conceduto ai suoi diocesani di cominciar la quaresima a tenor del nostro uso. Il Patriarca si adirò di questo fortemente, come se pericolasse la santa fede, e scrisse una lettera al Vescovo ordinandogli di ritirar la sua concessione, ed altra al popolo vietandogli di far uso della licenza datagli dal proprio Pastore. Si è fatto osservare al Patriarca gli sconcii che potevano succedere da una mossa così imprudente, ma non ha voluto sentir nessuno, nemeno il Pro-Delegato, ed ha spedito le lettere, le quali arriveranno due o tre giorni prima della nostra

quaresima; e perciò scrive ancora che se il suo ordine non vien conosciuto che dopo il digiuno cominciato, dovranno interromperlo, ed aspettar il suo tempo. Il bello è, che egli pretendeva che io scrivessi nello stesso tenore. Non posso ben prevedere che cosa accaderà. Può darsi che il popolo, o intero o in parte, non voglia seguitar la voce del Patriarca; e d'altra parte, non credo che il Vescovo sia pronto, in tali circostanze, a cedere così facilmente. Aspetto l'esito.

Il Patriarca gode di poca stima fra i suoi. La cosa che più spicca in lui è quella singolare presunzione, e quell'avidità di radunar moneta *per fas et nefas*. Ultimamente il governo turco ha dovuto fargli sborsare una certa somma che era stato accusato di aver presa di più del domandato, sopra i cristiani, nel levar il tributo che debbono pagare alla Porta in qualità, di cristiani; e so che mercè le misure prese dai partigiani del Patriarca interessati in quell'affare, quella somma è stata rnolto inferiore a quella che in giustizia avrebbe dovuto sborsare.

Quel tributo prima era levato da uffiziali turchi; ma come il popolo gridava all'oppressione, la Porta ne affidò la leva ai capi cristiani stessi. Il popolo trova la sua condizione molto peggiorata.

Non voglio, per adesso, entrar in più dettagli; ma vedrà da questo la V. Ema che non *si potrà sempre passarla in complimenti*, con quel Patriarca. Le sue disposizioni pel futuro Sinodo non sono di buon augurio; pretende farvi la legge e imporre ai Vescovi i suoi pareri. Non sa ancora che debba io esserne il Presidente.

Sono con profondo rispetto, baciandole la Sacra Porpora,

Della Vostra Eminenza Rma.

L'umile servo, B. Planchet S. J., Pro-Delegato Apostolico della Mesopotamia ec.

DOCUMENT 20

PETITION OF FR. ANTONY KUDAKKACHIRA TO THE PROPAGANDA FIDE

Supplica tradotta dal Siro-Caldaico diretta li 23 Maggio 1853 all'Emo Principe il Sig. Card. Fransoni dal Sacerdote Antonio del Malabar.

Supplica umiliata alla paternità soave, benevola, ed onorevolissima il Sig. Cardinal Fransoni Prefetto della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, dal sacerdote *Antonio Kudescirah* il più miserabile degli uomini, il di cui nome ne anche merita di esser profferito innanzi alla Emza V. Rma ec. *Superiore* della Chiesa e della Casa situata nel territorio di *Plasnal*, approvato dal Metropolita Monsig. Ludovico Rmo. Nella comunione del Signor Nostro Salute.

L'Oratore, Antonio Kudescirah, piangendo con molta umiltà con tristezza e sospiri ec. fa conoscere alla Paternità V. Benevola, ed Amabile ec. come sono trascorsi di già quattro anni, da che l'oratore (ottenuto lo speciale permesso del lodato Monsig. Ludovico) incominciò a far costruire una casa per bisogno indispensabile, per utilità dei Cattolici, e per la propagazione della fede. Imperocché in un paese dominato, ed abitato da' Regnanti, e da' sudditi infedeli del Malabar (sic). E benchè 1'Ore fosse privo di possessioni, povero, e pellegrino in questa terra, ottenne molto danaro dal proprio Genitore; E con questo danaro, e con le elemosine da questi Cristiani avute con molta fatica, condusse la fabbrica di detta Casa al punto di poter essere abitata da alcuni Preti, Diaconi, Novizzi e Laici. E tutto ciò si è fatto durante il Regime del lodato Monsignor Ludovico, a cui quanto si operava dall'Ore si faceva noto; e permetteva questi, che si chiedessero le elemosine a tal uopo, e per vivere : Ma per mancanza di mezzi detta Casa non era stata ancora ultimata. Oggi poi dispera 1'Ore veder compiuto questo suo meschino lavoro. Imperciocchè Monsig. Bernardino che governa attualmente questa Cristianità non solo nega all'Ore qualunque sussidio; ma lo perseguita publicamente, e privatamente in tutte le guise; vietandogli anche di chieder le elemosine per vivere: Anzi vorrebbe che fossero

cacciate via da detta Casa più di trenta persone, che abitano coll'Ore, e che di elemosine vivono. E la cagione di questa inimicizia 1'Ore ritiene essere l'aver Monsig. Bernardino risaputo, che fra i Preti, e Superiori delle Chiese di rito Siro-Caldeo del Matabar (che han chiesto con iterate suppliche al Sommo Pontefice, e all'Ema Vostra Vescovi, Preti dotti, e Collegj di rito Caldeo) l'Ore si sia ad essi unito, ed abbia quelle suppliche con essi sottoscritto; lo che se fece l'Ore, lo fece solo per l'immenso bisogno, che havvi di Pastori, e di scienze savie, per togliere i Cristiani del Malabar da un orribile stato d'ignoranza, che fa commettergli errori, e peccati e nella istruzione, e nei Riti, e nelle sacre preghiere.

L'Oratore pertanto supplica la V. Paternità Soave, Benevola etc. affinchè si degni dar ordini con sue lettere Rme, comandando al lodato Monsig. Bernardino, che *ponga fine a tale inimicizia, ed odio*, permettendo all'Ore chiedere elemosine etc. e il restante. Nel vivissimo desiderio di ricevere favorevole risposta, la quale per l'Ore sarà più accetta che un immenso tesoro, per liberarsi da questo stato di *inconcepibili tormenti* e di estremo bisogno ec. prostrato ai Piedi della Paternità V. rispettosamente chiede la V. Benedizione sopra di se, e di quanti sono seco lui, essendo il più miserabile ed indegno peccatore ec.

Scritta da *Plassnal* l'anno di Nostro Signore 1853, li 23 Maggio.

Sacerdote Antonio Kuthescirah, miserabile figlio di Gesù Cristo, Superiore della Chiesa di Plassnal.

DOCUMENT 21

PETITION OF SOME PRIESTS OF MALABAR TO THE PROPAGANDA FIDE

Supplica diretta all'Emo Principe il Sig. Card. Fransoni dai sacerdoti del Malabar. Tradotta dal Caldaico.

Supplica per la seconda volta umiliata alla Paternità Soave, Benevola, Onorevolissima il Sig. Cardinal Fransoni Prefetto della S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide ec. dai Sacerdoti, dai

Diaconi, e dai Cattolici di *Rito Siro-Caldeo* nel *Malabar*, non che dai Superiori delle Chiese di *Plassnal*, di *Palai*, di *Azcalozchel*, di *Kur-Balgath*, di *Scanganscerì*, e delle altre Chiese, e Case. Nella comunione del Signor Nostro salute.

Dagli oratori qui sottoscritti con lagrime, e sospiri ossequiosamente (si espone) alla Paternità V. Onorevolissima ec. la vera desolazione in cui giace la *Cristianità di rito Siro-Caldeo nel Malabar*. Manca ai Laici la istruzione, per così dire, delle cose nenessarie a sapersi per salvarsi, perchè i Preti, che dovrebbero istruirgli non le conoscono che per tradizione inesatta, spesse volte erronea. In fatto di *teologia*, di *riti*, di *liturgia*, e della stessa *pronunzia* è tale la varietà, che quanti sono i Preti che celebrano tanti sono i Riti nei quali son celebrate le Messe e questa varietà è tanto più notabile negli giorni, che precedono la Pasqua, e nelle altre Solennità, che occorrono nell'anno.

E di questa grande ignoranza le cagioni sono le seguenti: Li cattolici di Rito Siro-Caldaico 1. Non hanno Vescovo del loro Rito; 2. Non hanno Scuole di Caldaico né pubbliche né private. 3. Non hanno Preti dotti per insegnare; 4. Non hanno libri Teologici, Liturgici, Ascetici, ec. poiché quei pochissimi che si trovano sono costosissimi perchè manoscritti, e non senza errori. Eppure i cattolici di rito Siro Caldeo nel Malabar oltrepassano i duecentomila; hanno più di centocinquanta chiese, che sono officiate da più di mille fra Preti, e Diaconi. E questo non picciolo numero di cattolici non ha Vescovi, non ha Seminarii, non ha Preti dotti per insegnare ec. Non sono siccome i Caldei cattolici abbandonati quegli di rito Latino. Questi tuttochè non sono più di ventimila circa, ed hanno appena pochi Preti, Diaconi, e Religiosi, e non più di venti Chiese, pure hanno e Vescovi e Vicarii Apostolici (in Verapoli Monsig. Ludovico, in Quilon Monsig. Bernardino della Provincia Romana, ed in Mangalor Monsig. Bernardino di S. Agnese della Provincia Napoletana).

Gli Oratori inoltre si permettono ricordare alla Paternità Vostra, che il Patriarca del loro rito Caldeo è stato di ciò istruito, ed ha risposto aver riferito a Roma questi reclami; ma Questi è tanto lontano dai ricorrenti, che non vede i bisogni, nè ascolta le loro voci. I *Vescovi* poi *di rito latino*, che ne anche *si danno il*

pensiero d'impanare la lingua Caldea, sono costretti a servirsi di Interpreti laici, che ignorano Teologia, Liturgia, lingua latina, e per sino la lingua istessa Caldea-Letterale, e questi Interpreti, che il più delle volte non intendono, che il favellare volgare della lingua, danno il giudizio della scienza, ed abilità di coloro i quali, o agli Sacri Ordini devono esser promossi, o alle Cure, o al Regime delle chiese. Questi Interpreti in fine per l'avidità de' denari e i loro nazionali, e il Vescovo istesso tradiscono.

Ed è perciò, che i cattolici di rito Siro-Caldaico possono dirsi Gregge senza Pastore, e senza Pascolo, Pecorelle disperse, anzi maliziosamente segregate dal loro Capo, e Pastore. Imperocchè se gli Oratori chiedessero il permesso di portarsi in Roma per istruirsi, o per esporre questi bisogni spirituali non gli sarebbe accordato tal permesso, quantunque pronti fossero a superare gli non piccioli ostacoli del lunghissimo, e dispendioso viaggio. Anzi se qualcuno insistesse per venire innanzi alla Paternità Vostra potrebbe attendersi l'odio, ed anche la persecuzione del Vescovo!!! Gli Oratori, adunque ai quali non è dato in altro modo far pervenire all'Emza Vostra queste loro flebili, e dolenti suppliche le ripetono alla Emza Vostra anche per sgravar le anime loro, chiamandosi, immuni innanzi a Dio di quello, che potrebbe avvenire di questa cristianità, non concedendogli, e Vescovi, e Preti dotti nella Caldaica lingua, e nel Rito ec.

Che se queste preghiere ripetute non meritano fede; supplicano perchè si degni l'Emza Vostra mandar qualche Vescovo e Prete dotto nella Caldaica lingua; affinchè osservi se sussista il bisogno di quanto supplicano.

Questa è la supplichevole preghiera che con sospiri, e torrenti di lagrime chiedono alla Emza Vostra siccome la Maddalena ai piedi di Gesù Redentore nostro, gridando Misericordia, Misericordia, Misericordia degli Oratori, e di tutti i cattolici del Malabar, che son pure figli della chiesa di G. C. i quali ora sono veramente orfani, e famelici di spiritual cibo. Per amor di Dio, di Gesù Cristo, di Maria SSma Madre de' Dolori, di S. Tommaso Apostolo delle Indie, ottienici o Emo Principe, le suddette cose spirituali dal Papa: e genuflessi, e prostrati innanzi alla Paternità Vostra soave; degnatevi benedire con i sottoscritti, tutti i cristiani

di Rito Siro-Caldaico, i quali pregano Iddio perchè conceda alla Paternità Vostra lunga, e felicissima vita.

Supplica scritta in *Plassnal* l'anno del Signor Nostro 1853 il 1 del Mese di Giugno.

- 1. Superiore della chiesa di Airoltupusa Sacerdote Antonio
- 2. Superiore della chiesa di Palai Sacerdote Giuseppe
- 3. Superiore della chiesa di Anchalaneal Sacerdote Giuseppe
- 4. Superiore della chiesa di Chur-balgneth Sacerdote Emanuele
 - 5. Superiore della chiesa di Scanganscerì Sacerdote Abramo
 - 6. Superiore della chiesa di Archurah Sacerdote Zaccheria
- 7. Superiore della chiesa di Tarpugnar (cioè) Monte-Pugnar Sacerdote Giuseppe
 - 8. Superiore della chiesa di Pugnar Sacerdote Giuseppe
 - 9. Superiore della chiesa di Rabilunam Sacerdote Ciriaco
 - 10. Superiore della chiesa di Chatnath Sacerdote Matteo
 - 11. Superiore della chiesa di Ahbar Sacerdote Giorgio
 - 12. Superiore della chiesa di Zanblah Sacerdote Giorgio
 - 13. Superiore della chiesa di Charcunlam Sacerdote Giorgio
 - 14. Superiore della chiesa di Chunaalil Sacerdote Giovanni
 - 15. Superiore della chiesa di Ponauthurah Sacerdote Matteo.
 - 16. Superiore della chiesa di Manimalah Sacerdote Tomaso
 - 17. Superiore della chiesa di Leeripongal Sacerdote Giuseppe
 - 18. Superiore della chiesa di Alam-hadtha Sacerdote Giorgio
 - 19. Superiore dolla chiesa di Netuconnam Sacerdote Matteo
 - 20. Superiore della chiesa di Ramram Sacerdote Giorgio.
 - 21. Superiore della chiesa di Bathcarah Sacerdote Giuseppe
 - 22. Superiore della chiesa di Nagsuli Sacerdote Giuseppe
 - 23. Superiore della chiesa di Juncham Sacerdote Matteo
 - 24. Superiore della chiesa di Mulchom Sacerdote Giorgio
 - 25. Superiore della chiesa di Scampal Sacerdote Giuseppe

- 26. Superiore della chiesa Manimlah Sacerdote Tommaso
- 27. Superiore della chiesa di Piglam Sacerdote Luca
- 28. Superiore della chiesa di Alum-Blilah Sacerdote Ciriaco
- 29. Superiore della chiesa di Thuruthi Sacerdote Tommaso
- 30. Superiore della chiesa di Thottacath Sacerdote Giorgio

DOCUMENT 22

LETTER OF THE COADJUTOR VICAR APOSTOLIC OF VERAPOLY TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Lettera (28 Gennaro 1854) di Monsig. Bernardino Coadjutore del Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli alla Propaganda.

Eminenza Rma., Omissis etc.,

Ora devo darle notizia dell'arrivo, e trame di un Sacerdote Caldeo per nome Dinha Barjona da Vostra Eminenza ben conosciuto. Questo degno ministro di Satanasso appena disceso in questa spiaggia si è subito introdotto, ed intromesso nel Clero Sirio, cui mostrando attestati, e raccomandazioni (falsificate) del suo Patriarca, lettere ancora di Vostra Eminenza, facoltà ottenute (per inganno) da diversi Vescovi, come ancora da Monsig. Hartman Commissario Apostolico dì Bombay; dicendo che egli è un allievo di codesta S. C. Dottore; conoscer costì questo, e quell'altro; saper bene non esservi ostacolo, se non dalla nostra parte, ad aver essi un Vescovo del proprio Rito, ed egli ripromettersi di farlo pervenire in poco tempo: e con altri raggiri, bugie sciocchezze ha fatto ogni suo sforzo per eccitare un nuovo scisma, e preparar la via al suo Compagno eretico, che credo stia, non so dove, attendendo un favorevole risultato, ed avviso del suo Precursore. Però, grazie al Signore, i di lui sforzi sono stati inutili, il veleno è restato in lui solo, ed ho notizia che anche dal luogo ove dimorava, quantunque in compagnia di un Catenar, ossia sacerdote Siro Scismatico (un Demonio in carne umana) sia ora disperatamente partito, e siasi recato in Coccino. Quel che in seguito farà, o di lui accaderà non mancherò di notificarglielo.

Mi raccomando in fine caldamente alle orazioni dell'Emza Vostra nel mentre che con profonda venerazione baciando la Sacra Pprpora mi pregio di essere

Verapoli 28 Gennajo 1853,

Dell'Emza V. Revma

Indegnissimo ed Umilissimo servo, Fr. Bernardino di S. Teresa C. S.

P. S. Ora mi giunge la risposta del suddetto Monsig. Hartman, con cui m'informa del come fu egli ingannato dal menzionato Bar-Jona, che dopo scoperto si unì coi scismatici a difendere il *Gius Patronato* della Regina di Portogallo ec. Mi manda ancora l'attestato falsificato del Patriarca, una lettera di avviso direttagli per ordine del medesimo dal Padre Maurizio Vice-Prefetto dei nostri Missionarj di Mesopotamia e Persia (ed è per via di questa che scoprì il Falsario), ed una lettera che ultimamente ricevette dall'istesso Patriarca a carico di quest'infelice soggetto. Con tutti questi documenti, e con altra lettera ch'io attendo in breve dal lodato Patriarca comproverò gl'avvisi già dati, e spero che dovrà perciò uscire da questo Vicariato.

DOCUMENT 23

LETTER OF MSGR. BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Lettera (31 Maggio 1853) di Monsig, Bernardino Coadjutore del Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli all'Emo Fransoni Prefetto.

Emo Signore, Omissis etc.

Il Bar-jona Sacerdote Caldeo, fuggitivo dalla sua Patria, e dal suo Patriarca, disgraziatamente approdato in questa spiaggia, siccome già in altra mia le notificai, dopo essersi adoperato in ogni modo affin di perturbare e sollevare tutto questo Vicariato, specialmente il Clero e popolo del suo rito: dopo di aver vomitato da per tutto contro di noi mille ingiurie, calunnie, maledizioni, ed inoltre di avermi eziandio accusato al Residente Britannico di averlo pubblicamente infamato con le mie Circolari; non avendo

contuttociò potuto effettuar nulla di sinistro, e nulla ottenere dai suoi sforzi maligni: che anzi avendolo io per via del medesimo Residente fatto esiliare dai due Regni di Travancor e Coccino come un impostore e perturbatore della pubblica pace; in fine ho inteso che disperatamente se ne sia partito per Colombo città nell'isola di Ceilan. Alcuni però dei più perversi, scandalosi, e mal intenzionati sacerdoti di rito Siro (anche quì si chiamano con voce Siriaca Cassanari, e così li nominerò ancor io nel decorso di questa relazione), i quali appena qui giunto a lui si dedicarono, favorirono, e promossero, le di lui parti con ogni impegno, restati svergognati, ed arrabbiati per aver errato il colpo, ora han creduto poterlo raddirizzare, ed insieme purgarsi dall'infamia del commesso delitto per via della speciosa supplica, che di sopra ho detto esser per giungere costà, se pur già non lo sia; con la quale come sotto di una buona Cappa vogliono coprire, nascondere, ed effettuare le loro iniquità, e ree intenzioni. Il capo poi di questi galantuomini, principal autore di detta supplica, e di tutto il resto è un certo Antonio Cassanar, uomo che affetta santità, e da per se si da il titolo di fondatore per una picciola cappella e casa annessa, che egli appropriandosi il danaro della Chiesa Parrochiale di cui è Vicario, e non so con quali altre truffarie eresse e chiamò Convento a dispetto, e per fare un contraltare ad un Ritiro di Cassanari, in cui, ben essi conoscendolo, non lo vollero ricevere. Questo Fondatore adunque arrabbiatissimo per aver con la stretta adesione al perverso Bar-jona, e con altri fatti, perduta l'opinione di santità che godeva fra il popolo materiale, nè potendo ottenere che io ammetta allo stato Ecclesiastico alcuni disgraziati ragazzini, ch'egli radunò, non saprei con qual permissione, e Dio sa a qual fine, in quel così da esso detto Convento, finchè, come mi son protestato, non ne escano, e ritornino, e ricevano secondo l'antico uso 1'adozione nelle loro respettive Parrochie, e vadano a dimorare e studiare nei Seminarj approvati; questo Fondatore dico avendo potuto aver nelle mani una lettera, non so se del passato o presente Patriarca cattolico di Bagdad, già dai quattro, o cinque anni scritta imprudentemente in risposta ad alcuni Cassanari scismatici, e cattolici, i quali medesimamente a lui ricorsero, nella quale il detto Patriarca con autorità qua caret gl'ingiungeva di sceglier nel loro Clero un pio e dotto Cassanar, e d'inviarglielo per esser da questo

pienamente informato di tutto il concernente i procedimenti delle cose Ecclesiastiche e Religiose spettanti il suo rito; con detta lettera, già da quattro mesi, il menzionato Fondatore si portò al Nord di questo Vicariato, ove la sua ipocrisia e falli sono men noti, ed ove il Clero e popolo del suo rito è più numeroso e peggiore, ed ivi predicando, piangendo, digiunando fino a star per 5 giorni senza prender cibo, e dicendo che può starvi anche 8 (poteva dire anche 20 30 a tutto il tempo di sua vita, poiche di notte e quando niun lo veda divora come un lupo) si è studiato di farsi creder per un santo, ha raccolto molto danaro, ha persuaso a non so quante Parrochie di soscriver la detta supplica, ed anche di farsi scegliere per loro inviato a Bagdad secondo l'ordine del suddetto Patriarca. Io sul principio e fino quasi al passato mese avendo inteso che il tutto consisteva in far soscrivere una supplica contro di me, non credetti doverne far caso. Ma quindi informato bene della trama, e memore di ciò che mi aveva detto tempo fa un buon vecchio Cassanar, che l'intenzione cioè di detto Fondatore gli sembrava esser di portarsi a Bagdad per ivì in qualche modo farsi consacrar Vescovo o dal Cattolico o dall'Eretico Patriarca, e poi, come già successe nei tempi andati, tornar qua ad eccitare un nuovo scisma in suo favore; ho giudicato di dover prender io il maneggio e le redini, e farmi alla testa di questo negozio, per toglierlo dalle mani di lui e de' suoi compagni, e voltarlo in buon cammino, mentre il resistere sul principio a questo popolo sarebbe l'istesso che incitarlo d'avantaggio. Subito pertanto mi diressi alle principali Parrochie del Nord, e fattagli prima conoscere l'empietà del Santo; la sua ipocrisia, ed i fini perversi che lo movevano in questa impresa, m'incaricai io stesso di fargli avere, qualora il desiderassero, però dalla S. Sede e non da Bagdad, un Vescovo del loro rito; e che perciò mi rispondessero in iscritto a questi trè quesiti. 1. Se veramente desideravano d'esser diretti da un Vescovo dell'istesso loro rito. 2. Ciò supposto, in che maniera gli darebbero l'onesto sostento. 3. Se in vece di ciò fosser contenti di proseguire sotto l'immediato governo del Vicario Apostolico ajutato da Missionari bene istruiti nella lingua e rito Siriaco, nel che già in Roma vi era chi si stava occupando. Questo Emo è il fatto: ora attendo la risposta ai detti quesiti, che in altra communicnerò all'Emza Vostra, suggerendole insieme i diversi modi con cui sembrami potersi facilmente condurre a buon termine, e reuder vantaggiosa e di profitto a questo popolo l'impresa di scellerati.

Le rammento Emo ciò di cui la pregai in altra mia in data dei 17 Settembre, decorso anno, di provvedere questo Clero Siro di una Biblia Cattolica: sarebbero necessarie un 500 copie; e quantunque si dovessero ristampare non dubito che il Vicario Apostolico chiunque sarà, non avrà difficoltà veruna di farne la spesa. Senza di questo è inutile sperare che lascino la Biblia di Londra, come già le dissi nella menzionata lettera. *Omissis* etc.

DOCUMENT 24

ANOTHER LETTER OF MSGR. BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Lettera (7. Luglio 1853) del P. Bernardino di S. Teresa Carmelitano Scalzo Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli nel Malabar.

Eminentissimo Signore

Nella mia ultima in data dei 31. decorso Maggio dava a V. Emza. qualche rapporto delle indegne trame, e fatti scandalosi di alcuni più perversi cassanarj, ossia sacerdoti Siro-Malabari, e del loro ipocrita corifeo per nome Antonio se-dicente *Fondatore*, come anche di una supplica da detti avanzata a Sua Santità per mezzo del cattolico Patriarca di Bagdad (forse piena, all'uso di questo paese, di false soscrizioni), *affin d'essere divisi da questo Vicariato*, ed aggregati al menzionato patriarcato; sotto di cui sperano poter meglio maneggiare e condurre avanti i loro affari ed iniquità: il che unito alla vendetta contro il Vescovo per aver fatta con essi la sua obligazione, sono i veri fini unicamente intesi in questa ed altre simili loro imprese.

Ora poi vengo ad informare V. Emza d'aver di più scoperto, che *il più impegnato*, *e che dirigge tutto l'affare è il medemo sopra menzionato Patriarca*; il quale dacchè ricevette la prima supplica, al detto oggetto inviatagli dai sediziosi già da 4 o 5 anni, continua fino ad ora ad aver con essi su ciò secreta corrispondenza, e l'instiga acciò non si raffreddino a ripeterne le suppliche a Sua Santità anche ogni mese. «Questa, Egli dice, è una bella occasione

per rivendicare i nostri diritti antichi, che l'impertinenza dei Portoghesi obligò per via della S. Sede i miei predecessori a cedere, i quali però non sono totalmente estinti». Quai diritti su di questi cristiani abbiano ceduto i suoi Predecessori, e quali nella sua mente restino ad Esso, io non so indovinarlo; mentre l'insigne Alesio Menezes Arcivescovo di Goa venuto nel Malabar nel 1698 ad hoc fu il primo, che nel celebre Sinodo di Odiamper strappò dall'eresia, e dalla soggezione ed obbedienza, che già da quasi mille anni prestavano ai Patriarchi Nestoriani di Babilonia, tutti questi Siro-Malabari; e che con Bolla di Paolo V. soppresse l'antico Vescovato di Angamali, ed in vece eresse l'ora estinto Arcivescovato di Cranganor, città allora, ed ora soltanto unica Chiesa parrochiale Latina, ne d'allora in poi questi Siri ebbero altri Vescovi se non che di rito latino, eccetto gl'Intrusi. Ma ritornando al Patriarca, Egli inoltre si raccomanda moltissimo a questi perturbatori affinchè nelle suppliche che invieranno costà non diano a divedere di esserne Esso impegnato e complice, ed altresì di tener secreta (cosa impossibile ai Malabaresi) la sua epistolare corrispondenza. Quindi per animarli aggiunge una sentenza che merita particolare attenzione «è necessario, dice, che ora l'acqua s'intorbidi alquanto, per quindi divenir più chiara.»

Nella mìa anteriore diceva anche all'Emza V. di attender la risposta delle Chiese del Nord di questo Vicariato ai quesiti da me propostigli, per poi communicargliela, e suggerire in pari tempo i diversi modi di condurre a buon termine, e render, almeno per parte nostra, vantaggiosa a questa nazione l'impresa di scellerati. La risposta però ancor non la vedo, e forse mai la daranno, quantunque i perturbatori instino efficacemente affinchè la diano conforme alla supplica o suppliche di già inviate a Sua Santità. Il motivo poi di non darla sembrami essere, perchè i pochissimi buoni e gravi Cassanarj aborriscono, e si oppongono fortemente a questi rinnovamenti degli antichi disordini, e soltanto bramano che i missionari siano periti anche nella lor lingua liturgica, e nel rito; ed i Cassanarj men perversi non ardiscono di concorrere apertamente in ciò che tutti non possono non vedere d'esser una bricconata, che alla fine li ridurrebbe come nei tempi andati in cattivissimi termini.

Pertanto se l'Emza V. e cotesta S. C. farà tacere quel Patriarca di Bagdad, di dove sono mai sempre venuti in questo Malabar disordini scandali, ribellioni scismi, eresie: Se in risposta alla supplica o suppliche di detti perversi ed inquieti Cassanari gli venga fatta una grave ammonizione, o come suol dirsi, una buona lavata di capo, con assicurarli altresì, che la S. Sede è sempre stata, e lo sarà sollecita per essi in tuttociò che vedrà più condurre al loro vero bene spirituale, ed alla retta ossservanza del loro Rito; il che richiede peraltro la loro corrispondenza, e cooperazione, massime in riformare i loro depravati costumi ed in essere obedienti, osseguiosi, e sommessi ai superiori: Se in fine la S. C. proseguirà come già ha intrapreso, a far cioè bene instruire ottimi e gravi Missionari di quei che verranno addetti a questo Vicariato nella detta lingua e rito Siriaco, di modo che a mio tempo anche il Vicario Apostolico ne sia in possesso; sperar voglio che i malvaggi, non dico siano per ravvedersi, ma restino umiliati almeno e repressi, non avendo anche più l'antico pretesto di non esservi chi sappia la lor lingua e liturgia, di cui si son sempre serviti per sedurre gl'incauti, ed eccitare a lor pro disordini e ribellioni: i buoni saran contentissimi venendo così completemente soddisfatti i lor giustissimi desideri: e verrà, almeno per parte della S. C. e nostra, pienamente provveduto alla gravissima esigenza delle cose Religiose e Liturgiche del clero e popolo di detto rito, che forma la massima parte di questo Vicariato. Ed ecco che ho suggerito quel che mi sembra unicamente vantaggioso a questa prava e perversa nazione in questo affare.

Omissis etc.

In fine riportandomi alle mie antecedenti, e raccomandandomi caldamente alle orazioni di V. Emza, con la più profonda venerazione nel bagio della Sacra Porpora ho l'onore di protestarmi

Dell'Emza Vostra Rma.

Verapoli 7. Luglio 1853.

Umo Dmo Obmo Servo, Fr. Bernardino di S. Teresa Carmelitano Scalzo

DOCUMENT 25

LETTER OF FR. ANTONY KUDAKKACHIRA TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Traduzione della Lettera (2 Luglio 1854) diretta alla ch. me. Card. Fransoni Prefetto della Propaganda dal Cassanar Antonio del Malabar.

Queste cose, che sì scrivono colle lacrime agli occhi sono quelle, che cioè nell'anno passato, che fu 1853, noi Preti Caldei di Malabar abbiamo mandate quattro suppliche alla Santità di Nostro Signore, e Nostro Padre Papa Pio IX, e la vostra elezione sopra di noi; e fin'ad ora non abbiamo ricevuta la risposta delle medesime; di più qui vi sono migliaja di cristiani, fino a duecento mila; e le chiese Caldee giungono fino a cento e cinquanta fra le grandi, e piccole: e nei nostri riti, nelle nostre dottrine, nei nostri canti, nei nostri sacrifici, nelle nostre orazioni niente abbiamo, che sia secondo il rito Caldaico, nè Latino, nè Greco; non abbiamo nè alcun libro o spirituale, o scientifico; e tutti i libri, che abbiamo fra le mani per studiare, o per imparare, sono tutti libri ereticali stampati a Londra; e quei pochi libri che abbiamo (buoni) sono il Messale, ed il Rituale stampati a Roma; non abbiamo scuole per impare, ne maestri per insegnarci; noi Preti di Malabar ci imbrogliamo nei riti della chiesa, e delle altre cose, e non avendo alcuna istituzione di questo rito facciamo come ci pare, e piace; siamo diventati ciechi, ed orfani; come le pecore senza pastore, ed in ogni momento facciamo cadute le più desolanti; abbiamo dei Preti, che non sanno dire la S. Messa, altri non sanno amministrare sacramenti. altri non sanno le orazioni Canoniche (dell'officiatura), altri non sanno spiegare il S. Evangelo; vi sono molti cristiani, ma cosa sia Cristiano non lo sanno; vi sono moltissimi, che non sono confermati fino all'età di trenta anni; non abbiamo l'officio della Settimana Santa, ed in quel giorno rimaniamo come forestieri; non abbiamo nel Rituale il modo di battezzare gl'idolatri, ovvero infedeli; tutti i preti vi stanno in una delle chiese, dove trenta, dove venti, dove dieci, e stanno senza un'occupazione distinta, e fanno quello, che gli pare; non abbiamo un luogo, o una casa, o una scuola, onde studino insieme, e diventino Sacerdoti; il nostro Re è un Idolatra, i nostri Vescovi non conoscono il Caldaico, e neppure imparano la lingua dei nostri paesi, e perciò non possiamo domandar qualche cosa da loro nè consigliarci con loro se non per mezzo dell'interprete; e questi interpreti spiegano le celesti per le terrene, e viceversa, e invece delle benedizioni, ci danno le maledizioni, e nè anche noi conosciamo la lingua dei nostri Vescovi, e neppure ci danno il permesso d'andare in un altro paese, per imparare, e così rimasti siamo orfani, e dacchè ricevemmo il S. Battesimo, e la Fede che oramai sono 1800 anni, viviamo come ho detto di sopra; perciò colle perenni lacrime agli occhi vi supplichiamo a mandarci un Vescovo, o Sacerdote, che conosca il rito Caldeo, e guardi, ed osservi bene tutte queste cose: e poi domandi V. Eminenza a Monsig. Ludovico nostro amantissimo Padre, il quale le farà conoscere tutte queste cose; e se neppure questo vuole V. Eminenza, faccia osservare allora dai Vescovi, che sono vicini a noi, i quali parlano la lingua tamulica; e se neppure questo le aggrada, allora mi chiami costì, ed io distintamente tuttociò, che gli ho raccontato, le esporrò più chiaro della luce del sole, e le faccio toccare colle dita.

Io, siccome sono stato destinato dai Preti, e dai Cristiani di scrivere questa lettera a V. Eminenza, per fuggir qualunque confusione da me solo ho scritta, intervenendo la perfetta volontà, ed adesione dei sopradetti.

2 Luglio 1854

Antonio Sacerdote, servo di Cristo, e vostro perenne servitore

DOCUMENT 26

OFFICIAL REPORT OF COADJUTOR VICAR APOSTOLIC OF VERAPOLY TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE ABOUT THE STATE OF SYRO-MALABAR CHRISTIANITY

Lettera del nuovo Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli, e relazione sullo stato della Cristianità nel Malabar.

Eminenza Rma

Perrdoni se ho tardato fino al dì d'oggi ad inviare la richiestami Relazione di questa Cristianità Siro-Malabarica: che le compiego. L'avevo cominciata più estesa e dettagliata, ma ho dovuto abbandonare l'impresa, perchè affin di contenere in qualche modo un popolo tale quale vedrà descritto devo necessariamente tener tutto dì occupato il capo, la voce, la mano, e ciò ch'è peggio con continuo timor nella coscienza, e quasi quasi disperazione della mia eterna salute. Molte volte perchè non si fracassi del tutto la nave è necessario secondare i venti, ed i marosi, fare, concedere quel che non si dovrebbe ed omettere quel che si dovrebbe fare, e si resta in penosa ansietà oltre la mia poca o niuna capacità, e salute. Mi raccomando perciò all'Eminenza Vostra come nelle mie anteriori di esonerarmi se è possibile da questo enorme, e pericolosissimo, ed amarissimo carico.

In fine raccomandando ecc.

Di V. Eminenza

Verapoli 7. Aprile 1858

Umo Dvmo ed Obblmo Servo, Fr. Bernardino di S. T. Coadjutore del Malabar.

Succinta Relazione della Cristianità Siro-malabarica diretta a S. E. il Card. Fransoni Prefetto della S. C. di Propaganda Fide.

Fondata dall'Apostolo S. Tommaso dicesi questa Cristianità, e ne' primi secoli estesa per tutta l'India, che ora però non esiste se non nel Malabar, e tutta s'inserra nei due Vicariati Apostolici di Verapoli, e Quilon. Cento dieci mila incirca sono cattolici, divisi in 115. Parrocchie, e circa 55. Chiese, o Cappelle

subalterne con 340. incirca sacerdoti, e 200. chierici: cinquantamila più o meno sono eretici Nestoriani. Tutti i cattolici, e la maggior parte degli eretici si comprendono nel Vicariato di Verapoli, il residuo degli eretici in quello di Quilon. Nel piano, ed alla spiaggia le parrocchie Soriane son frammischiate con le Latine, ed in queste vi sono ancora delle famiglie soriane, e nelle soriane delle latine. Nell'interiore però, e nei monti son tutti soriani, nè evvi Chiesa veruna latina.

Fu sogetta ai Patriarchi di Antiochia quindi agl'Arcivescovi, o Pritnati di Seleucia, e poi di Mosul, che la governavano mandandovi Vescovi ed Arcivescovi, i quali in fine vi portarono, e tutta l'infettarono della peste del Nestorianismo, e Giacobismo. Se nei primi secoli, e fin tanto che si mantenne cattolica vi abbia fiorito la Religione è cosa che non si può sapere; il certo è che quando il celebre Arcivescovo di Goa Menezes nell'anno 1598. vi si portò per convertirla, la trovò quasi di solo nome cristiana. Questo benedetto Prelato di felicissima memoria con travagli immensi, terribili persecuzioni, frequenti pericoli, dall'instancabile zelo dei PP. Gesuiti ottenne in fine nel celebre Sinodo di Odiamper di fargli abjurare l'eresia, ed affin di più unirla e stringerla con la Chiesa cattolica, e con la S. Sede, ed allontanare il pericolo di una nuova infezione, ed apostasia, con la facoltà che ne aveva dal Papa estinse l'Arcivescovato Siro-Malabarico di Angamali, ed eresse il latino di Cranganor, cui tutta, ed in tutto purgata dalle diverse feccie delle suddette eresie unì e sottomise questa Cristianità e Rito, ed in più cose l'uniformò al latino, nè da quell'epoca fino al dì d'oggi ebbero i cattolici altri Prelati se non che latini.

La conversione però fù di poca durata. Appena aveva chiusi gli occhi nel Portegallo il prelodatissimo Arcivescovo, che questo clero pravo, perverso, e rivoltoso, stanco forse di dover vivere con qualche almeno apparente morigeratezza la strascinò di bel nuovo tutta alla antica eresia, al *Credo*, e comunione di Mosul. Alcuni pochi però aborrendo empietà si grande resero consapevole di tutto il successo un nostro Missionario che risiedeva in Calcutta, e per via di questo i nostri Religiosi di Goa chiedendogli soccorso, e che informasser di tutto la S. Sede, come eseguirono. In conseguenza

di ciò furono spediti dalla Propaganda alcuni Religiosi in qualità di Missionari Apostolici, e quindi nell'anno 1661. fu eretto questo Vicariato Apostolico, e di mano in mano ricondotta al seno della S. Chiesa la maggior parte di questa cristianità, restando l'altra fino al dì d'oggi ostinata nella sua empietà ed eresia.

Dalla prima lor conversione sarebbe quasi interminabile ed inutile il riferire le persecuzioni, sollevazioni, atroci calunnie, violenze, sacrileghi attentati, orribili empietà contro Dio, contro la S. Sede, contro i lor Prelati diocesani, contro i PP. Gesuiti tanto di loro benemeriti, che obligavano a fuggire dì loco in loco, e contro i Vicarj, e Missionarj Apostolici del mio Ordine fatte fino al dì d'oggi non per altro se non perchè si opponevano ai loro disordini, ai loro vizi, alle loro scelleraggini, alla loro insubordinazione, ed ingiustissime pretenzioni, e si adoperavano affiachè vivessero secondo il nome che tanto mal gli conviene di cristiani, di cattolici. Ho voluto soltanto indicar ciò affinchè si conosca che il cattolicismo fra questi cristiani non solo ma eziandio in quelli di Rito latino mai fiorì nel Malabar (e non sarebbe già uno sproposito se dicessi anche in tutta l'India), ma recarono sempre grandi amarezze, non produssero che triboli e spine, e furono di gran rossore alla S. Chiesa, ed a suoi ministri.

Lasciando perciò il passato vengo a dare un idea del presente stato di questa Cristianità che considerata in massa io la trovo descritta al vivo nella lettera di S. Paolo ai Romani Cap. I. v. 29. Egli parlando ivi dei filosofi gentili dice quel che io ora con le sue parole ripeto di questi cristiani, cioè «Repletos omni iniquitate, malitia, fornicatione, avaritia, nequitia, plenos invidia, homicidio, contentione, dolo malignitate, susurrones, detractores, Deo odibiles, contumeliosos, superbos = (la superbia di questa nazione è vivamente inimaginabile) = elatos, inventores malorum, parentibus non obedientes = (massime ai Prelati e Vicarj) = insipientes, incompositos, sine affectione, absque foedere, sine misericordia» cui aggiungo ipocriti finissimi, sempre bugiardi, vendicativi al sommo, tutti dati al furto ed alla rapina, alle superstizioni e gentilità. Ecco il carattere di questa cristianità non solo, ma di tutti i Malabaresi, con la differenza del più o meno, ed eccettuati pochissimi che Dio ha in tutte le parti. Posto questo mi

sembra superfluo di trattenermi a narrare se e come frequentino i Sacramenti, qual stima ne facciano, qual fede vi abbiano: come siano impegnati per la propria istruzione, e de' loro figli nella Dottrina, e doveri del cristiano, quale educazione gli diano. Con qual onestà, e modestia abitino nelle case, ed usino fuori di esse con qual divozione, e rispetto, e compostezza stiano nelle Chiese. Come nascano in somma, come vivano, come muoiano si potrà forse meglio imaginare che io descrivere. Non hanno mezzi, dirà forse taluno, non sono assistiti. Non hanno la volontà ripeto io, questa sola è che gli manca, e gli fa mancare i mezzi. Quei pochi mediocri e buoni Vicari ossia Pro-Parrochi che si vorrebbero occupare a loro spirituale vantaggio, alla riforma dei loro costumi sperimentano l'istessa sorte che di sopra ho detto aver sempre incontrata con questo popolo i ministri di Dio, li perseguitano in modo che o sono obbligati a fuggire, o a lasciar di fare la loro obligazione. Per Vicari vogliouo quei sacerdoti che sono a loro eguali, o superiori nella iniquità; perchè vogliono avere il nome con qualche esteriore e finzione di cristiani di cattolici, ma non già le opere. Non vi è timore veruno che si diano al gentilesimo, né che tornino alla eresia (allo scisma sì) perchè la superbia non gliel consente, vi soffrirebbe molto discapito il loro vergognosissimo onore, non sarebbero più considerati, non avrebbero quei riguardi e tutti quei privilegi, ed esenzioni che ora godono sotto il nome di cattolici; ma niuna, o pochissima speranza vi è di ridurli a viver da tali, perchè sono di dura cervice, e di cuore ed orecchie incirconcisi sempre resistono allo Spirito Santo. Vogliono esser cattolici, ma così come sono e non altrimenti, e come devono. Essi non vogliono aver leggi dalla S. Chiesa, ma il Prelato deve attendere ad osservare, e fare osservare a tutti in primis ai Vicari le leggi che fanno essi in tuttociò che riguarda la Chiesa, funzioni sacre, amministrazione de' beni ecclesiastici ecc. diversamente, non me perchè non possono, ma sospendono i Vicarj, od altri sacerdoti che le trasgrediscano, ed efficacemente levandogli il calice, le candele, l'incenso, il vino, le ostie, e quando non possano in questo gli tolgon la pietra sacra dall'altare. Che se ad alcuno sembrasse improbabile quel che ho detto, e dirò con tutta verità, o che io m'inganni, lo prego a venir quà in questo nuovo mondo, osservare, e sperimentare, e poi potrà decidere.

Le Chiese in conseguenza dì quanto ho detto son propriamente come disse N. S. Gesù Cristo del Tempio di allora, case di negozio, spelonche di ladri, si compra, si vende, si affitta, si dà ad usura, si rubba. Si fan feste, processioni con balli, comedie scandalose per aver molto concorso, e molte elemosine, ossia molto che rubare, non mollo dissimili, e per quanto si può consimili, e qualche volta, ed in alcune cose uniformi a quelle dei Pagodi. In somma la Chiesa è quasi come ln *piazza navona*, e deve servire per loro onore, e vanagloria, vale a dire per esser lodati, e stimati dai gentili, e mori, e fra di loro stessi; deve servire alla loro avarizia, e turpissimo e sacrilego lucro, e per loro divertimento.

Del clero eccettuati pochi soggetti mediocri e buoni relativamente, come ho già accennato, i quali per quanto ora ho presente non ecccedono il numero di 30 più volte ne ho parlato e dato a conoscere in diverse lettere, ed inoltre l'ho compreso nella descrizione fatta di sopra della massa di questa cristianità, di cui in fine sono membri, e non possono essere che figli de' loro padri «genimina viperarum.» E veramente, siccome disse il Redentore «numquid colligunt de spiinis uvas, aut de tribalis ficus?» La loro vocazione, o per dir meglio quella che gli fan venire i loro genitori, o zii, o chi ha di lor cura è pel danaro, e tutto o lecito, o illecito si deve fare e dirigere a questo scopo. Il sacerdozio è un mestiere onorato per guadagnare molto senza travaglio. Se non vi è danaro non vi è sacerdote, non vi sono Sacramenti, non feste, non sacre funzioni, è terminato tutto, resterà in silenzio la sola fabbrica della Chiesa. Il danaro è cosa che si vede, si sente, si tocca, e giova a tutto massime in questi paesi; ma i sacrilegi, le simonie, e tutto il resto sono nomi, e non li toccano, e non li vedono, ed ora infelici non li sentono: non so spiegarmi meglio, ma s'intenderà quel che voglio dire. In sostanza il clero è il più tremendo gastigo con cui Iddio punisce questo popolo non credentem et contradicentem sibi, ed eseguisce quella terribil minaccia «et erit sicut populus sic sacerdos.» Povero me che vi entro ancor io, et quidem per il primo, e peggiore di tutti - per amor d'Iddio mi liberino!

Scuole ecclesiastiche o seminarj, fuori di questo di Verapoli si possono chiamar piuttosto locande, et aliquid amplius. Si sta, si va, si fa quel che si vuò, e forse anche quel che non si vorrebbe (credo essere inteso senza spiegarmi di più). Il corso de' studj consiste in apprender la lingua Siriaca, e bene, come già notificai in una mia lettera, o osservazioni, che ora non mi ricordo; in spiegare ed apprender la Bibbia; ma è stampala dai Protestanti in Londra, come ne avvisai; e quantunque sia intiera e fedele per quanto ne sono stato assicurato, ciò non ostante è cosa per molti riguardi cattiva o pessima; ed in apprendere un compendio di morale.

Per fare argine ad un torrente impetuoso è prima di tutto necessario aver pronti i materiali proporzionati, e sufficienti; diversamente è peggio. Vi vogliono perciò missionarj e quando vi saran questi, ed avranno appresa la lingua, ed acquistato il necessario conoscimento, ed esperienza sarà facile il gettar l'argine dal canto nostro, e secondo l'arte sufficiente e proporzionato a trattener l'impeto di questa cristianità che vuole a tutti i conti proseguire ad inondare l'Inferno. Questo è il primo rimedio finora, di cui io non vedo altro più necessario, efficace ed opportuno. Col clero nativo non si farà mai nulla di solido. Il secondo rimedio, e condizione *sine qua non* è che termini lo scisma, che è la loro fortezza e città di rifugio.

I moltiplici affari, e la poca salute, che mi hanno obbligato ad esser succinto nel tracciare questa Relazione, in cui peraltro credo, secondo il mio scarso ingegno, di aver data una giusta, vera, e chiara idea di questa cristianità, mi costringono a porre l'ultimo punto. Sia tutto a gloria d'Iddio, ed a vantaggio di questi infelici.

Verapoli 7 Aprile 1856

Fr. Bernardino di S. Teresa Vescovo d'Eraclea, Coadjutore nel Malabar.

DOCUMENT 27

MEMORANDUM OF 45 MALABAR PRIESTS ADDRESSED TO POPE PIUS IX

Traduzione verbale.

Al Santuario di N. S. Papa Pio Pontefice Massimo di tutto l'abitato.

Noi Caldei Malabaresi preti chierici e fedeli prostrandoci ai piedi Vostri come sempre così ora pure domandiamo con lagrime che presto ammettiate le nostre suppliche: battiamo senza cessa alle porte di V. misericordie, che ci mandiate Vescovi caldei di nostra lingua rito e nazione, e maestri caldei per mano del Capo di nostro rito il Cattolico Patriarca di Babel sopra tutti i Caldei del mondo. Giacchè abbiamo sempre domandato questo, e sappiamo che vi è speranza da chè si tratta questo negozio nella V. Congregazione; e per questo mandato avevamo P. Antonio Codehescira con lettere a Bagdad dal Patriarca nostro di Babel. Noi siamo Vostri figli che abbiamo ricevuta la fede per l'Apostolo S. Toma e non ci abbandonerete come non abbandonate gli altri: siamo ignoranti di nostro rito e dottrina, fateci un rimedio ec.

Giugno 22 1856.

Seguono 45 sotloscrizioni di preti

Tradusse dall'originale Caldeo, Giorgio Khaiat Alunno di Prop.

DOCUMENT 28

LETTER OF 31 MALABAR PRIESTS TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH JOSEPH AUDO

Traslazione letterale.

A Monsignor Giuseppe Audo Patriarca de Caldei

Noi tutti Caldei Melibaresi preti chierici e fedeli Vi preghiamo questa volta ancora con lagrime abbondanti come sempre, che presto accettiate le nostre suppliche, e ci mandiate

Vescovi e maestri caldei in nostra lingua e in nostro rito e in nostra nazione, siccome da lungo tempo dimandiamo. Rimasti noi sempre quali orfani solo adesso abbiamo inteso, che si tratta nella S. C. di Roma di ordinare i Vescovi caldei. Perciò decidete del nostro negozio senza ritardo e fateci libertà e emancipazione come è stato fatto in questi ultimi tempi ad altri per la Chiesa santa cattolica di Roma. Altrimenti mostrateci una porta ed una via, giacchè ecco che vi scriviamo queste parole seguenti. Bernardinos Vescovo di Verapoli scrisse a noi tutti, che se noi scriviamo a Roma o a voi saremo scommunicati. Scommunicò pure il prete Antonio Codchescira nostro procuratore fedele e lo publicò per tale in tutte le chiese di Meliber ai 5 del corrente mese. Ecco pertanto che siamo noi fatti orfani e maltrattati in Melibar più degli altri altrove: Imperocche altrove ciascuno ha il permesso di scrivere alla S. C. ad a qualunque parte. Noi soli siamo così. Diù questo prete Antonio nell'andare e nel ritornare incontrò da pertutto cattivi trattamenti per opera di questo Vescovo. Subito che arrivò quà lo sospese a divinis ed ora lo scomunicò. Ora dove noi andiamo, a chi ci rivolgiamo? non abbiamo quì un liberatore. Altra causa e colpa non ha il detto prete Antonio, che questa di supplicare canonicamente Voi e la S. Sede. Abbiamo mandato la copia presa fedelmente dall'originale malabarese delle scommuniche nostre e del P. Antonio - leggetela e se sarà necessario mandatela a Roma. -Scriveteci sempre e noi subito passato l'inverno vi manderemo P. Antonio Codchescira.

Scritta 1856 Agosto 14.

Seguono 31 sottoscrizioni di preti di quel paese

Tradusse dal Caldeo originale, Giorgio Khaiat prete Caldeo Alunno di Prop., (jubente Patriarca).

DOCUMENT 29

LETTER OF BERNARDINO TO CARDINAL BARNABÒ, THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Lettera (30 Settembre 1856) di Monsig. Bernardino Vescovo di Eraclea Amministratore del Vicariato Apostolico del Malabar all'Emo Barnabò Prefetto della Propaganda.

Eminenza Revma, Omissis etc.

Il cassanar Antonio tornato da Bagdad per inquietare e sollevare tutto il Vicariato, come accennai nella mia ultima diretta al Predecessore di V. Emza, cujus memoria in benedictione est, con una raccomandazione, che dice avere da quel Patriarca a tutta questa Cristianità, ed anche ai Gentili onde diano abondanti limosine per poter chiunque voglia sia secolare, sia Ecclesiastico, non facendo neppur caso di mia proibizione o qualunque censura, portarsi da esso (questo io non lo credo, ma questi lo credono pur troppo), con diverse lettere che mostra del medesimo Patriarca (e queste son vere) e col continuo carteggio, che con esso tiene (giunse una lettera ove al difuori dava la scomunica a chi l'avesse aperta); con copie altresi di lettere di cotesta S. C. avute credo dal medesimo Prelato, con lettere provenienti da Roma, non so di chi, se pur fossero del chierico Cancha (di questo inviai una lettera, nella quale vi era una frase rimarchevole, ma non so se V. E. l'abbia ricevuta); e con mille spropositi, favole, bugie che lungo sarebbe il riferirle, e che dà ad intendere ad un popolo che ama la vanità e cerca la bugia, e tale quale descrissi nella richiestami benchè succinta Relazione che inviai ai 7. del passalo Aprile (ma tuttora non so, e dubito molto che l'abbia V. E. ricevuta); va correndo per tutte le Chiese e procura soscrizioni ad una supplica diretta a Sua Santità, e ad allra diretta al menzionato Patriarca, e quelle che non può avere credo che ve le ponga esso, raccogliendo in pari tempo molto danaro con danno delle Chiese perchè egli dice, deve portare a Bagdad, ove in breve è per tornare, sette mila⁶

⁶ Il medesimo Mgr. Bernardino li 18 Settembre 1852 scriveva, che una Rupia vale poco meno di cinque paoli.

Rupie (che molto danaro sia andato a Bagdad è cosa che 1'ho intesa di certo, a che serva io non lo so) per assegnamento del nuovo Vescovo. E' qui da notarsi che con tale denaro da più anni raccolto affin di sostenere e sostentare le sue ed altrui passioni, non ha voluto fino al di d'oggi sborsare 160 Rupie a quella famiglia che già .scrissi aver egli per vendetta gravissimamente dannificata accusando calunniosamente un loro Chierico, che di dolore ne morì, alla Corte Civile di Eretici e Gentili, per cui io lo sospesi, dico per non aver voluto risarcire i danni. Eminenza se avessi conosciuto o conoscessi d'esser cosa vantaggiosa a questa Cristianità Siro-Malabarica l'esser consegnata al governo del Patriarca di Bagdad, mi sarei impegnato, e m'impegnerei io pel primo d'ottenerglielo. Dio sa che non cerco altro se non il loro ma vero bene in un mare di afflizioni, amarezze, contradizioni, persecuzioni da ogni lato, maldicenze, travagli ed angustie di tutto dì. Ma ben so e conosco evidentemente, e l'ho fatto conoscere per quanto ho potuto a codesta S. C. che tutto l'impegno di questo scellerato clero non è già per aver Vescovo del loro Rito, nè per simili spirituali vantaggi, ma per di nuovo mettere in piedi due giurisdizioni e due Superiori Ecclesiastici come prima del Breve Multa praeclare onde come prima ottener poi (e non gli mancheranno i mezzi anche per questi) di poter passare or sotto l'uno or sotto l'altro per non obbedire nè all'uno nè all'altro, e non potere nè l'uno nè l'altro contenerli a dovere e riformare i costumi di essi e del popolo. In somma vogliono essere, come ho detto nella mia Relazione Sacerdoti di nome, Cristiani, Cattolici ma di nome e così come sono, ma non come debbono essere, e per ciò porranno sossopra tutto l'Inferno, e se gli daranno ascolto non si farà mai niente di buono, e si renderà inutile affatto per essi lo star noi patendo, Dio sa in che modo, in questi paesi, andandosene essi tutti all'Inferno. Non so bene come sia al presente quel Clero della Mesopotamia, so però che il Card. Antonelli b. m. in una lettera dei 6 Ottobre 1790 diretta a Monsig. Luigi Maria allora Vicario Apostolico concernente molti dubhi e decisioni di cotesta S. Congregazione relative a questo Vicariato, venendo al dubbio XX cioè «An unus alterve Missionarius vel Alumnus in Babyloniam vel Diarbekir mittendus sit, ut ibi comparata linguae Caldaicae peritia in Malabariam aceedat et Ritum, librosque Syro-

Caldaicos emendet? R. Habebitur ratio» diceva «Si è risposto habebitur ratio; ma non pare molto eseguibile il proggetto del P. Paolino, poichè i preti Siro-Caldei della Mesopotamia sono molto ignoranti, e poco saldi nella Religione.» Il progetto del P. Paolino sembrami essere stato di eseguire l'Affirmative dato dalla medesima S. C. ai 22 luglio del 1774, al Dubbio VI cioè «Utrum rursus ac diligentius inquirendi sint duo idonei Sacerdotes Ritus Caldaei quorum assistentia ac Ministerio uti possint Caldaei Malabares, quemadmodum haec S. C. mandavit sub die 30. lulii 1771? R. Affirmative» sembra dunque che il P. Paolino volesse che si cercassero nella Mesopotamia i due Sacerdoti indicati, ed il menzionato Card. Àntonelli diceva esser difficile di la trovarli. Ma sia come si voglia io però non so in che modo scusare del tutto la condotta tenuta e che prosegue a tenere con questi sussurroni quel benedetto Patriarca di Bagdad. Egli ha avuta ed ha continua epistolare corrispondenza coi più scellerati pubblici, e notori Cassanari, il che è un grande scandalo, ed a tutti dà grande animo, vedendo i più perversi sostenuti, protetti, diretti nelle loro ree trame da tal Personaggio. Egli ad occhi chiusi sì è bevute tutte le querele bugiarde mascherate dal zelo della ipocrisia di volere, e promuovere grandi cose per la Religione pel Rito del che nulla meno gli cale, e per questi mezzi, come ho detto, si studiano a tutta possa d'impedire chi veramente glie le procura. Egli ha ricevuti, accarezzati, e permesso di dir la sacrilega Messa a due Sacerdoti fuggitivi, uno dei quali sospeso, cioè Antonio, senza veder niun attestato o permissione del loro Superiore come richiedono le leggi, riposato soltanto nella loro asserzione e bugie, mentre da ciò poteva, e doveva dubitare almeno, ed informarsi dirigendo a me due parole, almeno per sentir cosa dicevo, prima di permettergli la celebrazione. Egli ha parimenti ammesso e ritiene colà con uno dei due detti Sacerdoti o uno, o due ragazzi come Chierici portativi dal menzionato Antonio Cassanar non essendo tali, e così credo che sarà per ricevere gli altri che gli porterà in breve, col danaro raccolto, e la scommunica che gli ho data, con la sospensione di prima, e l'irregolarità che si è guadagnata esso Antonio per la violazione della censura, e così di nuovo anderà continuando presso del Patriarca i suoi sacrilegi. Io gli ho diretta una lettera che ho fatta scrivere in lingua Siriaca onde renderlo inteso di tutto circa

i due menzionati infelici soggetti, ma non so se gli sia pervenuta. La mia opinione in questo negozio sarebbe che cotesta S. C. inviasse qua uno o due buoni e capaci Maroniti come Missionari, ed appresa che avranno la lingua, e l'esperienza di questi paesi, se così converrà, un di loro potrà essere consacrato Vescovv pei Soriani ma non diviso, e separato interamente dalla giurisdizione del Vicario Apostolico per non dar luogo all'antico disordine, ed alle nuove molestie che avrà infallibilmente cotesta S. C., ed il S Padre affin di aprire di nuovo il giochetto, e non solo l'avrà dai Soriani, ma quindi anche dai Latini, che per cominciare non aspettano altro che di vedere se riesce ai Soriani. Ponendo questa Cristianità sotto la mediata giurisdizione del Patriarca di Bagdad potrebbe anche accadere in futuro che le circostanze esiggessero di separarla di nuovo, e non si potrà conseguire senza che insorga un nuovo scisma. Questa mia opinione l'ho communicata ad alcuni dei migliori Cassanari, che come vedrà V. E. nella lettera di uno di essi che le compiego con la sua versione in italiano mi si lamentavano molto di queste novità, ed han mostrato di gradirla, e mi han detto che così appunto volevano supplicarne Sua Santità. Di fatti mi han poi mandata la supplica in Soriano che parimenti le compiego così sigillata come l'ho ricevuta per cui non so cosa vi dicano, ma in caso che alcuna cosa richiegga qualche schiarimento prego V. E. a notificarmela, mi avvisano ancora di far consapevole Sua Santità che non tutti vi si son potuti firmare essendo in diversi luoghi e distanti, e non permettendogli il tempo maggior dilazione. Prego V. E. a perdonarmi di quanto ho detto su di qeesto negozio, avendolo detto soltanto per quietarmi la coscienza, onde dal mio silenzio non venga danno a questa Cristianità. Omissis etc.

Ed eccomi Eminenza a presentarle un altro progetto, che io stimo il più opportuno, e salutevole per la riforma e progressi di questo Vicariato di quanti mai si possano ideare, e per cui son pronto a far qualunque sforzo onde si effettui. Prego però V. E. a tener celato in quanto vien suggerito da me per evitare qualunque dissapore, gelosia, mal occhio, od altro che potrebbe aver luogo fra uomini come siamo; e venendo approvato, come istantemente ne prego l'E. V. a supplicarne anche umilissimamente Sua Santità, si eseguisca come moto proprio di cotesta S. C. e per niente si nomini

me. Vorrei dico che qui si fondasse un convento di Liguoristi che stessero in questo Vicariato nel medesimo modo pei medesimi fini, e colle medesime Regole ed osservanza in tutto e per tutto come gli ha istituiti S. Alfonso, ed esistono nelle diverse Diocesi del Regno di Napoli, in Roma ec. Oh quanto bene si potrebbe fare dopo che avessero appresa la lingua, andando con le S. Missioni di Parrocchia in Parrocchia venendo aiutati dai nostri Missionari, e dai detti Congregati Cassanari, che apprenderebbero insieme il vero modo, e metodo, mezzi e spirito di condurre anime a Dio! Quant altri vantaggi recherebbe un tale Istituto! qui potrebbero ritirarsi a far gli Esercizi spirituali gli Ordinandi, e quei Sacerdoti che ne avessero di bisogno ec. Il luogo ottimo non molto distante da Verapoli per via di fiume l'ho pronto, la Chiesa vi è, il Convento ad un cenno di V. E. ad ogni costo lo farò, il mantenimento con quei pochi beni che abbiamo, e con quel che ci manda la carità de fedeli di Lione vi sarà per tutti, e Dio aiuterà. Eminenza spero che avrò questa consolazione, e dopo morrò contento. Qui (scusi Eminenza) ci vogliono Missionari e non Patriarchi.

Avverto a V. E. che giungerà forse un altra supplica che ho inteso andare in giro affin di prendere soscrizioni, e l'autore è un Cassanar Malpam, ed alcuni di suo partito, il quale Malpam cioè Maestro, io ho dovuto levar dall'officio di Vicario per la sua scandalosa condotta, e furti alla Chiesa. *Omissis* etc.

Raccomandandomi in fine alle orazioni di V. E. con profondo rispetto baciandole la S. Porpora mi pregio d'essere

Di V. Emza.

Verapoli 30. Settembre 1856.

Umilissimo Obmo Dvmo Servo, Fr. Bernardino di S. Teresa C. S. Vescovo d'Eraclea, Amministratore del Vicariato Apostolico del Malabar.

DOCUMENT 30

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE COMMUNICATING THE PROPOSALS OF THE PATRIARCHAL ASSEMBLY

Lettera (7 Novembre 1856) del Patriarca Caldeo Monsig. Audo all'Emo Barnabò Prefetto di Propaganda.

N. B. Questa lettera è scritta *originalmente* in italiano: Solamente la firma è in Caldeo.

Eminentissimo Principe

Fin dal principio del mio Patriarcato aveva ricevuto dai Malabaresi di rito Caldeo lettere scritte nel tenore di quelle già mandate ai miei predecessori postulatorie cioè di pastori del rito caldeo sotto la giurisdizione del Patriarca del medesimo rito.

Di queste feci allora ragguaglio alla S. Congregazione; e trovatasi allora Roma nello scompiglio della rivoluzione mi rispose la S. Congregazione che aspettassi un poco, e che intanto esortassi i Malabaresi al silenzio e alla tranquillità: il che feci.

Dopo un tratto di tempo ripeterono quelli le istanze, e ne ripetei pur io l'informazione alla S. Congregazione e mi rispose per mezzo di Monsig. Planchet Delegato che non doveva io impicciarmi in questa faccenda, e che quelli, che facevano quelle istanze erano un piccolo numero di clero e di gente di sospetta condotta e che inoltre quella nazione non era stata mai del rito e della giurisdizione Caldea. Io benchè poco soddisfatto da tale risposta, la quale mi sembrò lontana dal vero riguardo alle particolarità accennate, essendo certo per documenti e fatti, che quei Cristiani erano sempre e sono del rito Caldeo, ed erano sotto la giurisdizione della chiesa Caldea prima del Nestorianismo, e dopo ancora per lungo tempo, io, diceva, per non sembrare poco ossequioso alla S. Congregazione tacqui per ben tre anni.

Intanto quelli non tacevano; ma avendomi stancato con lettere, alla fine l'anno scorso, mi vennero due sacerdoti, l'uno dei quali era Archimandrita, e un'chierico, muniti dì raccomandazioni di quelle tribù, e costoro vivamente mi scongiurarono di accettare

la loro petizione e di ottenerla loro dalla S. Congregazione: mi contarono pure di voce la loro situazione sotto la giurisdizione del Vicario Apostolico.

L'Archimandrita ritornò al suo paese e l'altro Sacerdote col chierico sta da noi. Essi avevano l'intenzione nel loro partire dal proprio paese di recarsi a Roma per perorare colà la propria causa, e rispondere alle calunnie, che vengono loro fatte da' loro nemici.

Di questo pure avendo scritto alla S. Congregazione V. Emza mi rispose promettendomi un buon riuscimento per la salute di quelle anime: quindi a poco fece vedere nuove difficoltà.

Al contrario di là vengono di nuove lettere contenenti nuovi motivi per ispedire presto questo affare.

Il Revmo Monsig. Vicario Apostolico Bernardino aveva prima sospeso il detto Archimandrita, e poi secondo altre lettre lo scommunicò vitando come costa dalla copia dell'autografo mandatami, e ciò non per altra colpa che per essersi recato da me coll'intenzione di recarsi a Roma, il che non avea potuto l'Archimandrita effettuare a cagione degli ostacoli frappostigli nella sua via dal Revmo Monsig. Bernardino istesso.

Stanco da tanto, e mosso da carità verso quei poveretti, le cui lagrime pare che non giungono fino a V. Eminenza e di cui pare che non giunge che notizia appannata di cose incerte, e mosso pure da un certo riguardo alla mia nazione, che ha unanime questo voto quale cosa conforme ai diritti dei riti differenti, convocato il mio Clero di Mossul, e l'Abate di Rahban-Hormez, presente Monsig. Planchet Delegato Apostolico, il P. Prefetto dei PP. Domenicani, abbiamo creduta cosa ben fatta di postulare una decisione da Roma da riceversi senza ritardo; la quale sia o di permettere di ordinar loro un pastore di rito caldeo scelto coll'approvazione della S. Sede e della S. Congregazione dipendente (il pastore suddetto) dal Patriarca de'Caldei, e questo è il più presto rimedio, e il più adattato al bisogno a mio parere; ovvero se ancora sono dubbie le relazioni avute, e le informazioni ripetute da quella cristianità preghiamo un'altra via a tenersi che si scelgano dalla Vostra parte due visitatori non Carmelitani, e da noi due altri, e si rechino colà di unanime intenzione di conoscere la verità circa lo stato di quella tribù.

Altrimenti temo assai che molti almeno di quei deboli non lascino la fede per una tentazione forte per loro, che dopo tanti loro lamenti e ricorsi non vedrebbero o nessun'alleviamento o almeno nessuna prova autentica della loro mala fede.

Intanto colgo l'occasioue per segnarmi rispettosamente Di V. Eminenza Illma e Revma Mossul 7 Novembre 1856 Giuseppe Audo Patriarca Caldeo.

DOCUMENT 31

LETTER OF FATHER AUGUSTINE MARCHI TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Lettera (11 Novembre 1856) del P. Marchi Domenicano Missionario di Mossul all'Emo Card. Barnabò Prefetto della Propaganda.

Eminenza Revma

Arrivate, non ha guari, novelle lettere e lamenti replicati dei noti cattolici Malabaresi a questo Patriarca Caldeo, egli tenne una congregazione speciale composta del Clero Caldeo di Mussul, del Superiore di Rabban-Hormez, di Monsig. Planchet Delegato Apostolico ed il suo Segretario, e dell'infrascritto, per riesaminare il *pro* e *contra* di quella cristianità.

In questa adunanza si convenne da tutti nel parere di supplicare il Santo Padre, affinchè si degni concedere ai Cattolici Malabaresi di rito Caldeo un Metropolitano o un Primate secondo l'antica consuetudine sotto la dipendenza del Patriarca Caldeo. Il qual Metropolitano si sceglierebbe fra il clero Malabarese se abbiavi un idoneo soggetto, o altrimenti dal clero Caldeo a beneplacito del Patriarca di armonia colla Santa Sede.

Ma se il S. Padre credesse necessario accertarsi meglio delle disposizioni dei dissenzienti, in tal caso proporrebbe e pregherebbe il Patriarca Caldeo si mandassero due visitatori per parte della S. Sede e altri due per parte di questo Patriarca (uno de' quali potrebbe esser Giorgio Chajat già alunno di Propaganda) affinchè senza spirito di partito, esaminati i motivi di quelle lunghe odiose differenze, siano stromenti di pace presso i Malabaresi: poi a seconda delle informazioni debite si adotti di consenso unanime della S. Sede e del Patriarca Caldeo quella determinazione che stimisi più alta a render la pace e la concordia durevoli a quella cristianità.

Il Delegato Apostolico ed io, senza pretensione di sorta di farci arbitri di una questione così cornplicata della quale non conosciamo esattamente lo stato, stimammo prudente convenire nel parere de' Caldei.

Non credo inutile per parte mia far noto alla Eminenza Vostra che questa questione è molto a cuore nella nazione Caldea di guisa che, se in altri tempi non lo avessi impedito, delle clamorose e contenziose rimostranze già sarebbero state fatte a Roma in modo poco decoroso, a non dire pregiudicievole alla cristiana concordia.

Benchè io mi ricusassi per ragionevoli motivi di intervenire al Sinodo di Rabban-Hormez sò con certezza che vi si reclamò molto e in guisa impropria contro le presunte usupazioni di Roma, e una lettera risentita a nome di tutti i Vescovi, eccettuato il Coadjutore di Cosrova era già scritta pel S. Padre, che mi riuscì mandare a vuoto. Qui in Musul poco prima il Bar-Tatar, fattosi Tribuno in quella causa, declamò arrabbiatamente dall'altare nelle chiesa di Mar-Esciaja in dì festivo. A dir certo qui e nel paese Caldei e Nestoriani, Siri e Giacobiti (per tacere de' Protestanti che colgono ogni occasione per mordere la S. Sede) tutti in massa menano gravi lamenti che Roma lasci così a lungo sospesa una questione di tanto momento, ed impedisca ai Malabaresi di ritornare sotto la direzione immediata del Patriarca Caldeo.

Quanto ai Caldei ci entra di più l'amore nazionale, si è frugato ne' vecchi archivii, si sono sciorinati tutti i codici, tutte le collezioni de' sinodi per accertarsi dell'antica e continuata unione dei Malabaresi in questione colla Caldea di Seleucia e di Babel sia

prima che dopo il nestorianismo. Si è citalo il fatto del Patriarca Sulacha, il quale dopo avere abjurato in Roma 1'eresia di Nestorio fu rimandato qui con due Missionari latini che lo accompagnarono fino alle Indie Orientali perchè visitasse i suoi malabaresi. Sarei troppo prolisso se volessi ridire tuttociò che si è detto e si dice su questo proposito. Dirò solo coscienziosamente che gli orientali di oggidì non sono molti dissìmili dai proprii padri: mostrarsi, esserlo anco per coscienza, uniti colla S. Sede, ma essere innanzi tutto amanti della loro nazionalità, dei loro titoli, delle proprie tradizioni, e dirò pure della loro indipendenza.... Perciò pareami ben fatto non provocarli molto, tanto più in cose che sono loro si care; contentarli là dove non recasi alcun pregiudizio alla unità della fede e alla cristiana concordia. Così la bella causa della vera Chiesa di Gesù Cristo vi guadagnerebbe ogni di più contro l'amore e lo spirito già troppo vecchio di setta, o di partito. Così l'opera de' Missionarii e le sollecitudini amorevoli della Santa Sede raggiungerebbero più facilmente il loro scopo.

Io mi son fatto lecito di esporre queste già troppo prolisse considerazioni alla Eminenza Vostra, affinchè Ella conosca meglio la condizione presente e le disposizioni di queste cristianità. Lontano dallo esagerare, sono stato assai parco in esporre ciò che una lunga esperienza e accurate osservazioni hanno fatto conoscere. Se altri non vedesse a mio modo, se vedesse tutto più bello, non monta; piegando a peggio le cose, la responsabilità peserebbe sovr'esso.

L'Eminenza Vostra tenga nella sua nota prudenza in quel conto che crede le mie osservazioni: vicino a partire dalla mia Missione, non avrò mai a pentirmi di averle fatte, e ne sarò tanto più lieto se potessero influire a ridonar presto la concordia fra i Malabaresi, ed a stringere una più stabile unione fra le chiese orientali e la Santa Sede.

Metto me stesso e la mia Missione ai piedi dell'Eminenza Vostra Rma.

Musul 11 Novembre 1856.

Fr. Agostino Marchi de' PP. Pred.

DOCUMENT 32

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO POPE PIUS IX CONCERNING CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR

Lettera (17 Novembre 1856) del Patriarca Caldeo Monsig. Audo alla Santità di N. S. Papa Pio IX con allegati.

N. B. Questa Lettera inclusivamente alla firma è scritta *originalmente* in Italiano; ed ha in fine il solito sigillo grande del Patriarca.

Beatissimo Padre

Contrariato nel mio vivo desiderio di recarmi personalmente in Roma ricorro al benefizio della carta per rinnovare presso la Santità Vostra le proteste del mio sincero attaccamento, e della mia figliale devozione a cotesta S. Sede, mettendo me stesso e la mia Nazione a'piedi della S. V. pregandola d'impartirci la sua Apostolica benedizione.

E siccome è notissimo che l'animo paterno e generoso della S. V. è bene inclinato a dare accesso alle suppliche de' suoi figli, io sono molto rassicurato, che la S. V. sentirà di buon grado, che il minimo de' Patriarchi cattolici della Nazione Caldea le faccia palese un suo desiderio, il quale è proprio di tutta la Nazione, che Iddio gli ha affidata a dirigere nella unione della Fede e della carità.

La Santità Vostra non ignora che i Cattolici del Malabar di rito caldeo sono da tempo straziati da intestine dissenzioni, che potrebbero caratterizzarsi col nome odioso di scisma.

Otto anni fa, in sulle prime mosse del mio Patriarcato, mi vennero a mano delle calde petizioni di una ben numerosa porzione di quella Cristianità, affinchè scendessi o a visitarla in persona, o a mandarle qualche Vescovo Caldeo, o a permetterle di mandar qui persona idonea da ordinarsi a suo Vescovo.

Le suppliche erano dirette al mio antecessore Nicolao; e questo cenno è sufficiente a far noto alla Santità Vostra, *che io non mi trovo implicato in questa faccenda di moto proprio*.

Rimisi copia fedele di quelle lettere al Cardinal Fransoni di cara memoria, ed esortai i dissidenti alla concordia.

Da quell'epoca a questo di numerose lettere mi sono state dirette da Malabaresi sia per me che per la Santita Vostra alcune delle quali vengo ad accluderle in questo piego.

Un'anno fa, non soddisfatti dalle lettere i Malabaresi mi inviavano in Bagdad l'Archimandrita Antonio in compagnia di un'altro monaco e di un giovinetto di quella Tribù scongiurandomi a metter riparo a quello scisma.

La S. Congregazione di Propaganda è stata da me fedelmente informata della condotta tenuta meco da Malabaresi, l'Archimandrita Antonio fu rimandato al Malabar; i suoi compagni sono attaalmente nel Monastero di Rabban Hormiz ad istruirsi, essendo molto ignoranti delle cose essenziali a persone ecclesiastiche. Reduce nel proprio paese l'archimandrita venne sospeso a divinis, poi scomunicato. Questa condotta del Vicario Apostolico, che chè ella sia, ha servito di motivo o di pretesto a' dissidenti per diriggermi altre lettere, che rimetto nel proprio autografo a' piedi della Santita Vostra.

Venutemi a mano, convocai il mio clero di Mossul e l'Abbate di Rabban Hormiz, presenti Monsig. Planchet Delegato Apostolico, il segretario di lui, e il Prefetto di questa Missione Dominicana: feci conoscere il tenore delle accennate lettere e delle antecedenti: dopo avervi ben riflettuto ci trovammo tutti del parere, di supplicare la S. V. a concedere a tutti i cattolici Malabaresi di rito caldeo invece di un Vicario Apostolico Latino un Metropolitano od un Primate di rito Caldeo sotto la dipendenza del Patriarca della nostra Nazione da eleggersi presso i Malabaresi, se trovisi una persona idonea a questo scopo, o a beneplacito del Patriarca Caldeo dal clero, che è attualmente sotto la dipendenza di lui.

Mi sia permesso a far conoscere alla Santità Vostra esser questo il voto non solo de' supplicanti Malabaresi; ma il voto mio, di tutti i Vescovi, di tutto il Clero, e di tutti i fedeli della mia Nazione.

Che se la Santità Vostra volesse nella sua nota prudenza assicurarsi meglio delle postulazioni e delle disposizioni de'

Malabaresi, in questo caso propongo e supplico si mandino per la S. V. due visitatori Latini *uniti a due altri visitatori Caldei a mia scelta* (uno de' quali sarebbe un'alunno di Propaganda) perchè senza spirito di parte, ma col puro spirito di carità Cristiana, esaminino in santa armonia i motivi e lo stato di quelle lunghe discordie, e sieno pacieri fra i dissidenti: poi ne informino Vostra Beatitudine, e chi dirige la Chiesa Caldea, affinchè, *rispettati i diritti della S. Sede Apostolica Romana, e i diritti della Chiesa Caldea*, si possa di consenso unanime mettere un pronto ed efficace rimedio a tanto male.

Confido io, confidano meco tutti i cattolici alla mia cura commessi, che la S. V. non rigetterà questa supplica: e in si cara speranza mi protesto fino alla morte di

Vostra Beatitudine

Mossul 17. Novembre 1856.

Dvmo e Obmo Figlio e Fratello in G. C., Giuseppe Audo Patriarca Caldeo.

(Lettera A)

Traduzione verbale.

Alla Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Santo di Roma e capo di tutte le Chiese Cattoliche che sono sotto il Cielo e possessore delle Chiavi del Cielo e dell'Inferno come Simon Petro.

Noi poveri prete Giuseppe e gli altri preti e chierici e uomini e donne e piccoli della Chiesa di Nostra Signora Maria nel paese di Corabalgat di Melibar e di altri luoghi facciamo consapevole V. S. che anticamente dai Papi Santi si mandavano Vescovi Caldei per governare le chiese Caldee, e Vescovi Latini per governare le chiese Latine: e questi senza turbamento governavano le Chiese; ed ora avendo voi comandato che tutti sieno soggetti al Metropolita Carmelitano di Verapoli, e noi Caldei non avete consegnato a Metropolita Caldeo, ma l'istesso Metropolita Carmelitano governava le Chiese Caldee.

I Carmelitani però non sanno la lingua caldea nè quella del Melibar. I Carmelitani ci governano, come pascola un pastorello sordo-muto le pecorelle sorde. Di più essi sempre stanno entro le celle chiuse, affinche alcuno non possa vederli e parlare con essi del proprio affare, e dentro non sappiamo cosa facciano; Iddio lo sà. Ed è per questo che nacquero molti scandali e molti di noi fuggirono alla parte sinistra, e siamo noi restati molto angustiati, e molte lettere mandammo a V. S. senza aver risposta nè un Metropolita Caldeo. Il Patriarca di Antiochia Giacobita non cessa di mandar Vescovi per le chiese Sire giacobite, che sono di nostra nazione in Melibar.

Le chiese Caldee in Melibar sono più di due centinaie e un migliaio fra preti e chierici. Abbiate ora compassione di noi; mandateci un Metropolita Caldeo: affinche non vadano a perdersi e uscire dalla fede questi deboli. Mandate un ordine ai Carmelitani a non intromettersi nelle Chiese caldee, e a restar nei loro posti, e se scrivono contro di noi non li credete: altrimenti ecco che noi siamo liberi, e la perdizione di tanti si dimandarà da Voi nell'ultimo giorno. Baciando i piedi di V. S. Benediteci.

Alli 19 Marzo 1854

Seguono sotto le sottoscrizioni di sette preti.

Tradusse per cenno del Patriarca dall'Originale Siriaco, Giorgio Kkaiat Alunno di Prop.

DOCUMENT 33

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE MALABARS PROVIDING INFORMATION CONCERNING THE PROGRESS OF THEIR AFFAIR

Lettera (21 Decembre 1856) del Patriarca Caldeo Monsig. Audu ai Malabaresi tradotta da D. Giuseppe Guriel, e trasmessa alla S. C. in originale da Monsig. Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli nel 1861.

Nell'esterno della lettera si trova questa direzione: Au Monsieur l' Abé, Monsieur Emmanouelle Curé de l'Eglise de Corpalnate at Cottayam in Alapay, Via Bombay.

L. + S. Giuseppe Audu, che per grazia governa la Sede Patriarcale Babilonese dei Caldei.

Dopochè vi dò la benedizione Apostolica, e vi stringo nel Signore nostro, o figli dilettissimi, che siete nostre membra, e figli della nostra stirpe onoratissimi, protetti dalla madre della vita, Maria, nostro soccorso, e da tutti gli Angeli, e Santi; cioè = Don Giuseppe Catekim, D. Mattia Nalcat, D. Matteo, D. Tomasso, D. Alessandro, D. Ciriaco, D. Abrahamo, D. Matteo, D. Zaccharia, D. Ciriaco, D. Giovanni, D. Giovanni, D. Alessandro, D. Giacomo, D. Ciriaco, D. Giuseppe, D. Giorgio, D. Zacharia, D. Zacharia, D Giacomo, D. Giuseppe, D. Giorgio, D. Mattia Prevosto di Verapoli, D. Giorgio, D. Matteo Cutinal, D. Abrhamo, D. Tomasso, D. Abrahamo, D. Tomasso, D. Ciriaco, D. Sebastiano, D. Giuseppe, D. Giuseppe, D. Matteo Procuratore di Pigulam, D. Giorgio, D. Emanuelle Procuratore di Curbalgat, D. Giorgio, D. Sebastiano, D. Giuseppe, D. Giuseppe, D. Alessandro, D. Agostino, e tutti quanti Sacerdoti Ministri, Mercanti vecchi, e Primarii, ed il Popolo Caldeo onoratissimo, che abita in Malabar, che zela il proprio Rito Caldaico, rito antico; che è degno (il popolo) d'ogni bene, che è pieno dello spirito della fede, e d'ogni ornamento; che è sollecito a confermare e stabilire con tutta la carità ed unione cristiana le fondamenta del Caldaismo; che non s'è commosso, nè sortito dal retto sentiero per gl'imbrogli, per gl'inganni, insidie, e persecuzioni, che gli furono minacciate dai forastieri (Carmelitani); ma bensì elettivamente combattè, e virilmente combatte di sgravarsi dalla mano forestiera per tutte le generazioni, e per sempre.

Perocchè sappiate, che le vostre lettere, e quelle del Padre Antonio Mkasmas, valente Curato, ci giunsero ai 14 d'Agosto, e dopo averle lette, abbiamo conosciuta la vostra intenzione, che è degna di somma lode; ma ancorchè ci è dispiaciuto della tirannia, ed oppressione, che ha fatto Monsig. Bernardino, contro il valente Curato (Antonio); canonicamente non ha agito, ma bensì per odio, e livore, cosa indegna dei superiori Ecclesiastici; ma contuttociò noi ci rallegrammo, e continuamente ci rallegriamo, perchè nostro Signore vi custodisce, e vi mantiene in vita, e specialmente vi siete cinti col cingolo della carità, e dell'unione, e state fermi con grande

coraggio, ed unanimemente in questa battaglia, mentre non v'allentate, e neppure vi voltate indietro per lo spauracchio dei vostri nemici, i quali v'atterriscono colla sospensione dei Preti, e colle loro scommuniche senza diritto; e da cio si conferma, che la vostra speranza è santa, e la vostra liherazione è vicina; noi intanto, appena lette le vostre lettere, abbiamo radunato tutto il Clero di Mussul, unitamente al Delegato Apostolico Planchet, Missionarii Domenicani, ed il P. Abbate Eliseo; e dopo d'esserci consigliati fra noi, abbiamo scritto alla Santità di Nostro Signore il Papa, ed a Barnabò Prefetto della S. Congregazione tuttociò, che operò Monsig. Bernardino presso di voi col Prete (Antonio) il valente Curato, e le sue oppressioni nuove, e vecchie; e l'abbiamo acclusi nelle nostre lettere tutti i vostri scritti primi, ed ultimi, e l'abbiamo mandati a Roma: speriamo, che questa volta si compirà l'opera, ed avrete qualch'assortimento, e conseguirete la liberazione, la quale per tanto tempo colle lacrime l'avete cercata, e colla rassegnazione, e col zelo veramente grande, ed unito l'avete richiesta. Ma con tutto questo, è necessario, che non vi manchiate di forze, o veniate meno in questa guerra; di più siate uniti coll'amore fra voi stessi, i Preti, il Clero, ed il Popolo Caldeo, che si trova in quei Paesi di Malabar; e nissuno si divida fra voi l'uno dell'altro; e nissuno s' associi, o s'addomestichi coi Latini e con chicchesia, eccettuato però s'è di Rito Caldaico; ma quello, che deve premere molto si è, che siate uniti fra voi altri col vincolo della carità; perchè così c'hanno detto il Superiore dei Domenicani, ed il degnissimo Monsig. Delegato Apostolico Planchet, che stanno presso di noi; ed abbiate cura onde nissuno si divida da voi, e ciò assolutamente; mentre ciò sarà di molto giovamento tanto per noi, quanto per voi, e per lo scopo nostro, che abbiamo prefisso. Di più non cessate mai di scrivere a Roma, ed a noi; specialmente alla Santità di Nostro Signore il Papa, dove gli mostrerete, che siete Caldei, ed in tutti i tempi dipendevate dai Patriarchi di Babilonia prima che entrasse l'eresia nel vostro rito cinquecento anni e più; e dopochè vi fu l'eresia fino al giorno del Sinodo, che fu celebrato nel 1599, e dite che non conoscevamo di aver noi un Patriarca della nostra Nazione, e Rito, e perciò ci siamo sottomessi ai forestieri Latini colla semplicità di cuore; ma però quando abbiamo saputo di aver noi Patriarchi, e Superiori del nostro Rito Caldaico in Amed

(Diarbekir), in Mossul, ed in Bagdad, d'allora fin'adesso non hanno cessato giammai, nè le nostre voci, nè i nostri scritti da Roma, dalla S. Sede Apostolica, e dai nostri Patriarchi Caldei Babilonesi; e per mezzo di quei nostri scritti chiedevamo sempre Vescovi Caldei. Di più *fate conoscere a noi, ed a Roma*, che non avete fra voi un Superiore Caldeo nè fra il Clero, nè fra il Popolo, che sappia insegnare ciò che è necessario per amministrare degnamente i SS. Sagramenti, ed il resto dei riti, ed orazioni Ecclesiastiche. Di più *scrivete a Roma, che i Vescovi Latini non valgono affatto niente, e di nessun'utile sono per noi, che anzi sono per noi di afflizione*, perchè Essi non conoscono la nostra lingua, e neppure noi conosciamo la loro lingua; dunque che utilità abbiamo da loro?

Del resto scrivete ogni cosa, che là conoscete essere di giovamento per questo scopo, *e senza quiete scrivete a noi, e scrivete a Roma*; più di questo per ora non vi posso far conoscere fino che ci venga la risposta da Roma. Soltanto siate uniti in carità, e sempre pregate nostro Signore, onde Egli decida misericordiosamente quest'affare, mediante l'intercessione della Sua Madre: perchè = nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum in vanum laboraverunt qui aedificant eam = e = sine me nihil potestis facere (adimplere) = Addio, e rimanete sani, e salvi tutti voi Sacerdoti, ed il Popolo. Amen.

Mussul 21 Decembre 1856.

DOCUMENT 34

LETTER OF THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO ASKING HIM NOT TO INTERVENE IN MALABAR

Lettera (14 Decembre 1857) della Propaganda al Patriarca Monsignor Audu in Mossul la quale a sigillo volante fu acchiusa a Monsig. Planchet.

È stato riferito a questa S. C. che trovinsi costì dodici Malabarici chiamati da V. S. fra i quali v'è un sacerdote; ed è stato anche riferito che questi dodici giovani siano stati mantenuti col denaro della Chiesa Caldea di Bagdad, e che ora vogliano mandarsi da Lei nel Convento di S. Hormes.

Io già scrissi a V. S. ai 13 di Agosto del decorso anno raccomandandole di non occuparsi del Malabar fino a che da questa S. C. non si fosse definita la questione pendente. E sebbene V. S. mi abbia scritto in seguito per difendere la condotta tenuta in proposito, ben vede nondimeno che sarebbe stato assai meglio di arrendersi ai desideri replicatamene espressi dalla Propaganda e non interessarsi menomamente di tali affari. Intanto Ella è stato testimonio della sorte toccata alla prima spedizione costà del celebre Cassanar Antonio e dei suoi consorti; spedizione avvenuta contro i voleri della Propaganda: Egli ed i suoi partigiani in numero di sei son morti sotto gli occhi di V. S. e si son trovati al Tribunal di Dio quando men sel credevano. Ma lasciando di parlare di quelli che sono già stati giudicati, io non so a quale oggetto mai (se l'esposto è vero) vogliansi da Lei ritenere quei dodici giovani dei quali ho parlato di sopra, spendendo per essi somme di denaro destinato ad altri usi, e non piuttosto rimandarli, come ragion vorrebbe al terreno loro nativo per non prevenire e intralciare quelle provvidenze che la S. C. dovrà adottare in proposito.

Anche di un altro affare ho io avuto contezza. Dicesi che V. S. stia fabbricandosi una casa con denaro non suo. Io non posso credere una tal cosa: ma nondimeno debbo per dovere del mio officio interpellare Monsig. Delegato Apostolico, e la stessa S. V. su queste deduzioni, onde dalle risposte di ambedue venire in chiaro dello stato delle cose. E perciò che compiego la presente a Monsig. Planchet, con insinuazione di consegnarla in mano di V.

⁷ Ecco ciò che ne scriveva Monsig. Planchet Delegato Apostolico della Mesopotamia li 26 Ottobre 1857 = Il Patriarca ha voluto fabbricarsi una casa ne' due più grandi villaggi della sua Diocesi. Per ajutarsi in quelle spese vi ha applicato una somma di 4000 mila (sic) piastre lasciate per una certa chiesa da un Caldeo morto nelle Indie, e ha preso ai Monaci una casa già venduta sforzandoli a restituire al compratore la moneta ricevuta di 4500 piastre. I Monaci tacciono per timore. A proposito delle 4000 piastre del defonto Caldeo, mi scrisse il Patriaca per domandare il mio parere aggiungendo ch'egli non cambierebbe il suo.

S. dopo averne preso notizia. E in attenzione intanto di riscontro ec.

DOCUMENT 35

RESPONSE OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE, VINDICATING HIS RIGHTS IN MALABAR

Lettera (20 Aprile 1858) di Monsig. Audu Patriarca all'Emo Card. Barnabò Prefetto della Propaganda in risposta a ciò, che dal medesimo gli fu scritto li 14 Decembre 1837: vi è acclusa una Memoria Istorica sulla Chiesa del Malabar che si riporta in questo Sommario al numero seguente.

N. B. Questa Lettera è scritta originalmente in Italiano; vi è però la firma in Caldaico.

Eminentissimo Principe

Ho ricevuta la pregiatissima di V. Em. del 14 Decembre dell'anno corrente, e tutto quello che vi si conteneva di fortissime lagnanze dalla parte della questione del Malabar, e dell'edificare io un Patriarcato nel Villaggio di Telkef, mi ha recato grandissima sorpresa e maraviglia; giacchè ne ho rilevato trovarmi io in grosso fallo: Dio me ne guardi. Però eccomi alla risposta: Sa bene V. Em. come io aveva scritto alla S. Congregazione il rapporto della petizione fatta dai Malabaresi alla nostra sede in nome del mio predecessore Monsig. Isaia de Jacob, e a questo rapporto avea io ricevuto dalla S. Congregazione una risposta piena di speranza vicina a realizzarsi nel soddisfare cioè alle petizioni dei Malabaresi fatte note a detta S. Congregazione da me per una copia di loro lettere. Ma poi per gl'intrighi di certe persone curiose, che ci odiano, e mal soffrono l'innalzamento di nostra nazione al primiero suo grado d'onore, il quale essa ha tutto il diritto di rivendicarsi, per questi motivi dico, differita fu la decisione in favore delle petizioni malabaresi. Di poi ho fatto parte di nuovo alla S. Congregazione per mezzo di Mons. Planchet Delegato di mie e loro petizioni rispettive e l'istesso oggetto, ed ebbi per risposta, mediante il medesimo Mons. Planchet, che gli annali ecclesiastici non fanno vedere esser stato mai il Patriarca Babilonese possessore della giurisdizione sopra il Malabar Caldeo: il che non poteva io

credere dopo le cose assai chiare nell'Assemani ed altri e nelle memorie dei nostri in pruova di tal giurisdizione ecclesistica, e V. Em. meglio di noi può saperlo, sì dall'istesso Assemani, sì ancora dagli archivi di S. Congregazione. Se dunque le cose sono così per qual ragione V. Em. si adira contro i Malabaresi allorchè richiamano la riunione al loro rito e nazione, e noi siamo oggetto di odio quando domandiamo, che i detti sieno riattaccati di nuovo con noi, come lo erano prima, per loro bene, e per restituire a nostra nazione il suo antico splendore, cose, che V. Em. è obbligata a procurare, perchè si tolga indi ogni male, e cresca in vece la fede e la pietà? E perchè dunque, Eminentissimo Principe, quando io tratto queste cose, mi crede, V.Em. fuore della retta de' miei doveri e diritti, e quasi vi facesse cosa ripugnante a' Canoni?

Aveva ancora scritto a V. Em. dei motivi, per cui i giovani Caldeo-malabarensi erano venuti a nostre parti, vale a dire, che ciò era il bisogno d'istruirsi nella lingua e nelle cose del rito Caldeo loro proprio, ma che in gran parte si era estinto, e quel poco che ci resta è si miserabile, che se V. Em. ne venisse ad aver contezza di loro condizione vera in questo riguardo, sono persuaso che avrebbe quanto prima cercato a trovar loro qualche rimedio istantaneo. Perchè è chiaro che V. E. e la S. Congregazione non è possibile che commettan di sorvegliare a tali cose toccanti i ss. riti e sacramenti.

Le spese poi fatte a' malabaresi in Bagdad non furono dalla Chiesa ma bensì dalla pietà e carità de' fedeli; il che avvenne qui in Mossul ancora. In quanto al metterli nel Monastero di S. Hormuz è vero che l'ho voluto fare, perchè credeva che ivi potevano disciplinarsi un poco, e imparare le cose loro necessarie; ma quando ho veduto che i monaci, per paura, che le spese non sarebbero somministrate almeno in parte da me, e più per istigazione di certa gente, me ne sono astenuto: certo è però che nel caso d'ammissione, avrei aiutato il Monastero nelle spese necessarie. Fino a questo momento non so d'aver speso ai malabaresi moneta o altro destinato ad uso diverso. Se dunque V. E. vuole prendere delle misure di decidere la questione giusta quello che domandono quegli e desidero io, io non credo che c'è per questo alcuna differenza od impiccio se si truovano essi nel Malabar, ossia presso noi, e credo che in questo non ci può esser

alcun impedimento, perchè V. E. faccia il necessario al bene di questi poveretti prostrati supplichevoli innanzi a V. E. e la S. Sede, non avendo essi alcun altro, che possa e voglia aver pietà di loro miseria e compiere i loro desideri, che V. E. alla quale come alla S. C. da lungo tempo non cessano di offrir suppliche. – Dice V. E. che mi sto fabbricando una casa con moneta non mia: non è vero; ma io ho fatto fare bensì due case patriarcali per tutti quegli che verranno dopo di me, l'una nel villaggio di Alkosh e l'altra in quello di Telkef: in Alkosh ho dato poca moneta, il resto lo hanno spontaneamente offerto essi abitanti del villaggio, particolarmente il lavoro; in Telkef ho speso la moneta donata già in legatum pium da un Telkefino morto nelle Indie di nome Anna figlio di Curiacos, e questa casa ha da esser ed è proprietà del Patriarcato e della Chiesa alla quale è immediatamente contigua. Ecco quanto credo di rispondere a quella di V. E. e queste sono le vere risposte, e se alcuno scriverà il contrario è bugiardo: di questa una copia l'ho mandata già colla posta per mezzo di Monsig. Planchet. Il P. Besson che avrà l'onore di consegnarle questa presenterà pure da mia parte una memoria istorica sul proposto oggetto che prego V. E. a leggere ed a interrogare e sentire il detto P. Besson sulla stessa questione, come anche il suo antecessore il P. Marchi, se fin ad ora non ha avuto l'onore di parlare su quest'affare a V. E. Illma. Finalmente se tutto questo non basterà è pregata di nuovo V. E. a voler mandare nel Malabar degli esploratori e visitatori, che non sieno tutti Latini, i quali verifichino con eqnità e disinteresse i richiami, bisogni, lagnanze e lo stato reale dei Caldeo-malabaresi mentre io pregando V. E. che presto ci favorisca di dolce sguardo, impetrandoci pure la benedizione Apostolica di Sua Santità ho l'onore di scrivermi di V. Em. Illma e Rvma

Mossul 20 Aprile 1858

Devotissimo G. Audo Patriarca Babil. Caldeo.

DOCUMENT 36

MEMORIAL ABOUT THE CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR SENT BY PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE

Notizie sulla Chiesa del Malabar redatte dall'alunno di Propaganda Giorgio Chajat (ora Vescovo Caldeo di Amadia) e trasmesse alla Propaganda dal Patriarca Monsig. Audu con la sua lettera 20 Aprile 1858.

MEMORIA Intorno alla Chiesa Siro Caldaica del Malabar

§. 1: Rito e Giurisdizione

Pare che si può dimostrare che la Chiesa Malabarica Siro-Caldaica sia stata ab origine dipendente, e facente parte della Chiesa Caldea.

I. Che i Vescovi di quest'India fin dall'assenza di S. Tomasso Apostolo, che ne fu il rigeneratore e il disciplinatore per Cristo, erano soliti di ricever l'imposizione delle mani e la consegrazione dal Vescovo di Persia, il quale era come primate di tutta quanta la provincia persiana, e il suo dominio ossia giurisdizione si estendeva fino all'India, mentre per altro altro tutta la sua gran Diocesi non faceva, che una grossa parte della Chiesa Caldea, la quale essa pure sulle prime era dipendente dal Patriarcato d'Antiochia. Dico però che la Chiesa dell'India, che è oggi detta Malabar ebbe ab origine sua dipendenza ecclesiastica dal Patriarcato Caldeo voglio dire quello fondato da S. Tomasso, Addeo, e Mari in Ctesifonte e Seleucia, e sul quale avea seduto S. Simone Bar-Sabao martire, una dipendenza tale che qualche tempo rimase mediata, intermettendosi il primate di Persia esigendolo le circostanze, ma che alla fin dei conti ritornava all'istesso, non esendosi negata mai legittimamente la dipendenza del medesimo Primate Caldeo-persiano dalla Sede Cattolica ossia Patriarcale, come di poi fu chiamata, in Seleucia e Ctesifonte (vedasi l'Assemani Bibl. Orient. t. 3. p. 2). Ora per provare l'assunto è certo che l'Apostolo S. Tomasso, fu ugualmente l'Apostolo dell'India e della Persia non che di tutti quanti i paesi circonvicini

(videsis Assem. l. c.). Se dunque l'Apostolo ne è uno, è d'uopo concludere esser la chiesa una respective, coll'unità di giurisdizione o almeno della dipendenza che nasce dall'ordinazione e di certi altri diritti, come si vede in consimili cristianità o chiese, subordinandosi la minore ed inferiore alla maggiore (avendo riguardo a certe preferenze, che per esser varie, non occorre qui particolarizzare). Ora fra tutte le provincie convertite per S. Tomasso non c'era maggiore Sede di quella di Seleucia ovvero quello di Persia immediatamente per ragion della vicinanza di luogo. Dunque

II. È indubitato che fin dall'epoca di S. Tomasso a quella del Nestorianismo, la Chiesa Malabarica ossia Indiana non aveva cessato di fiorire: dovea dunque aver almeno un Vescovo con de' pastori subalterni. Questo Vescovo pertanto nell'ipotesi che non avesse sua ordinazione e quindi la dovuta dipendenza dal Vescovo Caldeo di Persia, ovvero dall'Arcivescovo di Seleucia, dal qual altro mai, domando, la riceveva, o la poteva ricevere: e se vi fosse stato mai alcuno, che avesse goduto di tale diritto, perchè niuno degli Antichi lo menziona? Dunque non può esser stato altri differente del vescovo Persiano o si voglia Seleuciano amendue Caldei e formanti una solo chiesa come lo semplificò il tempo: quod erat demonstrandum.

III. Si sa di certo, che allorquando la Caldea venne infetta dal Nestorianismo nel V. secolo si vide poco dopo e quasi simultaneamente infettane pure la Chiesa Malabarica, e con una grande facilità: ciò che è facile spiegare nell'ammettere, che prima di quest'epoca il Malabar faceva parte della Chiesa Caldea, la cui Sede era Seleucia e Ctesifonte: altrimenti il fatto resta inesplicabile: infatti i Caldei non poterono pervertire neppur uno di quelli, che prima non formavano con esso loro un'istesso corpo ecclesiastico.

IV. A queste ragioni giova aggiungere delle prove positive, e primamente si ha dall'istorico del Concilio Niceno Gelasio di Cizico, che Giovanni Vescovo di Persia vi sottoscrisse (e si vede ancora negli atti genuini di quel Sinodo I Ecumenico) in nome e come reppresentante della Chiesa di Persia e di quella della grande India: Dunque formava l'India allora una sola chiesa colla Persia ec.ec.

V. L'anno 535. di G.C. Cosma Indicoplaste esplorò l'India e il Malabar, e ci lasciò scritto, che ivi nella città detta Calliane esisteva la Sede di tutta l'India, e che il Vescovo si portava alla Persia per indi ricevere l'imposizione vescovile delle mani: il che dichiara in qual senso Giovanni di Persia abbia sottoscritto nel Niceno in nome della Chiesa dell'India, e qui si può di prescrizione dimostrare, che quello che al tempo di Cosma si faceva dal Vescovo Caldeo Persiano in riguardo del vescovado indiano, lo faceva eziandio nel secolo VI. come si rivela da Gelasio e nel III, II e I ancora: altrimenti ci si dica chi mai faceva quest'officio, e usava di tale diritto diversamente dal detto Vescovo Persiano: mentre come lo dimostra l'Assemani e ammettono i doti, e vuole il fatto della predicazione di S. Tomasso ha esistito fin dal principio la chiesa dell'India, dove oggi tutto grida all'Apostolo Tomasso. E se usurpazione accadde dalla parte del Vescovo di Persia od altri prelati della Chiesa Caldea, bisogna che ci si pruovi il tempo e il luogo di si fatto avvenimento: e quali ne fosser le cause: e chi l'annalista ec. ec. del che troviamo un silenzio perfetto. Dunque siccome nel principio del VI secolo a testimonio di Cosma, la Chiesa del Malabar faceva parte della grande Chiesa Caldea, e dopo conchiudere che era l'istesso sempre prima.

VI. Il Patriarca nestoriano Iesujab Adjabeno nel VII secolo cristiano riprende, in una sua lettera, fortemente il Vescovo di Persia per aver debolmente permesso, che si interrompesse (non so in qual circostanza) la catena sempre per l'innanzi continua delle ordinazioni, che i Vescovi dell'India ricevevano dalla Chiesa Caldea per le mani del Vescovo persiano (*Videsis Assem. l. c.*): che se si suppone che la dipendenza dell'India dalla Chiesa Caldea non fosse che opera del nestorianismo, bisogna affermare essere stato molto sciocco quel Iesujab, il quale peraltro fu di una perspicacia, non che di erudizione molto rara dotato.

- §. 2: Di quel poco che abbiamo intorno alla Chiesa del Malabar dal sec VII fino alla dominazione Portoghese in quelle parti.
- I. Ebedjesus Sobensis nel suo nomocanone ci fa sapere, che il Vescovado dell'India fu innalzato alla dignità di metropolitano prima del Patriarca Timoteo che visse l'an. 778, e dice esser ciò fatto o per il Patriarca Salibazacha l'an. 714, ossia per Shila l'an. 503, ossia per Achi l'an. 441 epoca incerta ma prima di Timoteo.
- II. L'ann. 858. Il Patriarca Teodosio in una epistola sinodale obbliga fra gli altri il Metropolitano dell'India a mandare almeno ogni sei anni lettere di subordinazione al Patriarca Caldeo.
- III. L'istorico Caldeo Amro mette nel catalogo dei Metropolitani Caldei numero13. il Metropolitano dell'India appresso quello della Cina.
- IV. Da' monumenti del Malabar e dei Caldei si sa (*Vedi l'Assem.*) che al secolo IX i Patriarchi Caldeo-Nestoriani spedirono per l'India i Vescovi Toma, Sapore, e Feiroz; i quali ressero le chiese di Culan d'Angamali, e di Cuchin nel Malabar.

§. III: Memorie della Chiesa del Malabar dall'anno 1490 fino ai nostri dì

L'anno 1490 Giorgis e Iusuf vennero dall'India alla Mesopotamia da Mar Shamun (Simon) Patriarca Caldeo-Nestoriano, per pregarlo di pastori per loro Chiesa: ottennero d'esser amendue ordinati sacerdoti e d'aver due altri per Vescovi, cioè Toma Vescovo d'India, e Giovanni Vescovo di Macin: e tutti e quattro partirono per Malabar l'anno 1492. Il Vescovo Toma e il prete Iusuf ritornarono dal Patriarca Caldeo portandogli de'presenti da'Cristiani indiani; quindi rimase Vescovo toma dal Patriarca e D. Giuseppe (Iusuf) ritornò all'India e l'anno 1501. D. Iusuf partì dall'India per il Portogallo, indi si recò a Roma e a Venezia, poi rivenne al Malabar l'anno 1503. Mar Elia il successor di Simon nel Patriarcato fece Vescovi per Malabar Iabalaha, Denha, e Iacopo, e li inviò là con Toma già Vescovo reduce dall'India, i quali quattro andandovi ritrovarono ancora in vivis M. Ioannes summentovato

vescovo di Macin (Vedi l'epistola di costoro al loro Patriar. Assem. t. 3. Bibl. Or).

L'anno 1515 Mar Iacopo l'uno di questi quattro scrisse il nuovo testamento in Caldeo nella Chiesa di S. Tomaso in Crangalor, il qual codice esiste ora nella bibliot. Vaticana. L'anno 1546 i Portoghesi aprirono un Collegio in Cranganor per l'insegnamento della gioventù nestoriano-caldea. L'anno 1553 il Papa Giulio III fece Partiarca Caldeo Giovanni Sulaca (venuto a Roma per questo e per dichiararsi Cattolico) e lo rimandò alla Caldea con un Vescovo e un Padre Domenicano. Venuto Giovanni Sulaca a Diarbekir fece Vescovi Adib Elia per l'istessa città e Ebedjesu per Giazira. – Infine fatto uccidere il Patriarca Giovanni Sulaca per opera del suo Anti-Patriarca nestoriano detto Simon Barmama, i Caldei cattolici si elessero per Patriarca quel sopromentovato Ebedjesu di Gezira, che poi anche egli si recò a Roma e ricevette sua confermazione da Pio IV. Intanto Monsig. Ambrosio Domenicano e suo compagno P. Antonio e M. Elia Abib ed altri Caldei cattolici si portarono da Diarbekir al Malabar, e vi si applicarono al bene di quei caldei; e nel istesso tempo il Patriarca Cattolico Ebedjesu consacrò ed inviò Vescovo del India Malabarica un certo Iusuf. - Questi fu in Cucin accusato di nestorianismo, e fu tenuto in prigione di Goa - I Malabaresi sdegnati ad impazienti mandarono a pregare il Patriarca Nestoriano di Babel (giacchè d'allora I Patriarchi Cattolici sedevano in Diarbekir ossia Amida) di un Vescovo. Inviò loro Abramo Vescovo, il quale venuto nel Malabar dovette aprirsi là una rivalità fra lui e l'altro Monsig. Iusuf il quale era già dimesso di prigione per favore della regina Caterina. Si videro allora in Malabar due partiti. Abramò si recò da suo Patriarca di Babel, il quale lo muni di lettere, e mandò a Roma; Venuto Abramo a Pio V e confessata la fede Cattolica, fu da lui confermato Vescovo del Malabar ed inviato ad essa dal S. Padre in questa qualita. - Nel 1562 Ebedjesu era venuto da Pio IV per ricevere da lui sua conferma, il che ottenne, ed ebbe occasione di perorare in favore dei suoi cristiani nel Malabar; i quali, diceva, pretendere i Porteghesi possedere, e di esercitarsi giurisdizione contro il suo diritto. Il Pallavicini pure fa

manzione di questa lagnanza di Ebedjesu presso il Pontefice e il Concilio di Trento.

Intanto nel Malabar quel Vescovo Iusuf sopra menzionato viene di nuovo accusato di nestorianismo e arrestato e mandato a Roma. E l'istesso Abramo testé memorato venuto essendo in Goa, autorizzato dal Sommo Pontefice, lo arrestano i Domenicani come sospetto di fede, e come ingannatore del Papa, e lo mettono in prigione: di là se ne scappa e va nel Malabar e truova la sede vacante per l'assenza del suo già rivale Iusuf. L'Arcivescovo Goano accusa Abrahamo presso il Papa Gregorio XIII: rescrive il Papa di citare Abrahamo nel Sinodo e se vi professa la fede cattolica, di lasciarlo libero nel suo vescovado, il che facendo Abrahamo fu ammesso alla communione cattolica.

I Malabaresi intanto domandando dal Patriarca di Babel un altro Vescovo, manda loro Mar Simon, il quale si recò a Roma, e da Sisto V ottenne di ritornare confermato nel Malabar; ma i Francescani lo arrestarono ed imprigionarono nel Portogallo fino a tanto che vi morì in prigione nel convento loro l'anno 1597. Abrahamo Vescovo del malabar Morì, e nel morire consegnò il governo la sua Chiesa all'Arcidiacono Giorgio. L'anno 1599 si fece il famoso Sinodo di Diamper, i cui atti esistono, credo, in latino: ma dal poco che ne scrive l'Assemani si può sapere che la somma delle azioni ne fu la seguente: l'Arcidiacono Giorgio disse l'anatema nell'errore nestoriano e nel Patriarca di Babel (nestoriano quale fino allora ha esistito); professò coi suoi di clero e di popolo ubbidienza al Sommo Pontefice qual capo della Chiesa Universale ec. e di non ammettere alcun Prelato sopra di essi, che non sia confermato dal medesimo Sommo Pontefice: quindi si mondarono i libri rituali dei Malabaresi dagli errori: Dice il chiarissimo Assemani, che i padri di questo Sinodo eccedettero in alcune cose come nel introdurre usi e riti propri del rito latino, ed errarono; dice in altre, come in condannare alcuni usi e riti e rituali indistintamente, e nel dire affermativamente che il ministro nel Sac. della Confermazione, sia il solo Vescovo: mentre è certo per definizioni di ecumenici concili, essere il Vescovo bensì ministro ordinario di questo Sacramento, non già il solo altrimenti seguirebbero molti assurdi: di queste e di simili altre cose erronee o meno esatte commesse per questo Sinodo pare voglia conchiudere l'Assemani non doversi contare molto su quell'edifizio di Diamper. L'anno 1601 incominciò la giurisdizione dei Latini in qualità di Vescovi di Crancanore del Malabar scelti dalla famiglia gesuitica.

L'anno 1616 Mar Elia Patriarca Amidense dei Caldei Cattolici scrisse al Santo Padre con delegazione, sua professione Cattolica Sinodale, e si lagnò in essa dei cattivi trattamenti, e dei cavilli che nel Malabar si facevano in danno dei Caldei ovvero Siro-Malabarici suoi sudditi nativi, cose che angustiavano qui cristiani poco esperti in materia di fede. A quei giorni i Malabaresi domandarono al Patriarca (nestoriano?) sic Vescovo di loro rito ed ottennero Attalla, il quale arrivato al Malabar fu dai Portoghesi arrestato, e confinato in una prigione, il che avendo inteso i Malabaresi si commossero grandemente e radunandosi in Matangir, Bamfolin e Mancat furono di parere di eleggersi un Vescovo in luogo dell'arrestato: questi fu Toma Arcidiacono detto di Campo, e non trovandosi alcun Vescovo per farla consecrazione, fecero fare ciò da dodici Preti e lo tennero per vero Vescovo.

L'anno 1656 entrarono come missionarii nel Malabar i Carmelitani, essendo morto in Cucin il Vescovo latino dei Malabaresi il gesuita M. Fr. Carzia, a lui succedettero i Carmelitani in qualità di Vescovi in partibus Vicarii Apostolici, e ne fu il primo Mosig. Josephus Episcopus Hierapolitanus il quale fece Vescovo di rito Caldeo-Malabaresi per quella gente l'Arcidiacono Alessandro de Campo. Di la naque un nuovo scisma, altri ubbidienti a quest'Alessandro, attaccandosi al suo rivale pseudovescovo Toma altri, ed in questa occasione entrarono per la prima volta nel Malabar i Siri giacobiti: perchè i Malabaresi (una fazione d'essi certo non tutti) essendo entusiasti ed attacatti come pare fino al fanatismo alla lingua loro rituale la Siriaca, scrissero al Patriarca giacobita che volesse egli in vece dei Caldei prendere interesse di questo loro scopo non essendo fra la lingua Sira e Caldea alcuna differenza sostenziale. Il primo Vescovo giacobita venuto nel Malabar fu Giorgio Gerosolimitano, che l'anno 1676 vi entrò. E ciò fu appunto dopo la morte dell'Arcidiacono Toma e del Vescovo Alessandro tutti due di rito Caldeo, ossia Siro-

Malabarico. Allora, come narra il Carmelitano Vincenzo Maria, scrissero alla Sede Apostolica domandando un Vescovo di proprio rito, non accettando di restarne privi del tutto, ed essendo più volte delusi, scrissero ugualmente a Patriarca nestoriano e al giacobita promettendo di accettare qualunque delle due nazioni venisse loro con una liturgia sia Caldaica sia Siriaca alle mani: venne infatti il mentovato giacobita Vescovo Giorgio di Gerusalemme e trovò accoglienza presso un gran parte che dura fino ad ora sotto la dominazione giacobita. Non fu che l'anno 1709 che dalla parte dei nestoriani venne nel Malabar il Vescovo Gabriele di Adorbigian, il quale per meglio riuscire mandato aveva a Roma sua professione di fede, la quale trovatasi sospetta, gli rispose la S. Congregazione di spiegarsi meglio: Egli invece si portò al Malabar senza altro e là si sottomise alle condizioni propostegli se volesse no esser cacciato dal Monsig. Angelo Carmelitano Vicario Apostolico.

L'anno 1779 radunati i Siro-Malabaresi insieme col Vescovo Toma eretico, ma che desiderava la communione cattolica, scelsero in fra loro due Preti, il dottor Giuseppe Cariati, e il sacerdote Toma Bariamakil e spedironli alla Regina di Portogallo per indi portarsi a Roma, coll'intenzione di supplicare la S. Sede d'aver compassione della loro Chiesa, e riferire a viva voce le cose relative alle loro tante replicate domande ed esporre le pretese loro forti ragioni, non che di lagnarsi amaramente delle sciagure, che devono portare a cagione dei loro nemici di rito. Dopo alcun tempo conobbero i Malabaresi che quei due erano arrivati bensi sani e salvi a Roma, essere il Dottor Josephus Cariati consegrato Vescovo e rimandati al Malabar, ma che dovettero restare là quasi imprigionati, come quegli che ingannarono la S. Sede, e che eranvi andati non mandati di comun consiglio e scelta dei Malabaresi. Allora scrissero i Malabaresi delle lettere per Roma in favore dei due loro Commissari e oratori, sottoscrivendo a queste lettere 75 Preti, dove giustificati i due Preti mandati già a Roma, ed approvata la loro legazione si prega con lacrime il S. Padre a voler accettare il loro attaccamento alla S. Sede ed alla fede Cattolica, come un pegno di più per prenderne difesa e far loro ragione: di voler dar ordine che i due preti già giunti al Portogallo pervenissero al Malabar, e non morissero in prigione, finalmente, dicono, per levare ogni sospetto della verità di quanto pretendono, lo scongiurano a mandare come visitatori di sua parte due persone disinteressate, e così chiudono la loro supplica.

La volontà poi della S. Sede esternata, al Patriarca Hormiz Giovanni per Monsig. P. Cuperi, per autorizzarlo a mandare del suo Clero al Malabar; le cose che quel Patriarca, in si critici tempi e relazioni, in cui si truovava, fece riguardo al Malabar; le altre cose che monsig. Giuseppe Patriarca in Diarbekir si accingeva a fare quando venne colto dalla morte; e li più recenti ancora rapporti del Malabar colla S. Congregazione e il Patriarcato Caldeo Cattolico, tutte queste cose dico per esser più note non occorre dettagliare.

Segue la firma in Caldaico ed il Sigillo di Monsig. Audo.

Il compilatore sottoscritto protesta di non toccare per niente il diritto della questione, che sà esser oggi *sub judice*; e di più dichiara che la maggior parte dei riferiti fatti sono dovuti all'*Assemani* nel cit. luogo. *Bibl. Or. t. 3, p. 2*.

Giorgio Chaiat Sac. Cald. Alunno di Prop., Segretario

DOCUMENT 37

LETTER OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO APOSTOLIC DELEGATE PLANCHET, SEEKING INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF THE PATRIARCH

Lettera della Propaganda a Monsig. Planchet Delegato Apostolico sulla condotta del Patriarca, e sulla elezione di alcuni Vescovi, fra i quali il Rochos.

15 Maggio 1858

Mi vien supposto che gli affari dei Caldei vadano totalmente a tracollo per colpa specialmente del Patriarca Audo. Mi si dice che egli abbia in vista di far vescovi due Sacerdoti, l'uno per nome *Rucos*,⁸ e l'altro *Romanos* ambedue ignorantissimi e di machiata

 $^{^{8}}$ Questo $\it Sacerdote$ detto anche Rochos è quello, che fu poi consecrato e spedito al Malabar dal Patriarca Mr. Audo.

condotta, e che si ricusò inoltre di dare un Vescovo a Seert perché il popolo non vuole accettare un tal sacerdote Andreos non dissimile dai sopraccennati, e parimenti lascia senza Pastore Aera perché non può ottenere che sia accettato ivi il Rucos. Mi si aggiunge che cerca continuamente di accumular denaro (qual vizio si pretende anche ad altri, e in particolare ai Monaci) ed è caduto dalla estimazione del popolo, da non poter più fare alcun bene. E in questo stato di cose vi sarebbe, se l'esposto è vero, chi si lagna di V.S. come quegli, che resta quasi indifferente spettatore di tanto male non usando di tutta la energia per far rientrare in se stesso il Patriarca.

Non avrei dato forse alcun peso a siffatti reclami, se non mi fosse d'altronde noto il Patriarca, anche per le antecedenti relazioni di V.S. Quindi desidero da Lei esatte informazioni sull'esposto. E in frattanto qualora sia vero che egli pensi a consagrar Vescovi ignoranti, potrà V.S. fargli sentire che la S.C. vuol esserne per speciali ragioni preventivamente avvisata.

In attenzione adunque ec.

DOCUMENT 38

LETTER OF THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO PATRIARCH AUDO VINDICATING ITS EXCLUSIVE COMPETENCE IN MALABAR

Risposta della Propaganda alla lettera (Somm. Num. XXVI pag. 92 del Patriarca Caldeo Monsig. Audu.

24 Luglio 1858

Ho ricevuto testè la lettera di V.S. dei 20 Aprile a.c. unitamente ad altri fogli intitolati «Memorie intorno la Chiesa Siro Caldaica nel Malabar.

Su questo proposito debbo significarle essere già stampato il Sommario di una Ponenza,⁹ che si prepara per sottoporre agli Emi

 $^{^{9}}$ Il detto Sommario con sua Nota di Archìvio forma la prima parte del presente.

Padri di questa S.C. lo stato della Chiesa Siro Malabarica e provocarne quelle ordinazioni, che nella loro saviezza crederanno espedienti al bene della medesima. Da ciò Ella potrà persuadersi che io non ho dimenticato mai questo importante affare, e se il medesimo non è ancora stato ultimato ciò deve ascriversi alla gran distanza dei luoghi che rende difficili le communicazioni, ed il bisogno d'altronde dei schiarimenti richiesti sopra alcuni punti al Vicario Apostolico del Malabar, ma non ricevuti finora.

Intanto io non tralascio di eccitarla a desistere dal prendere ulteriormente qualunque parte nell'affare, il di cui esame e giudizio è di esclusiva pertinenza della S. Sede.

Sento poi con piacere assicurarmisi da V.S. esser false le imputazioni communicategli, ma in pari tempo non posso nasconderle che le medesime pervengono alla S.C. da molte parti. Quindi la esorto a dimostrarne coi fatti la insussistenza e così chiudere os loquentium iniqua.

Tanto le dovea in replica per ora, e senza più ec.

DOCUMENT 39

RESPONSE OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE PROPOSING SOLUTIONS

Il Patriarca Caldeo (12 Novembre 1858) risponde alla lettera dell' Emo Prefetto del 24 Luglio detto anno. Traduzione di D. G. Guriel.

Prima di tutto facciamo conoscere a V. Emza Revma che abbiamo ricevuto la vostra pregiatissima lettera della data 24 Luglio di quest'anno, e dopo d'aver riflettuto sull' avvisi, che Essa contenea, ringraziammo Iddio nostro Signore sulla vostra sollecitudine del bene di tutta la S. Chiesa Cattolica, e particolarmente poi della povera nostra Nazione: perché da Essa (lettera) siamo stati convinti (siccome V. Emza Revma adesso c'ha dichiarato) di tutto ciò, che conviene a fare, per dirigere gl'affari della Chiesa Caldea di Malabar con quelle ordinazioni, che servono alla tranquillità di quel Popolo, come giudica bene la sapienza di V. Eminenza, che è sempre sollecita per il bene di tutti; ed abbiamo

capito molto bene, e senza tema d'errare, che, colla medesima sollecitudine, V. Emza è portata per il bene della nostra Gregge. Nostro Signore Iddio assista V. Emza colle sue misericordie moltiplicatamente e in questo mondo, e nell' Eternità dandole la retribuzione delle sue assidue fatiche amen.

Ma, o Eminentissimo, col vostro permesso, diciamo, che, non è possibile, come opinano i prudenti, che l'Illimo Monsig. Delegato Apostolico di Malabar vi faccia conoscere tutto ciò, che appartiene sulla verità dei fatti fra lui, ed i Caldei di Malabar; facciamo così, se piace a V. Eminenza, Lei dia l'ordine, che siano esaminati gl' affari di tutte due le parti da due altri Sacerdoti, che sieno mandati costì dalla V. Emza, ed uno di questi Sacerdoti sia di Rito Latino, l'altro di Rito Caldeo; il Latino, se è possibile, sia il P. Marchi Domenicano, che conosce la lingua Caldea, e gl'affari di tutte due le parti: ovvero in vece di questo il Padre Besson suo compagno; Egli ancorché non conosca la lingua Caldea, ciò non ostante conosce bene gl'affari del Malabar; Il Sacerdote Caldeo sia uno dalla nostra parte; ovvero uno di quei tre Sacerdoti Caldei, che si trovano presso V. Eminenza, cioè D. Michele Ufi, D. Domenico Losanna, D. Giuseppe Guriel, come un'altra vostra chiedemmo da V. Eminenza.

In quanto a ciò, che V. Eminenza ce lo avvisa, ed avverte, cioè di non mischiarsi nell' affari dei Caldei del Malabar, poiché il giudizio, e gl'affari loro appartengono a V. Eminenza rispondiamo, che noi giammai ci siamo mischiati nei loro affari come Giudici, o Inquisitori, absit! ma bensì ci siamo mostrati come Postulatori presso V. Eminenza per il loro bene; e se non era così il nostro operare, perché fin'ora noi non ci siamo accommodati alle segrete loro petizioni neppur dando alcun soccorso alle loro chiese, ancorchè essi, e molti altri ciò chiesero da noi provocandoci ed istigandoci in questo affare motle volte, e noi giammai li abbiamo ascoltati? Perocchè sappia V. Eminenza, che noi, senza un suo commando, non abbiamo fatto cosa veruna, e, come speriamo, neppure faremo qualunque altra cosa, senza un suo cenno, se il Signore c' ajuterà per mezzo delle vostre accettevoli orazioni: e di ciò l'assicuro, che è così. Ma soltanto chiediamo dalla vostra sollecita pietà, che è sempre propensa a beneficar tutti, a far presto a contentare la richiesta, e l'intenzione di questi abbandonati Caldei di Malabar, onde cessino da questo perseverante picchiare alla porta della vostra pietà, qual vedova abbandonata; affinchè dal loro assiduo bussare, non si raffredino verso V. Eminenza, e verso noi; ovvero non cadino in qualche inconveniente baratro a cagione della loro disperazione, o pusillanimità, le quali cose meglio di chiunque altro conosce V. Eminenza.

In quanto poi a quello, che V. Eminenza si rallegrò, allorchè intese dalla nostra lettera la falsità delle nostre accuse, cioè accuse a carico nostro, che furono presentate a V. Eminenza da quelli, che, o non conoscevano la nostra assiduità nei nostri doveri, o non amano il nostro bene, o sono proclivi a dir il male; perocchè da ciò noi conoscemmo quanto ci amate, e quanta è sublime la nostra riputazione presso V. Eminenza Revma; con tutto ciò, per quell' affetto vostro verso di noi umile servitore, chiediamo da Lei, onde, che se qualcuno ci accuserà, non ci scriviate accennando soltanto le sue accuse, ma bensì apertamente, e chiaramente scriveteli, onde noi possiamo conoscere qual'è l'intenzione degl'accusatori, e così rispondere convenientemente a V. Eminenza, e poi per chiudere la bocca a questi Scrittori della falsità, della frode, dell'odio, e del livore, che sono sempre proclivi al male; ma, se piace a V. Eminenza, commandi, che qui d' avanti agl'integerrimi Padri, e Missionarj Apostolici, che quì si trovano, siano esaminati questi accusatori, che hanno scritto contro di noi presso V. Eminenza; e così facilmente si conosceranno, o la verità delle nostre parole, o la falsità dei nostri accusatori, e così scriveranno (questi esaminatori) a V. Eminenza ogni cosa come è realmente, e così Lei non prenderà nessun abbaglio.

Per parte poi di ciò, che V. Eminenza scrisse a Monsig. Planche sulla consecrazione dei Vescovi per le Diocesi di Seret, e di Achra, poichè scrissero a Lei alcuni malevoli, sediziosi, e privi d'ogni direzione spirituale, e cristiana intorno ai tre degni Sacerdoti, cioè Don Andrea, D. Romano e *D. Roccho*, e dissero iniquamente a V. Eminenza, che non erano buoni i loro portamenti, e che sono privi della scienza, e della dottrina conveniente allo stato Episcopale, ed altre cose con cui incolparono questi invidiosi gli suddetti sacerdoti: Io le dico, che sono bugiardi, e non v'è la

verità nei loro discorsi; perché, nei portamenti tutti tre dalla loro fanciullezza fino quà non s' è trovata alcuna macchia: e la loro dottrina è abbastanza sufficiente; poichè sanno leggere, e scrivere, e parlare in tre lingue, cioè la Caldea, l'Araba, la Kurda e Parchense, eccettuato D. Roccho, che non conosce bene il Parchense. L'Illmo Mons. Planchet Delegato con grande allegria c'ha detto di consecrare D. Andrea per la Diocesi di Kerkuk invece di Monsig. Giovanni Tamraz; così parimente ci disse di consecrare per la Diocesi di Achra. E ancorchè noi non abbiamo consecrato (D. Andrea) per la Diocesi di Kerkuk, questo fu per certe circostanze, che allora s'incontrarono in quel tempo, non già perché non era degno; ed adesso ancora abbiamo intenzione di consecrarlo per la Diocesi d'Achra, se esso accetterà, e si compiacerà di ciò; giacchè non abbiamo meglio di lui fra tutti i Sacerdoti Celibi. D. Romano poi, essendo quasi sempre ammalato, non abbiamo intenzione di consecrarlo nè per la Diocesi d' Achra, nè per altro luogo affatto, poichè se non avea la malattia, non avrebbe avuto altro impedimento; e così D. Roccho ancorchè degno d'esserne consecrato Vescovo, neppur'egli avendo alcun impedimento, contuttociò non lo consacreremo, perché ne abbiamo bisogno per altri affari, che riguardano la Nazione più interessanti del Vescovado.

Dopo tutte queste prove, se piacerà a V. Eminenza di commandare, che sieno esaminate le azioni di questi tre Sacerdoti, e le azioni dei loro accusatori, e ciò alla presenza nostra, e dei due Delegali Apostolici, che si trovano presso di noi, i quali stanno al chiaro di tutte le notizie, o per averle sentite, o per averle vedute: e stanno ancora al chiaro delle azioni dei Accusatori, i quali non per altra ragione, che per odio, e per l'invidia hanno fatte delle accuse. Ovvero ci permetta di venire presso V. Eminenza, onde primieramente esser benedetti dalle SS. Reliquie dei SS. Pietro, e Paolo; poi dal Sommo Pontefice Papa Nostro Signore, e Successore di S. Pietro, e Vicario di Gesù Cristo: Secondariamente per dar conto del nostro operato da che fossimo innalzati indegnamente a questa carica.

Di più sappia V. Eminenza, che quei Quadri chiesti a tempo di Fransoni, con altri libri utili per la Nazione, l'abbiamo ricevuti per mezzo del Rmo Planchet Delegato Apostolico; il Signore le dia la retribuzione. Così ancora abbiamo le due lettere di Sua Santità; nella prima v'era l'Indulgenza Plenaria, che abbiamo divulgata già per la Nazione; la seconda contenea, che tutti i Sacerdoti Parrochi dicano *gratis* la S. Messa per il Popolo nei giorni festivi, e nelle Domeniche, e di questo siamo solleciti d'adempirglielo, secondo il commando della Sua Santità, come si potrà, perché non son terminate ancora certe particolarità necessarie per la divulgazione della suddetta intenzione; così in un' altra lettera si farà conoscere a V. Eminenza il modo, ed il compimento, come è il nostro dovere.

Di più facciamo conoscere a V. Eminenza, che le quattro orazioni canoniche delle ore Terza, Sesta e Nona, e l'ufficio notturno, furono abolite dal Rmo Isaja Ex-Patriarca, perché esso dicea, che le dette orazioni non sono del nostro Rito, ma bensì del rito dei Maroniti, e così tutto il Clero non l'ha recitate più. Sappia V. Eminenza, che la recita di queste orazioni monta a cento ottanta anni. Noi l'abbiamo nel nostro Rito Caldaico antico le sette orazioni poste, e decretate canonicamente per tutto il Clero, e dice il Rito, che sono state decretate dagli stessi Apostoli; ed i cinque Patriarchi, che risiedettero nella città di Amedia recitavano le sette orazioni, e commandarono, che tutto il Clero le recitasse; specialmente il Pio Patriarca Giuseppe II, nel suo libro «explicatio ministerii» dove commandò aggravando il Clero sotto peccato mortale, se lasciasse di recitarle. Il Patriarca Isaja abolì quattro di queste sette orazioni contro tutti i Riti, e dottori d'ogni Nazione Cristiana, che giustifica questo settenario numero. Perciò giudica V. Eminenza, e decida su questo affare così grande, e di tanto peso. Noi intanto taceremo, con nostro silenzio non peccheremo, aspettando il commando di V. Eminenza, che sarà per il bene Nostro, ed edificazione della Nazione. Sappia V. Eminenza, che noi queste orazioni l'abbiamo recitate sempre e siamo d'opinione, che chi non le recita pecca mortalmente come hanno deciso tutti i Teologi, Sinodi, ed i Papi antichi Romani. Perciò rispondeteci su questa difficoltà, e non dimenticateci nelle vostre orazioni.

Mossul 20 Settembre 1858

Il più piccolo dei vostri Servi, Giuseppe Audo, Patriarca di Babilonia.

DOCUMENT 40

MEMORANDUM OF FR. CHARLES HYACINTH TO PROPAGANDA FIDE PRESENTING VARIOUS NEEDS OF THE MALABAR CHURCH

Memorandum relativo al Clero e Popolo Soriano del Malabar umiliato all'Emo Card. Barnabò Prefetto della S.C. dal P. Carlo Giacinto di S. Elia Carmelitano Scalzo Pro-Vicario Apostolico di Quilon presente in Curia li 25 Marzo 1859.

Dopo la riunione del Clero e popolo Soriano del Malabar alla S. Fede cattolica nel Concilio Diamperitano fatta dal zelantissimo Monsig. Menez Arcivescovo di Goa, quantunque di tempo in tempo non lasciassero alcuni malvaggi Sacerdoti e secolari di scuotere il giogo dei loro legittimi Pastori di Cranganor, e tentare di sottomettere l'intiera nazione o al Patriarca cattolico di Babilonia, o anche allo Scismatico Nestoriano, (come ultimamente tentò il Catenare Antonio e suoi aderenti ciò che è ben noto a Sua Eminenza) per in tal modo poter vivere a seconda dei loro desideri: ciò non ostante la massa del Clero, e popolo Soriano fù, ed è sempre attaccatissima alla S. Romana Chiesa e Pastori da Essa inviati a gevernarla; non che gelosa osservatrice di quanto fu determinato nel sullodato Concilio, motivo per cui la purità della fede cattolica e disciplina ecclesiastica sempre si mantennero inviolate.

Se peraltro tutti si mantennero fedeli nell'ubbidienza, e venerazione alla S. Sede, in modo speciale furono sempre attaccatissimi alla stessa, quelli che erano governati dal Vicario Apostolico di Verapoly, e tale attaccamento venerazione e sommissione si accrebbe grandemente in essi, dopocchè in forza del Breve *Multa praeclare*, senza distinzione più di giurisdizioni, tutti furono riuniti sotto il Vicario Apostolico di Verapoly e governati dallo stesso. Presentemente piucchè mai desiderano con più stretti vincoli di unirsi alla S. Sede e di uniformarsi quanto possono alla stessa.

Per secondare questa loro santa disposizione Monsig. di Verapoly, a petizione dei buoni Sacerdoti Soriani desidererebbe da Vostra Eminenza.

- 1. Che come il Messale Siro Malabarico è mancante delle Rubriche generali, e che perciò nelle funzioni facendo ognuno come gl'insegnò il suo Malpam ossia Maestro senza uniformità così fossero date al Clero Rubriche generali da seguirsi.
 - 2. Manca della Messa e benedizione per gli Sposi.
- 3. Di varie Epistole ed Evangeli citativi soltanto, dei quali fu consegnato un'esemplare a Monsig. di Brasilac da Monsignor di Verapoly per portare a V. Eminenza.
- 4. Della funzione e Messa del Sabato Santo, quale mai fu in uso presso dì essi, funzione però che molto desiderano di avere, e quindi instantemente dimandano.
 - 5. Nel Credo manca la parola mortuus.
- 6. Il Giovedì Santo nella processione al S. Sepolcro cantano il «Pange lingua gloriosi lauream certaminis» invece del «Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium» come è nel loro Messale. Si dubita però essere errore di stampa: essendochè tutte le altre ceremonie della Settimana Santa sono tradotte fedelmente dal Messale Latino.
- 7. Invece di porre il pezzetto d'Ostia nel Calice, secondo il loro rito, intingono la grossa parte nel Sangue, e così intinta fanno una Croce sopra l'altra parte, che è nella Patena. Ora dubitano se ciò debbano fare pure il Giovedì Santo essendochè il loro Messale prescrive in tal giorno di porre il pezzetto d'Ostia nel Calice.
- 8. Secondo il loro Rituale nel consacrare l'acqua pel Battesimo, mescolano solo il S. Crisma, non il S. Olio dei Catecumeni. Il Sinodo di Odiamper non specifica questo ma dice solo in genere parlando del Battesimo «Eodem praecepto (virtus S. Obedientiae) jubet insuper Sancta Synodus, ut omnes Cassanarii et Vicarii, hoc conferant Sacramentum cum ritibus, coeremoniis, et orationibus, quae in Rituali Romano continentur Illmi Metropolitani jussu Syriace excripto pro omnium administratione Sacramentorum, quod in omnibus haberi debet Ecclesiis». Ora dubitano se sia ciò un errore, o così si debba fare.
- 9. Detto Rituale Soriano manca altresì. 1. Della Benedizione del Talamo nuziale. 2. Della nuova nave. 3. Delle Biade e Vigne. 4. Dell' Uova e commestibili in genere. 5. Per chi ha facoltà dal

Vescovo, degli abiti Sacerdotali in genere. 6. Delle Tovaglie dell'Altare. 7. Dei Corporali. 8. Del Tabernacolo, Pisside o Teca ove si conserva e trasporta agl'infermi la Ssma Eucaristia. 9. Di porre e benedire la prima prima pietra per l'edificio di una nuova Chiesa. 10. Di benedire una nuova Chiesa per potervi celebrare la S. Messa. 11. Di benedire un nuovo Cemeterio. 12. Di riconciliarlo violato che sia. 13. Di fare la Processione nelle Litanie maggiori. 14. Del Rito per la processione nel giorno del Corpus Domini, e di tutte le altre processioni che si trovano nel Rituale Romano. 15. Del modo di esorcizzare gli ossessi. 16. Della formula per scrivere i libri parrocchiali.

Monsignore chiede a V. Emza ad istanza dei Soriani, che sieno Stampate le Bibbie Sacre e Breviari del loro rito. Di questi Monsig. mandò le aggiunte da farsi per mezzo di Monsig. di Brasillac, e per mandarle un Sacerdote le levò dal proprio Breviario.

Se tutte queste cose, o almeno ciocchè manca nel Messale e Rituale, non si potessero stampare in Roma Monsig. di Verapoly domanda a V. Emza la facoltà di farle stampare nel Malabar, prima facendole tradurre fedelmente da Sacerdoti Siriaci che a fondo sanno la loro lingua più che altrove e in Roma stessa, e poi correggerle dal Padre Marcellino e P. Filippo Missionari Apostolici.

- 10. Monsignore a nome del Clero Soriano domanda altresì a V. Emza la facoltà di poter ridurre il Matutino del S. Natale, che è lungo quanto un Salterio e mezzo, alla misura dei Matutini di Pasqua ed altre feste principali. Ciò è necessario, perché per essere troppo lungo molti non lo recitano, e quelli che lo recitano soffrono molto. Io stesso vidi nel Seminario di Verapoly che per recitarlo cominciavano alle tre pomeridiane e finivano dopo la mezza notte. Io sono d'opinione che da ciò in parte sia venuto l'abuso, che in molte Chiese i Soriani nel giorno di Natale subito dopo la mezza notte celebrano tutte le Messe.
- 11. Soriani nel Breviario hanno non solo i nomi dei tre Arcangeli Michele Gabriele e Raffaele, ma altresì degli altri quattro, Uriele ec: Non essendo riconosciuti dalla S. Chiesa che i tre nomi sopradetti, si domanda se debbano togliersi gli altri o nò.

- 12. Nelle Parrocchie Soriane dalle decime che da il popolo, levate le spese della Chiesa, il resto è diviso ugualmente fra il Vicario, Catenari ossia Sacerdoti, e Ciamassi ossia Chierici, anche solo tonsurati. A ciascuno il più che possa toccare al mese di tali distribuzioni sarà uno scudo e mezzo o due ma in genere molto meno. Di tali distribuzioni partecipano anche dimorando fuori della propria parrocchia. Il Vicario quindi ha tutto il peso senza alcuno emolumento di più, e se i Catenari non sono buoni in niente lo vogliono aiutare prendendosi essi di più le Messe manuali, ed anche le cantate, essendocchè il popolo le da a chi vuole.
- 13. Cantando i novelli Sacerdoti la prima Messa fanno spese esorbitanti invitando molti altri Sacerdoti parenti ec. in alcuni luoghi il Sacerdote novello, si veste in casa stessa degli abiti Sacerdotali, e così processionalmente va alla Chiesa.
- 14. Nei testamenti il Concilio di Odiamper proibisce di escludere le femmine dall'eredità. Le ragioni addotte dal Sinodo sussistono tuttora. Monsig. di Verapoly instò ed insta fortemente per l'osservanza di questo punto, ma non lo potè ancora ottenere nella generalità.
- 15. Lo stesso Concilio ordina che la feria quinta dopo la Domenica in Albis sia fatta la festa del Corpus Domini considerato tal giorno come festa di precetto. La festa e processione si fa: però tal giorno non è considerato come festivo e travagliano.
- 16. Nei *Ciatam*, *Pelagoli*, e *Calianam* ossia terzo, settimo, trigesimo ed anniversario dei defunti, e nei matrimoni usano molte ceremonie nel pranzo che danno ai parenti ed amici, in tale occasione fanno la *Nercia*, ossia offerta, o per le Messe da celebrarsi pel defunto, o a vantaggio dei sposi. Il cerimoniale in queste circostanze è impossibile a descriversi. Non costa peraltro che facciano alcune gentilità, cosa che assolutamente non si permetterebbe.
- 17. Generalmente il Clero e popolo Soriano del Sud è migliore di quello del Nord. Peraltro intesi da molti, essere quei del Sud più finti quindi sembrare migliori.
- 18. Sebbene in genere siano determinati almeno a un dipresso i limiti delle parrocchie, sia per interesse dei Vicari sia per

ostinazione dei popoli, andando una famiglia fuori della sua parrocchia anche in luoghi molto distanti, sempre vogliono essere considerati come appartenenti alla prima. Questo pessimo costume, (quantunque ora tolto in buona parte) è causa di moltissimi litigi fra Vicari, e fra le famiglie.

19. Qualora l'Eminenza Vostra lo giudicasse espediente mi sembrerebbe cosa utilissima se si degnasse di diriggere una lettera circolare al Clero Soriano del Malabar inculcando allo stesso la fedele osservanza in ogni punto del Concilio di Odiamper e di dare tutta la possibile assistenza al Vicario Apostolico, onde rimettere in vigore qualche punto non osservato. Tal lettera circolare oltre che sarà di aggradimento a tutti i buoni somministrerà altresi più energia al Vicario Apostolico per togliere qualsisia abuso.

Del resto sia questa mia opinione, sia l'esposto antecedentemente il tutto sottometto all'alta considerazione di V. Eminenza nell'atto che umilmente le domando S. Benedizione, e bacio la S. Porpora e sono

Dell'Emza Vostra Rma.

Roma S. Pancrazio li 25. Marzo 1859.

Obbmo Obblmo Figlio, F. Carlo Giacinto di S. Elia, C.S. Vicario Apost. di Quilon.

DOCUMENT 41

REPORT OF FR. CHARLES HYACINTH TO PROPAGANDA FIDE AGAINST THE APPOINTMENT OF CHALDEAN OR NATIVE BISHOPS

Memoria umiliata all' Emo Card. Barnabò Prefetto della S.C. dal P. Carlo Giacinto di S. Elia Carmelitano Scalzo Pro-Vicario Apostolico di Quilon presente in Curia li 25 Aprile 1859, ov'espone i danni che proverrebbero ai Soriani del Malabar dall'avere Vescovi del proprio rito.

Eminenza Rma

Il 25 di Marzo p. p. presentai alla S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide una Relazione sui tre Vicariati Apostolici di Verapoly,

Mangalor e Quilon, nella quale esponendo le particolarità del Vicariato Apostolico di Verapoly, fra le altre cose notavo «che secondo il parere di Monsignore dei Missionarii ed altri buoni Sacerdoti Siriaci, se i Soriani del Malabar avessero Vescovi di proprio Rito, non passerebbero molti anni che diventerebbero Nestoriani, oltre di rinnovarsi gli antichi scandali dei Vescovi Siriaci, come e ben noto a questa S. Congregazione ec.»

Siccome relativamente a questo punto Vostra Eminenza mi ordinò a voce di presentare qualche schiarimento come debolmente posso mi faccio un dovere di soddisfare alla sua domanda.

Sebbene la storia dei Soriani del Malabar prima del Concilio Diamperitano celebrato il 20 Giugno 1599, sia involta in grande oscurità, ed eccettuata la continuazione della Cristianità dalla Predicazione di S. Tommaso Apostolo fino a quell'epoca nient'altro di positivo si sappia: nondimeno dalla storia ed atti dello stesso Concilio chiaramente consta, essere stati i Siro-Malabari infetti per più secoli dall'eresia di Nestorio, corrotti in altri punti di fede, depravati nella disciplina e costumi, e per dir tutto in breve non Cristiani, ma se è lecito così esprimermi, Nestoriano-Turco-Pagani avendo fatto un miscuglio di queste tre Sette, per cui non solo fu interrotta la legittima successione de' Vescovi e Sacerdoti, ma anche invalidamente amministrati i Sacramenti compreso lo stesso Battesimo, bandita l'uniformità della fede e bontà dei costumi.

Non ha dubbio essersi ridotta la Chiesa Siro-Malabarica a questo deplorabile stato, a motivo dell' eresia di Nestorio e suoi aderenti; io peraltro assegnerei come causa principale, d'aver almeno continuato in sì miserabile condizione, la mancanza di Europei nell'India, percui quei popoli governati o da Superiori venuti da Babilonia o dai proprii connazionali, e sì gli uni che gli altri infetti da mille errori, mancanti di coraggio e mezzi per rimediare ai nuovi mali insorgenti, e spesse fiate essi stessi causa di più gravi disordini, precipitarono quell'infelice cristianità d'abisso in abisso finché piacque alla divina providenza col Concilio di Odiamper salvare tante anime che infelicemente perdevansi.

A somigliante stato coll'andar del tempo, a mio parere di bel nuovo ridurrebbesi la Cristianità del Malabar, qualora venissero

governati da Prelati del loro Rito: poiché è ben vero che ora come cattolici solo riceverebbero come Prelato quel solo che loro concedesse la S. Sede, ma coll'andare del tempo disgustandosi qualche parte del Clero e popolo (cosa che necessariamente dovrà succedere se il Prelato vorrà fare il suo dovere) i malcontententi e cattivi immediatamente vorranno altro Prelato, quale loro essendo negato, per certo ne faranno venire uno o Cattolico o Eretico dalla Caldea e così comincierà lo Scisma, l'Eresia, la depravazione ed il seme degli antichi disordini.

Posto però fossero anche buoni cattolici i Prelati inviati da Bagdad al governo dei Siro-Malabarici sarà difficile si mantengano tali nel Malabar, al contatto dei Vescovi e Sacerdoti Nestoriani che colà tuttavia esistono. Presentemente i Prelati, Sacerdoti e popolo Nestoriano del Malabar, non solo non tentano di pervertire il Vicario Apostolico, Missionarii e Clero cattolico Soriano, che anzi temono trattando con loro di essere convertiti e quindi si tengono ben lontani. Sarà però l'opposto quando il Vescovo sia della loro nazione. Pero posto anche stiano lontani dal Vescovo non lascieranno almeno di avvicinarsi ai Sacerdoti cattolici per infezionarli del loro veleno, ed il Vescovo cattolico o non avrà l'animo di raffrenare il suo Clero da tale comunicazione, o per debolezza e paura non lo farà.

Che se i Siro-Malabari otterranno un Vescovo del loro Rito, immediatamente sarà duopo concederne loro più come succede ai Nestoriani, quali quantunque in poco numero rispetto ai cattolici già ne hanno tre. Ma prescindendo da questo, la posizione, indole e costumi dei cattolici Siro-Malabarici è divisa in tre principali classi, ommesse le altre suddivisioni: i così chiamati *Soleiros*, gli *Norteiros*, e i così detti *Angipallyedavagacarer* ossia parrocchiani delle cinque Chiese. La distinzione di *Soleiros* e *Norteiros* è venuta dal considerarsi gli uni come discendenti dalla famiglia del famoso Caana, ed altri mercanti quali dicono esser venuti da Bagdad, e gli altri essendo opinione che discendano da schiavi di dette famiglie. Quale delle due classi avesse origine da mercanti e quale da loro schiavi è difficile a sapersi pretendendo ciascuna di discendere dai più nobili: anzi a mio giudizio posta anche tal diversa origine, difficilmente può essersi mantenuta per tanti secoli tal distinzione

senza mescolarsi gli uni cogli altri e con più difficoltà si può sapere a quale delle due classi in realtà gl'individui ora esistenti appartengono. Checché sia di tale origine e mescolanza è certo che tuttora le tali Chiese e popolazioni si considerano come Soleiros, e le tali come Norteiros, quantunque questa distinzione niente abbia di comune colla superstiziosa divisione delle caste. Ora se succedesse che loro fosse accordato un Vescovo del proprio Rito, i Soleiros lo vorrebbero scelto dai loro, nè accetterebbero quello preso fra i Norteiros e viceversa: e se detto Vescovo fosse di origine Caldeo, e non mantenesse un egualità nel trattare le due classi, il che sarà difficile, subito la classe che si giudicasse non considerata e trattata come l'altra vorrebbe un altro Vescovo. Oltre di questo i parrocchiani delle cinque Chiese ne vorrebbero un terzo, e non sarà improbabile che altri grandi parrocchiali aventi sotto di se molte Cappelle e Sacerdoti ne richiedano un proprio. Lo stesso Vicario Apostolico bisogna che usi una singolar prudenza nel trattare, i Soleiros, Norteiros, Angipallyedavagacarer, ed altri affinché non si rivoltino contro la sua autorità, ed eccitino sollevazioni fra cristiani pronti a far l'una e l'altra cosa ad un minimo indizio di parzialità che il Superiore loro somministri, anzi alle volte ad un semplice sospetto.

Non parlerò della dura necessità in cui si troverebbe un Vescovo del proprio Rito di ordinare indistintamente tutti quelli che saranno presentati, sia per non inimicarsi i Malpan ossia Maestri, sia per non irritarsi contro le famiglie specialmente potenti: non delle simonie che si commetteranno nella collazione dei S. Ordini, nell'elezioni dei Vicarii, nell' approvazione dei Confessori, nella scelta dei *Malpan* ossia Maestri, dalle quali anche rimanesse essente il Vescovo, non avrebbe capacità e petto per purgare i Segretarii, Maestri e persone che l'attornieranno. La simonia poi nell'amministazione dei Sacramenti con tutta facilità di bel nuovo s'introdurrà nei Vicarii ed altri Sacerdoti, poiché appena il Vicario Apostolico e Missionarii non ostante i loro sforzi e zelo possono purgare perfettamente dalla stessa il Clero. Una semplice occhiata alla storia del Concilio Diamperitano, e successivi storici di quella Cristianità faranno conoscere se è vero quanto asserisco.

Tutti questi disordini saranno forse maggiori se il Vescovo sarà preso non dalla Caldea ma scelto dai naturali stessi del Malabar, con questo di più:

- 1. Che questo Vescovo si perpetuerebbe nella propria famiglia e spesso senza valida elezione e consecrazione come già avvenne, con mille raggiri, estorsioni, prepotenze ed iniquità ciascuno dei nepoti e parenti facendo il possibile per succedere nella dignità al Prelato. Oltre di questo gli offici dei Maestri e le migliori parrocchie sarebbero conferite ai parenti del Vescovo senza attendere ai loro meriti o demeriti. Una gran parte delle rendite ecclesiastiche sarebbero dilapidate dalla famiglia e parenti del Prelato, e forse dallo stesso per mantenersi nell' officio e riuscire ne'suoi disegni:
- 2. Che quelle poche famiglie, tra le quali anticamente vi fu qualche Vescovo, e che tuttora esistono, e che negli ultimi tempi diedero non poca molestia ai Vicarii Apostolici, compreso il presente, vorrebbero che tra loro parenti *Catenari* ossia Sacerdoti sia scelto il Prelato, o farebbero un'implacabile guerra al Vescovo se venisse assunto da altra famiglia:
- 3. Che come notai sopra ciascuna classe sia dei *Soleiros*, *Norteiros*, ed *Ancipallyedavagacarer* vorrebbe fosse scelto il Vescovo dalla propria parte, nè si sottometterebbe al Prelato preso dell'altra.
- 4. Che i principali *Catenari* ossia Sacerdoti del Malabar sono i così detti *Malpan* ossia Maestri dei Seminari, i quali e perché più istruiti, di famiglie più grandi ed alcuni anche di più virtù hanno fra gli altri Sacerdoti grande ascendenza e preponderanza, e riscuotono dal popolo più rispetto e venerazione. Questi *Malpan* sono circa in N. di 12 cioè nove all'attuale istruzione dei Seminari, e qualch'altro vecchio. Fra detti Maestri vi sono alle volte delle differenze e simultà, e tra loro discepoli un certo qual spirito di partito in favore dei proprii precettori. Se ora si dasse l'esempio di concedere un Vescovo nativo ai Siro-Malabari, ognuno si può immaginare cosa farebbero questi Maestri e loro discepoli.
- 5. I buoni Sacerdoti dicono (ed io ne intesi varii) che essi sono incapaci a governarsi, e perché loro manca il coraggio l'attività, e

perché non vogliono prendersi brighe con raffrenare la cattiva condotta di alcuni malvagi Sacerdoti, e perché essi stessi confessano che abbisognano di continui stimoli per adempiere i loro doveri. Da questo si può facilmente conchiudere se sarà di Cristianità Siro-Malabarica concedere connazionali del loro Rito. Senza però apportare ulteriori ragioni basterà dare una scorsa alla storia del Concilio di Odiamper, alla prima spedizione all'India di Monsignor Sebastiani (Padre Giuseppe di S. Maria) Lib. 2. = Alla seconda spedizione dello stesso Libro pure 2. = Al Viaggio all'Indie Orientali del Padre Vincenzo di S. Caterina da Siena Lib. 2.= Al Viaggio del Padre Paolino di S. Bartolomeo, ed altri storici per essere pienamente convinti, che non è bene né utile alla Cristianità Siro-Malabarica il darle Vescovo di proprio Rito, sia scegliendolo dalla Caldea, sia assumendolo dai nativi stessi del Malabar; e se loro fosse concesso pericolerebbe la fede, la disciplina e moralità come asseri esser questa l'opinione di Monsig. di Verapoly, dei Missionarii e dei buoni Preti Siriaci stessi.

Aggiungerò ancora, che io stesso ho presso di me un manoscritto Malabar composto recentemente da un ottimo secolare Siriaco nel quale dimostra 1. Quali furono le cause, e gli autori che recentemente domandarono a Roma i Siro-Malabari un Vescovo del proprio Rito. 2. Se i Siro-Malabari ebbero ragione di fare questa domanda. 3. Quanto danno sarebbe avvenuto, se si fosse realizzato il loro progetto. 4. Il male che avvenne a quelli che tentarono ciò fare. 5. Espone l'origine dei Vicari Apostolici nel Malabar, ed indica le cause per cui la S. Sede non continuò a dare Vescovi di proprio Rito alla nazione Siro-Malabarica. 6. Qual' è la condizione di quei che volevano i Vescovi del proprio Rito, e quale la condotta del Vicario Apostolico e suoi Missionarii. 7. Riflettendo bene a tutto questo qual felicità abbiamo stando fermi nella fede.

I sentimenti espressi dall' autore di questa memoria sono pure quelli di tutti i buoni però mai potranno essere quelli dei cattivi specialmente Sacerdoti; perché ben vedono che sotto i Vicarii Apostolici non possono vivere a seconda dei loro desiderii, incutere timore al Superiore per ottenere quel che vogliono,

eccitare perturbazioni come spererebbero poter fare sotto i Vescovi del proprio Rito avendone già dai passati l'esperienza.

Dietro quanto esposi e le congnizioni ed esperienza che Vostra Eminenza ha dei Siro Malabari di Verapoly potrà giudicare quel che meglio convenga al bene di quella Cristianità, pronti sempre i Vicarii Apostolici e Missionarii alla sommissione alle determinazioni della S. Sede ed ordini di Vostra Eminenza, come si protesta chi umilmente baciandole la S. Porpora ha l'onore di raffermarsi

Roma S.Pancrazio 25 Aprile 1859,

Di Vostra Eminenza Rma

Umo Dvmo Obmo Servitore, F. Carlo Giacinto di S. Elia, C. Scalzo Pro-Vic, Ap. di Quilon.

DOCUMENT 42

REPORT OF FR. CHARLES HYACINTH TO PROPAGANDA FIDE REGARDING FR. ANTONY KUDAKKACHIRA

Monsig. Carlo Giacinto di S. Elia C. S. Vicario Apostolico di Quilon presente in Curia avverte l'Emo Prefetto de maneggi del Sacerdote Antonio del Malabar (31 Luglio 1859).

Eminenza Revma

Monsig. Bernardino di S. Teresa Vic. Apostolico di Verapoly mi scrive in data del 2 Giugno del corrente anno. 1. Che tuttora si trova in Bagdad un certo Antonio Sacerdote Siriaco del Malabar andato colà alcuni anni sono, col famoso Sacerdote Siriaco Antonio che morì, e con varj ragazzi pure di rito Siriaco, quali tuttavia dimorano in Bagdad col suddetto Sacerdote Antonio. Ora dagli indizj che si hanno, e specialmente dall'aver quel Sacerdote mandato a prendere una forte somma di danaro lasciata al Malabar dal defunto Antonio, Monsignor Bernardino fondatamente giudica che siano fatti tutti gli sforzi, per far ordinar Sacerdoti in Bagdad i detti giovanetti, per poi ritornare nel Malabar, a rinnovare le perturbazioni, e scandali passati.

Per ovviare a tanto male, e sue funeste conseguenze, il sullodato Monsignore, prega V. E. di degnarsi di scrivere al Patriarca di Bagdad avvisandolo a prender guardia, e non ordinare detti giovanetti, nè proteggere quel Sacerdote che gli dirigge, e loro procura l'ordinazione.

2. Che circolano, però con tutta secretezza alcuni manoscritti istorici del famoso *Tomas Pareamachel*. In essi, e specialmente in quello che narra il suo viaggio dal Malabar a Roma, e da Roma al Portogallo, Goa, e Malabar non fa che inveire contro il S. Padre che allora governava la Chiesa, contro la S. Congregazione di Propaganda, Padri Gesuiti, Agostiniani, e Carmelitani, formando un pestifero libello infamatorio contro la S. Sede, e suoi ministri, ed abusando di più dei testimonj della S. Scrittura e sinistramente interpretandola, e travisandone le citazioni.

Il sullodato Prelato giudicherebbe cosa ottima, che V. Eminenza istessa si degnasse intimare a lui di rigorosamente proibire tutti quei manoscritti, anche a nome della S. Congregazione di Propaganda, e di più procedere contro quei che gli tengono, leggono etc. con tutto il rigore delle pene stabilite nell'Indice.

3. Se oltre di questo V. Eminenza avesse la bontà di quanto prima diriggere al Clero, e popolo Siriaco del Malabar una lettera circolare conforme io indicavo nel Num. 19 del mio Memorandum del 25 Marzo presentato a V. E. mi sembra, a mio debol parere che apporterebbe grande utilità a quel Vicariato Apostolico, e sarebbe di non lieve ajuto, e consolazione al zelante Prelato che lo governa.

Con profonda stima, e venerazione baciandole la S. Porpora, umilmente chiedo & V. E. la paterna benedizione, e mi professo

Di Vostra Emza Revma

Roma S. Maria della Scala 31 Luglio 1859.

Umilissimo Obbmo Figlio, F. Carlo Giacinto di S. Elia, Carmelitano Scalzo.

DOCUMENT 43

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE REITERATING HIS RIGHT TO CONSECRATE BISHOPS FOR MALABAR

Lettera (12 Decembre 1859) di Monsig. Patriarca Caldeo all' Emo Prefetto tradotta da D.G. Guriel.

12 Decembre 1859

Eminenza Rvma

Dopo un profondo rispetto a V.E. le facciamo noto l'ultima nostra volontà sugli affari dei Caldei di Malabar, cioè, noi fin'ora ci credevamo d'esser forti nella nostra carica, siccome furono gli nostri Antecessori; più volte chiedemmo dalla Sede Apostolica, come era nostro dovere Patriarcale, di consecrare dei Vescovi del nostro Rito Caldaico, e spedirli a Malabar, come è costume di tutte le nazioni Orientali, che sono unite alla S. Sede; e tutto ciò per il buon successo, e prosperità della nostra Nazione, e specialmente della Chiesa Malabarese; ma vi sono degl'uomini, che per un'affetto umano, e maligno impediscono le nostre operazioni canoniche, e continuano ancora ad impedirci in quest'affare colle loro fantastiche dimostrazioni, e ciò per un fine non di Dio, e nè tampoco per l'edificazione del Popolo di Malabar; e questi erano quelle persone, che per debito del loro stato, doveano piutosto custodire i Riti della Chiesa, e ciò secondo gli Apostoli, Pontefici, e Concilii Ecumenici servirebbe all'augmento della fede, senza quell'indegno egoismo; e dovrebbero esser sempre memori del detto di S.Paulo chi è Paolo? chi è Apollo? di più per la loro scandalosa direzione, e per l'inconveniente loro procedere, che in questi paesi mostrarono, ci sono divenuti nemici; mentre noi spese volte di nascosto ciò abbiamo avvertito, come ci fu commandato; 10 ma quelli per l'odio, che ci portano, spesso scrivono alla Sede Apostolica tutto ciò, che è contrario alla nostra carica, ed al nostro pensare; ancorché noi per la loro parte abbiamo fatto conoscere a V. Eminenza, onde non desse retta affatto ai loro incantesimi; però

¹⁰ Non dice da chi; forse intenderà dalla coscienza. (*Nota del Traduttore*).

pare, che per l'affare di Malabar sieno stati ricevuti questi incantesimi; però noi dopo che presentammo a V. Eminenza dimostrazioni chiarissime su questo affare, secondo il nostro dovere Patriarcale, e pure niente s'è stato deciso di ciò, come noi speravamo moltissimo nella V.E. che è scevra d'ogni accettazione di persone.

Per la tardanza di quest'affare, in questi giorni si sono insorti contro di noi tutto il Clero, ed il Popolo insieme, hanno decretato l'apostasia colla disubbidienza Ecclesiastica contro di noi, se non mettiamo dei Vescovi a Malabar di Rito Caldaico; ed il loro indiscreto zelo ha fatti giungere, e pensare fino a questo, che, cioè di mandare delle persone dal Patriarca Nestoriano per ricevere la consecrazione Episcopale da esso, e chieder dal medessimo Patriarca un Metropolitano, come suo Vicario, che risieda sulla Sedia Patriarcale di Babilonia in vece nostra, e munirlo (perchè sia intangibile) di un Firmano della Gran-Porta; di più hanno deciso, e pensato di cacciar via anche i Missionarii della S. Congregazione, perchè credono, che essi stanno qui a bella posta per mutare il Rito Caldaico in Rito Latino; e dopo poco tempo sospendere qui 1'Episcopato Caldaico dalla nostra Nazione, siccome hanno fatto a Malabar.

Noi però vedendo queste scissure, e rovine nella Nazione, appogiati sul divino aiuto, abbiamo cercato di quietarli, ed impedirli d'adempire la loro nociva intenzione, promettendogli d'ottenergli certamente questo permesso dall'Eminenza V. Rma (Apostolica); però mi pare, che la S. Congregazione non dia questo permesso per tre cagioni: primo; perché crede Essa, che non si trovano nella Nazione Caldaica persone degne, come conviene per l'Episcopato: secondo; la lontananza del paese di Malabar dalla Sede Babilonese, ed in consequenza la difficoltà della direzione Episcopale di là dalla medesima Sede: terzo; la disunione di tutto il popolo Malabarese nel chiedere dei Vescovi del loro rito Caldaico: a tutto questo rispondiamo: ed in quanto al primo quesito diciamo, che noi vediamo nella nostra Nazione dei Sacerdoti, e Vescovi degni d'ogni decoro, e convenienza, e rispetto; e se si negherà questo, e non s'acconsente a queste persone, ciò sarà appunto, perchè qualche maligno per un cattivo affetto, ciò fece conoscere

alla S. Congregazione; in quanto al secondo quesito; noi ancorché desideriamo, che si mettono dei Vescovi Caldei nei paesi di Malabar, ciò non ostante non chiediamo, e neppure vogliamo, che sieno levati dal Malabar i Missionarii, ed i Delegati Apostolici; ma bensì vogliamo, che rimanghino costà come consiglieri, e rappresentanti della S. Sede Apostolica, come stanno presso di noi, ed in ogni luogo: e se piacerà alla S. Sede Apostolica, uno dei Latini si consacri, e si costituisca come capo dei Vescovi per tutte le difficoltà, che quivi fra loro possono nascere; in quanto al terzo, diciamo, che la S. Sede Apostolica, e tutti i Concilii Ecumenici sempre incalzano tutti i fedeli, onde ognuno si unisca al suo proprio Rito, ed assolutamente non l'abbandoni.

Adunque prego V. Eminenza di non tendere insidie alla carica, all'onore, ed ai favori, che convengono alla S. Sede Patriarcale di Babilonia; che se di questi favori furouo degni i nostri Antecessori, non voglia impedir anche per noi questo decoro, che vien vendicato dalle tradizioni Apostoliche, ed universali; si ricordi V. Eminenza che questa sede è sede vostra o sia, che s'impiccolisca, o sia che s'ingrandisca; dunque dateci la pace, e rallegrate non soltanto noi, ma eziandio tutta la Nazione nostra tanto qui, quanto nel Malabar e tutto 1'oriente Cattolico.

Di più *il nostro scopo in questa* lettera è, che se, dopoché abbiamo presentato a V. Eminenza tante dimostrazioni chiare, e tante supplichevoli preghiere, non riceviamo un conveniente permesso per la sumentovata consecrazione, *non crediamo di* stare (*poter stare*) *nella Nazione Caldaica; e specialmente colla pace nella nostra Sede Babilonese:* ma forse ci ritireremo da parte; ovvero verremo presso V. Eminenza; tutto in una parola diciamo: forze passeremo i giorni della nostra vecchiaia assieme coi Capi della nostra Nazione nel pianto, e nelle lacrime sulle qualità, e condizioni amarissime, che può essere, accadano sopra di noi, e sopra tutta la nostra Nazione; perocché supplichevoli chiediamo con giustizia, e rettitudine il fine, ed il compimento di questo affare; e ci raccomandiamo alle sue SS. orazioni.

Giuseppe Audu, per grazia Patriarca di Babilonia.

DOCUMENT 44

LETTER OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO ASKING HIM TO EXPELL THE MALABARS STAYING IN MOSUL

Lettera dell'Emo Card. Barnabò Prefetto della S.C. a Monsig. Patriarca Caldeo in ordine ai Giovani Malabarici dimoranti tuttora in Mesopotamia (17 Decembre 1859).

Sono pervenute a questa S.C. dispiacenti notizie in riguardo alla pendenza dei giovani Malabarici tuttora dimoranti in Mesopotamia, ed io non posso a meno di rivolgermi con questa lettera a V.S.

Ella ben conosce dalle mie antecedenti comunicazioni che la venuta di quei giovani dal Malabar in Mossul dispiacque moltissimo a questa S.C. la quale ravvisava nel fatto un onta irrogata alla sua autorità, mentre in pendenza della causa le si creava così un pregiudizio.

Di fatti io non mancai di prevenirla con la mia dei 13. Agosto 1856, aver risaputo che circolava nel Malabar una lettera di V.S. diretta al Cassanar Antonio, nella quale si conteneva un invito per chiunque volesse recarsi in Bagdad, e me ne dolsi con Lei. Accadde poi di fatto l'arrivo in Mossul di parecchi giovani, ed io ne feci nuove doglianze con V.S. nella mia dei 14 Decembre 1857, e non tralasciai anche di richiamar la di lei attenzione sulla disgraziata sorte toccata al Cassanar Antonio, che assieme con altri, dove cercavano innalzarsi contro i voleri della Propaganda, incontrarono la morte sotto gli occhi di V.S. Tutto portava a credere dopo ciò, che Ella avrebbe respinto al Malabar i giovani rimasti, in ossequio debito alla Autorità della S.C. che non volea si prevenisse il suo giudizio sulle dipendenze del Malabar da Babilonia. Ma in quella vece, i giovani furono costì ritenuti, e intanto col progresso del tempo, stanchi dal più soffrire menando una vita priva dei necessari mezzi, eccoli in aperta rivolta contro di Lei, rivolgersi per protezione agli Acattolici, minacciare di abbandonare ignominiosamente la Chiesa Cattolica, ed ecco altresì tra il fermento prodotto nei vari partiti, trovarsi V.S. nel più grave

imbarazzo, compromesso davanti alla nazione ed alla Propaganda senza che abbia in pronto alcun espediente per rimediare all' urgenza del caso Nè mai sarebbe consiglio l'esortarli, com'Ella ha fatto a pazientare altro tempo fino alla Primavera per conferire loro la sagra ordinazione, e dargli un Vescovo, sia perche io non sarei in grado di assicurarla, che la questione del Malabar possa essere definitivamente decisa per quel tempo, sia perchè il ricorso da essi fatto agli Acattolici e le minaccie di passare tra le fila dei medesimi li rendono del tutto indegni di salire al sacerdozio cattolico e molto poi meno al Vescovato.

Intanto non può sfuggire al savio discernimento di V.S. come un simile disordine non sarebbe accaduto, nè ella sarebbesi trovato in sì grande imbarazzo, qualora attenendosi scrupolosamente ai voleri della S.C. non avesse chiamati a Bagdad quei Malabarici, o li avesse rinviati alla lor patria in attenzione delle disposizioni della S.C.

Ma in mezzo al dispiacere, mi conforta non poco il conoscere di qual zelo Ella sia animata per la nostra S. Religione e di qual devozione inverso la S. Sede e questa S.C. che n'è l'organo e la rappresentante. A vedere pertanto di sedare ogni turbolenza, e rimettere l'ordine delle cose, la interesso vivamente a respingere senza ulterior dilazione codesti Malabarici alla lor Patria, al quale scopo, onde aggiungerle forza, scrivo all'Incaricato della delegazione Apostolica il P. Ligier, che la coadiuvi con ogni mezzo per lui possibile. E nella fiducia di un felice scioglimento di questa disgustosa pendenza ec.

DOCUMENT 45

LETTER OF APOSTOLIC DELEGATE AMANTON TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH SEEKING INFORMATION ABOUT THE SYNOD

Lettera diretta da Monsig. Amanton Delegato Apostolico della Mesopotamia al Patriarca Caldeo.

Mossul 13 Settembre 1860

Eccellenza

Ho sentito, che oggi i Vescovi Caldei coi Sacerdoti della sua nazione si sono radunati sotto la sua presidenza nella chiesa di Meschinta. Voglio credere che questo sarà per il bene; ma in tanto, siccome non sono stato invitato, nè anche avvisato, non posso far a meno, come Rappresentante della S.Sede di rivolgermi a Vostra Eccellenza onde avere pronte informazioni intorno a quello che si tratta. È un dovere stretto di mia carica di chiedere subito queste informazioni, e di più vi sono obbligato a motivo della istruzioni speciali che ho ricevute ultimamente dalla S. Congregazione.

Io speravo ieri che Sua Eccellenza nel visitarmi coi Vescovi, mi avrebbe detto il motivo del loro arrivo qui in Mossul; e così mi avrebbe risparmiato la pena di domandarlo io stesso.

Prego Vostra Eccellenza di credere ai sentimenti di carità cristiana e di amore fraterno che mi animano nel scriverle questa lettera. Io cerco il bene, non altro, e con un sincero desiderio di ottenerlo ec.

DOCUMENT 46

REPLY OF PATRIARCH AUDO TO APOSTOLIC DELEGATE AMANTON ASKING FOR HIS CREDENTIALS

Traduzione della Risposta data li 13 Settembre 1860 da Monsig. Patriarca Caldeo alla precedente (Document 41) lettera di Monsignor Amanton.

Revmo Fratello

Abbiamo ricevuto, letto con gioja, ed appreso il contenuto della Vostra lettera del 13 Settembre, nella quale Vostra Fraternità ci fa conoscere il desiderio di sapere ciò che abbiamo voluto fare nell'adunanza tenuta sotto la nostra preminenza nella Chiesa di Maschenta, e qual è il fine dell'adunamento de'Vescovi in questa città del Mosul; e ciò 1. perché Vostra Fraternità ha delle istruzioni particolari dalla S.Sede che ci riguardano. 2. Pei diritti della Vostra Delegazione Apostolica. Va molto bene. Se non che ci siamo molto meravigliati di non averci comunicate queste particolari istruzioni a voce allorquando ci avete incontrato e ci riunimmo insieme nella città di Diarbekir, nè in iscritto durante tutto il tempo, in cui restammo adunati insieme nella suddetta città, nè due giorni fa, quando abbiamo avuto l'onore di visitarsi nella vostra Residenza; mentre secondo il mio parere, è officio del Messo d'informare la persona, a cui è stato mandato degli ordini, ed istruzioni del Mandante; ma non importa ciò ch'è accaduto. Preghiamo ora il vostro amor fraterno di notificarci 1. tutti gli ordini, e le istruzioni datevi dalla Santità del Sommo Pontefice relativi a noi, e riguardanti gli affari della nostra Nazione. 2. Tutti i diritti della Vostra Delegazione Apostolica spiegati nella Bolla Papale, muniti di vostro sigillo, e firmati di vostro pugno, onde poter così ben conoscere i nostri doveri verso il Capo Supremo della nostra Chiesa, e verso Vostra Fraternità Rma, e non trasgredirli. Poiché noi ancora, per la grazia del Signore, siamo cattolici, e veneriamo con tutta la sommissione i comandamenti del Successore del B. Pietro, che è il Pontefice Romano. Così quando la Vostra Fraternità ci avrà istruito di ciò che or vi preghiamo, allora noi v'istruiremo di ciò che siamo in dovere d'istruirvene.

E siccome Vostra Fraternità ci prega di non prendere il senso della vostra lettera, se non come proveniente da cuore che ama con cristiana carità, e fraterna; così noi ancora preghiamo la grande vostra carità di accogliere le nostre anzidette dimande come derivanti da cuore semplice, ed amante il bene della Chiesa cattolica, e l'osservanza de' vostri diritti, e la vostra amicizia solamente. Iddio vi conservi prosperoso.

Facciamo sapere ancora a Vostra Fraternità Revma, che questa lettera fu scritta col consenso e notizia de' Revmi Monsignori Vescovi.

Dato in Mosul 13 Settembre 1860

Giuseppe Audo per la grazia, Patriarca di Babilonia.

DOCUMENT 47

REPLY OF MSGR. AMANTON TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH REFUSING TO PRESENT ANY DOCUMENT

Replica di Monsig. Amanton Delegato Apostolico (14 Settembre 1860) alla precedente risposta di Monsig. Audo Patriarca.

Felicità

Premessi i molti saluti ec. rispondiamo brevemente.

- 1. Vostra Felicità ci dimanda di notificarvi i diritti della nostra Delegazione Apostolica; e noi rispondiamo 1. che noi abbiame giudicato questa vostra dimanda come oltraggio alla persona di nostra dignità, ed alla Sede Apostolica, che ci ha mandato in qualità di Suo Delegato sopra tutta la Mesopotamia, Persia ed altri luoghi; e la ragione di questo oltraggio è perchè noi non siamo i primi Delegati mandati in queste parti; 2. Noi non possiamo notificarvi i diritti della nostra Delegazione Apostolica per l'ordine datoci dal Sommo Pontefice.
- 2. V. F. ci dimanda d'informarvi degli ordini ed istruzioni dateci in riguardo vostro, e della vostra Nazione dalla Sede Apostolica. Noi rispondiamo che le istruzioni che vi riguardano, deve V. F. conoscerle dalla lettera della S. Congregazione, che noi

vi abbiamo mandata ad Alkosci, ove dice chiaramente a V. F. (avendo noi letto) di abbandonare la causa del Malabar, lasciandone il giudizio e la decisione alla Sede Apostolica.

In quanto poi alle istruzioni particolari, di cui abbiamo parlato jeri nella nostra lettera, queste l'abbiamo ricevute unitamente alla lettera vostra, che vi abbiamo mandata ad Alkosci coll' ultima Posta precedente. Queste istruzioni speciali riguardano la nostra persona, come cioè dobbiamo regolarci (o procedere, esercitare ec.) nella nostra carica. Per questo non siamo obbligati, nè possiamo manifestarvele. Quindi è che per ragione (in virtù) di nostra carica torniamo di nuovo a pregare V. F. di farci intendere il motivo dell'adunamento de' Monsignori Vescovi nella città di Mosul, e ciò che vi proponete di fare. Iddio vi conservi felice.

Dato in Mosul 14 Settembre 1860.

Il Vescovo Enrico Amanton, Delegato Apostolico.

DOCUMENT 48

RESPONSE OF THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH TO MSGR. AMANTON REFUSING TO REVEAL THE DECISIONS OF THE PATRIARCHAL SYNOD

Risposta data da Monsig. Patriarca Caldeo li 17 Settembre 1860 alla precedente lettera di Monsig. Amanton Delegato Apostolico, quale fu trasmessa da quest'ultimo alla Propaganda con sua Lettera 10 Ottobre 1860, che unitamente alle altre si passa all'Emo Ponente.

Exemplaire de la lettre (N. 1.) qui me fut adressée le 17 Septembre 1860 par le Patriarche Chaldéen, *en réponse* à celle par laquelle je lui demandais en toute *semplicité* qu'il voulût bien me dire quel était le but de la réunion des Evêques à Mossoul, et ce qu'ils faisaient dans leurs assemblées, de quoi ils s'occupaient.

Je joins à cette pièce quelques notes pour en faire comprendre le mauvais esprit et les faussétés. Cette pièce *N*. 1. et celle *N*. 3. sont les meilleurs témoignages que les Evêques aient pu donner de leur rébellion.

Onoratissimo e Rvmo Signore.

Dopo di avervi compartito il saluto nel Signore, determiniamo che ieri, giorno 14 di Settembre, abbiamo ricevuto la vostra lettera, l'abbiamo letta ed abbiamo capito il contenuto. Ma prima di rispondervi riguardo a questa lettera, vi preghiamo di non inquietarvi delle nostre parole che scriviamo alla vostra fraternità, perchè quando si tratta di 11 disputare sopra i diritti, l'amicizia si pone ad un fianco, affinchè i disputanti possano parlare con qualche libertà brevemente e utilmente al loro scopo. Perciò diciamo in primo luogo che non vi è occulto che noi in radunanza coi Vescovi della nostra nazione formiamo una gerarchia perfetta e conosciuta tra le altre gerarchie o ordini della Chiesa Cattolica, e non siamo come i Messi dei quali¹² l'autorità è vicariale e mezzana soltanto; imperocché la nostra autorità è ordinaria e senza mezzo. Perciò abbiamo il diritto di domandarvi che ci mostriate i vostri comandi apostolici che avete nelle mani, affinchè siamo 13 obbligati di eseguirli per l'utile della nostra nazione, perchè è cosa nota, che la legge, se non è pubblicala, non vi è l'obbligo di osservarla. Se la cosa è così, pensiamo noi che il chiedervi i diritti o comandi apostolici che avete nelle mani è un onore e una riverenza si alla Vostra Persona che alla S. Sede, o non già un'offesa, come ha pensato Vostra Fraternità. Perciò, o reverendissimo fratello, avete fatto ingiustizia a noi e ai nostri diritti, e i nostri Vescovi ci

¹¹ Disputare sopra i diritti. C'était tout ce qu'ils voulaient! ils ne niaient pas ma qualité de Délégué, ils me la donnaient; mais, pensant que je n'aurais à leur présenter qu'une simple Paginella constatant mon titre et ne précisant rien relativement au Malabar, ils voulaient disputer sur mes droit, comme ils disent, et me prouver, d'après mes papiers eux-mêmes, que je n'auvais pas à me mêler de leurs affaires. Ils sentaient bien que du moment où j'y entrerais, ce serait pour les contrarier.

¹² L'autorità vicaria e mezzana soltanto. C'est curieux vraiment; ce pauvre homme se figure être comme les Patriarches d'autrefois, les Patriarches de Constantinople ou d'Alexandrie etc.

¹³ Obbligati di eseguirli. Hipocrisie que tout cela? Car enfin, je leur ai communiqué mon Bref, et c'est après cette communication qu'ils ont fait les plus grandes fautes.

domandarono la vostra¹⁴ condanna, che è della stessa proprietà dei nostri diritti. Con tutto ciò, in onore della S. Sede, non ci ricorderemo più in avvenire di questa offesa..

Avete detto nella vostra lettera non essere il primo dei Delegati; rispondiamo che tutti i vostri 15 Antecessori ci hanno mostrati i loro diritti prima che li chiedemmo da loro, (secondo le regole della Delegazione) e forse anche da voi non li avessimo chiesti adesso, se non ci aveste dato motivo nella vostra lettera, 16 dicendo che avete il diritto di sapere il fine della radunanza dei Vescovi in questa città, e quel che hanno voluto fare nella loro radunanza nella Chiesa di Meschinta.

Di più, ci avete detto che avete l'ordine del Sommo Pontefice di non mostrarci i diritti della vostra Delegazione; se è così, almeno mostrateci quest'ordine, perchè noi sappiamo bene che quelli che hanno il dominio e la potestà Vicariale non hanno altri diritti fuorché quelli che hanno nelle loro carte segnati. Perciò ci scuserete, se non vi lasciamo entrare in altri affari fuor di quelli che sono secondo i diritti segnati nelle vostre carte. La conseguenza adunque è, che affinché vi sia possibile di domandare il fine della radunanza dei Vescovi, è necessario che ci dimostrate le vostre carte di Delegato, perchè, siccome non possiamo riconoscere due capi nella Chiesa Cattolica, così non possiamo accettare un Delegato¹⁷ facoltato con tutti i diritti ecclesiastici¹⁸. Credete voi che i diritti dei Patriarchi dell'Oriente (confermati dai Concilii ecumenici e dai Pontefici Romani) sono stati tolti, e consegnati ai Delegati Apostolici? E forse la nostra Sedia Babilonese non è

¹⁴ La vostra condanna. C'est un vraie dérision...

¹⁵ *Tutti i vostri Antecessori* ec. Ce n'est pas vrai, puisqu'ils les ont demandées à Mgr. Couperie autrefois dans un moment des troubles et des chicanes.

¹⁶ Dicendo che avete il diritto di sapere *ec. Je ne disais pas* diritto, *je disais tout simplement* dovere... *il est clair que selon eux*, je ne devais pas même me permettre de leur demander pourquoi ils étaient *réunis u !*...

¹⁷ Facoltalo da tutti i diritti ecclesiastici *ec. jamais je n'ai dit une Sottise* pareille.

¹⁸ Credete vio che ec. Il n'y a là que de l'insolence et de la dérision...

come tutte le Sedi nell'Oriente, che non possieda perfettamente tutti i diritti Patriarcali? Se questo è il vostro intento o risoluzione, vi preghiamo di farcelo sapere.

Di più, voi ci dite in secondo luogo che i regolamenti appartenenti a noi ci sono giunti nella nostra lettera: rispondiamo che non vi domandiamo di sapere quel che già abbiamo letto, ¹⁹ perchè sarebbe un importunare il domandarlo. Ma siccome la vostra fraternità ha detto che vuol sapere ciò che abbiamo fatto nel nostro radunamento sunnominato, e il fine della radunanza dei Vescovi in questa Città, in forza dei regolamenti dativi dal Sommo Pontefice, a questo rispondiamo che se i regolamenti appartengono a voi e alla vostra persona, qual fine avete avuto col dirci che avete regolamenti, e in virtù dei quali vi è possibile l'introdurvi nei negozii della nostra nazione? perchè non mostrarceli, affinchè camminiamo secondo essi? In verità, noi non abbiamo mai letto dal principio della Chiesa fino al presente, che i Delegati del Sommo Patriarchi **Pontefice** quando venivano ai dell'Oriente, s'intromettevano negli affari del loro Patriarcato, prima che si leggessero le loro Patenti che hanno nelle mani. Per questo motivo, se la vostra fraternità non ci dichiara prima i diritti scritti nelle vostre carte datevi dalla S. Sede, nemmeno noi non siamo obbligati di farvi sapere niuna cosa dei nostri affari, qualunque sia. . . .

¹⁹ *Quel che già abbiamo letto*. C.-à-d. ce qu'ils avaient lu dans la lettre de V. Eminence qui les obligeait à retirer les mains des affaires de Malabar...

Il y aurait bien d'autres remarques à faire, mais, pour abréger, il suffit d'observer que dans cette pièce comme dans celle N. 3, la S. Congrégation n'est pas même nommée une seule fois. Pour eux, c'est comme une chose qui n'existe pas. Dans ces deux pages, il y a un esprit de chicane, une ruse, un violent mécontentement, plus que de la défiance vis-à-vis de Rome. Touts ces tristes sentiments étaient depuis longtemps dans les cœurs des plus coupables; ils n'ont fait que se manifester. C'est un abcès qui crève. Ces pauvres gens qui soutient si bien leur droits, il fesaient infinement mieux de penser un peu plus a leurs devoirs.

DOCUMENT 49

LETTER OF FR. THONDANATT TO THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE OF MALABAR INFORMING THEM OF THE IMMINENT ARRIVAL OF CHALDEAN BISHOPS

Traduzione della Lettera scritta li 3 Ottobre 1860 dal Cattenaro ossia Sacerdote Antonio ai Malabaritani con note di Monsig. Bernardino Arcivescovo Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli, dal quale fù trasmessa alla Propaganda nel Gennaro 1861.

Nei due scritti che abbiamo spedito al Malabar in data del 25 Maggio e 9 Agosto vi abbiamo fatto sapere in breve quanto s'appartiene alla conclusione del nostro affare. Unitamente a questi scritti vi abbiamo mandato altresì una copia della lettera a noi comunicata dal Patriarca. Ora vi notificheremo tutto ciò che riguarda questo affare, e come si vada ottimamente perfezionando. Pertanto vi notifichiamo prima di tutto che il Patriarca unitamente a Monsignor Pietro Vescovo di Amunde (Amida o Diarbekir), Monsig. Ignazio Vescovo di Nasine (Mardin), Monsig. Paolo Vescovo di Casnata, Monsig. Michele Vescovo di Asti, Monsig. Manuello Vescovo di Sascode Zako, Monsig, Audisio Vescovo di Ummasia (Gezira) si sono uniti tutti in Mossul. Il Vescovo Slocha (Tamraz) Monsig. Giovanni, il Vescovo di Lamasa Monsig. Simone, e il Vescovo di Parese Monsig. Isaia non sono venuti. Però anche essi hanno mandato uno scritto, in cui esprimono il loro consenso a quanto si ordinerà in questa adunanza, così che tutti sono uniti di sentimento. Nel giorno 30 di Settembre, giorno di Domenica si adunarono nella Chiesa di Mascatta in Mossul, e consecrarono un Vescovo per nome Tommaso destinato per il Malabar. Domenica ventura consacreranno un altro Vescovo.

Subito terminata questa consacrazione, essi con tutte le facoltà necessarie partiranno pel Malabar, e con essi verremo anche noi. Le opposizioni, le iniquità e le astuzie che han fatto i nostri contrarii, cioè i Padri e i Latini per impedire questo affare, Dio soltanto lo sa. Tuttociò a Dio piacendo, ve lo notificherò a voce. Son manifeste in ogni luogo le bugie e gl'inganni di costoro. Per questo motivo gli abitanti di Tannara, dell'Armenia e della Siria

hanno scacciato dal loro paese i Padri coi loro aderenti. *In questo stesso modo siamo determinati di far qui*. Perciò questi Vescovi tutti uniti hanno scritto al Papa, che qui non hanno bisogno dei Padri, e che qui per predicare ed insegnare hanno Predicatori, Vescovi o Patriarca, e che perciò richiami i Missionarii e li mandi alle loro Provincie, e li faccia mutar vita, giacché noi siamo per partire per il Malabar per far conoscere la vera Religione ai Gentili. Che se ciò non vorrà fare, *scriveremo risolutamente che per mezzo del Governo li scaccieremo dai nostri paesi*.

I Padri e gli altri spaventati van girando come gli uccelli notturni, e quando verremo, per mezzo del Governo ed altri faranno delle opposizioni per non lasciar discendere nel Malabar questi Vescovi che verranno, e per non riceverli. Oltre di ciò con alcuni insensati ordini procureranno di scompigliare e disfare la nostra unione. Non pertanto senza turbarvi con credere ciò, che vi suggeriscono tali ordini, se noi tutti con una volontà sola, su tutto ciò che riguarda quest'affare, ed uniti di sentimento facciamo una piccola battaglia, cioè se rispondiamo con forza e coraggio, che noi Caldei quali siamo, riceviamo Arcivescovi inviati dal Patriarca nostro legittimo Superiore, ed ubbidienti al Papa, tutte le nostre cose resteranno terminate e tranquille. La guerra, che ancora ci rimane a combattere, ci basterà farla dai nostri luoghi nel Malabar. Perciò come già prima vi abbiamo detto, voi altri tutti di buona volontà procurate che non vi siano opposizioni per parte del Governo, oltre di ciò procuratevi la protezione del Residente che solo ha autorità nel nostro affare, e tutti uniti mandate suppliche e lamenti presso il Governatore di Madras, e ricevuta di là la risposta, fatela pervenire al nostro gran Rè, e la risposta del Rè venendo notificata presso il tribunale d'ogni distretto, non vi sarà più nessun disturbo per parte del Governo. Di più allorché noi sbarcheremo, sia in Cochin, sia in Aleppo, cominciando di là stesso, esortate i preti a venirci a ricevere e condurci con tutta festa e solennità. In somma non tremate: l'ordine che ha ricevuto il Patriarca da Roma di non ordinare alcuni di quelli che vengono dal Malabar, non è del Papa, ma del Prefetto di Propaganda il Cardinale Barnabò.

Pertanto ricevuti i venturi Arcivescovi, tutti con una sola volontà portatevi dolenti ai loro piedi, e proponendo loro qualcheduno dei buoni Sacerdoti che sono nel Malabar, o il Padre Chavari, od altri; essi hanno licenza e autorità di consecrare chiunque sia da voi determinato.

Per non ricevere la nostra comitiva, il Vescovo di Verapoli ha informato Roma, che quelli che chiedono un Vescovo del nostro rito, sono alcuni scapestrati e malvaggi. Quel Vescovo alla nostra venuta farà pubblicare in tutte le Chiese delle circolari; sospenderà quei Sacerdoti che si sono intromessi nel nostro affare, e fulminerà la scomunica. Ma un Vescovo che fulmina in tal modo la scomunica per odio, e sospende contro i S. Canoni, oltre d'incorrere nelle colpe e nelle pene stabilite dai S. Concili, queste sospensioni e queste scomuniche non colpiscono veruno, e chiunque in questo affare fosse incorso nella sospensione o nella scomunica, il Patriarca ha deciso che non son tenuti ad osservarla.

Ah fratelli miei non lasciatevi fuggire pazzamente una si propizia occasione, giacché senza alcuna difficoltà possiamo ottenere l'intento. Non fate che si dica che siate vili ed imbecilli. Questa è l'ultima battaglia, se in questa restiamo vinti, resteremo eternamente come siamo. Non crediate che tutto ciò che esce dalla bocca dell'*Odicone*²⁰ sia preghiera. Leggete, e propagate presso tutti quel libro²¹ che hanno scritto i nostri maggiori. Quanto a tutto

²⁰ Odicone si chiama il capo dei Sacerdoti gentili, il quale qualunque parola pronunci, benché sconcia è creduta dai gentili una preghiera. Lo scrivente sotto tal nome o vuol intendere il Vicario Apostolico, o il S. Padre, o entrambi.

Questa è l'Opera infernale composta, e divisa in due tomi dal celebre Pareamachal compagno di Monsig. Cariatti Arcivescovo di Cranganor, nella quale descrive il loro viaggio a Roma, da Roma a Lisbona, da Lisbona a Goa, ove morì l'Arcivescovo menzionato, ed il suo ritorno nel Malabar. Non fa altro in detta Opera che dir tutto quel che il demonio gli mise in bocca contro la S. Sede, e tutti i suoi Ministri abusando dei testi della S. Scrittura opponendo nove calunnie a tutti. Questo libro non è stampato ma manoscritto, e si conserva fra questi Soriani come un opera di un S. Padre e con gran riserbo. Questo si legge, e si è sempre letto nelle famiglie ai figliuoli in vece della Dottrina Cristiana. Questa è quel opera, di cui io per via di Monsig. Vicario Apostolico di Quilon (Somm. Num. XXXIII pag. 118) domandai a V. Emza, che dalla S. Congregazione

il resto, quando partiremo di qui, spero potervene informare. Spero che ora vi sarà giunta la ricevuta che vi ho spedito per le 2000 Rupie da noi ricevute, insieme ad altri scritti. Attendete a non far sorgere difficoltà fra di voi. Questa lettera o in iscritto o per qualche persona fatela conoscere in tutte le parrochie, e specialmente a quelli di Ernatucarrè, di Cuttiatodo, di Calparambu ed ai Malpam. A quelli poi che sono vicini vadino tre o quattro Sacerdoti, e informatili degli affari, procurino di tenere uniti tutti gli altri della Parrocchia. Ricordatevi di eseguir tutto.

Quando mi rammento l'importanza dell'affare, il vigore e la forza dei contrari, e la nostra debolezza e discordia, io tremo. Termino col pregarvi di maneggiare tutte queste cose con astuzia e prudenza, e col pregarvi ancora della vostra benedizione. Inoltre fateci sapere in qual porto dobbiamo discendere, se di Cochin, o di Aleppy, e quello ancora che dobbiamo fare noi quando giungeremo.

Onde il nostro Reverendo Padre Clunnel lo notifichi a tutti gli altri, ciò scrissi io vostro umile servo

Bagdad 3 ottobre 1860, Antonio Cattenaro.

Vera traslazione, Verapoli 22 del 1861.

Fr. Bernardino di S. Teresa, Arcivescovo Vicario Apostolico.

DOCUMENT 50

INTIMATION OF MSGR. AMANTON TO THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AND BISHOPS THREATENING EXCOMMUNICATION

Intimazione presentata li 4 Ottobre 1860 da Monsig. Amanton Delegato Apostolico al Patriarca e Vescovi Caldei e formola, di cui loro ordinava la sottoscrizione.

medesima, venisse interdetta e condannata con rigoroso ordine a me di radunarne e bruciarne tutte le copie. Chi legge quest'opera e impossibile che non si accenda contro la S. Sede e contro di noi.

Alle loro Eccellenze Monsig. Giuseppe Audo Patriarca dei Caldei, Monsig. Pietro Vescovo di Diarbekir, Monsig. Ignazio Vescovo di Mardin, Monsig. Paolo Vescovo di Gésirez, Monsig. Michele Vescovo di Seert, Monsig. Emmanuele Vescovo di Zacho, Monsig. Audichoz Vescovo di Amedeeh, Monsig. Toma Vescovo di Plath Meichan.

Se vi è un dovere penoso per un Vescovo Depositario dell'Autorità in mezzo ai suoi fratelli, egli è quando si vede costretto di usare rigori verso di loro. Questo dovere, o Eccellenza, ci è imposto quest'oggi. Inutilmente abbiamo aspettato colla speranza, che un migliore consilio verrebbe in fine ad illuminare le vostre radunanze e vi ispirerebbe più salutari risoluzioni; ma questa speranza si è sparita quando abbiamo sentito l'ultimo atto, che avete consumato. Perciò con sommo dolore e per non mancare al nostro ministero, siamo costretti a dichiararvi e a notificarvi quello che segue.

Considerando la proibizione ben conosciuta della Propaganda intorno alla questione del Malabar, proibizione in virtù della quale Monsignore il Patriarca ed i Vescovi Caldei non possono entrare in questa questione:

Considerando che Monsignore il Patriarca ed i Vescovi Caldei ci hanno tenuto fuori degli affari che essi trattano, e che non hanno mai risposto alle nostre domande le più espresse, quasi dispregiassero la nostra autorità:

Considerando che, non ostante la proibizione di entrare nella questione del Malabar, Monsig. il Patriarca ed i Vescovi Caldei hanno scelto per esser consagrato Vescovo ed esser mandato in questa regione un Sacerdote che non gode stima nell'opinione pubblica:

Considerando il modo scismatico che si è pur troppo manifestato, sia nei fatti, sia nelle parole di Monsignore il Patriarca e dei Vescovi Caldei:

Noi coll'autorità commessa dal Sommo Pontefice,

1. Proibiamo nel modo il più assoluto ai due Vescovi ultimamente consagrati di fare qualunque atto episcopale. La loro consagrazione avendo avuto luogo in un momento di opposizione

- alla S. Sede, perciò vogliamo avere prove della loro ubbidienza, prima che facciano qualunque atto Episcopale. Per conseguenza proibiamo all'ultimo consagrato Monsig. Toma Vescovo di Plath Meichan di portarsi alla Sua Sede, ed anche di uscire da Mossoul senza il nostro permesso scritto. E questa proibizione che spetta à Monsig. Toma è fatta sotto pena di Scomunica maggiore che incorre *ipso facto*.
- 2. Proibiamo nel modo il più assoluto la consagrazione di ogni nuovo Vescovo, e ci riserviamo *ad tempus* l'approvazione di ogni elezione al grado Vescovile. Perciò dichiariamo che se non siamo ubbediti in questa nostra proibizione, il consecratore ed il consecrato incorrono *ipso facto* la Scomunica maggiore.
- 3. Proibiamo nel modo il più assoluto di mandare al Malabar qualunque persona, ossia Vescovo, ossia Sacerdote, ed anche col solo titolo di esaminatore, o senza titolo. E per evitare ogni specie di ambiguità e di sotterfugio, ed anche per assicurarci della loro ubbidienza verso la S. Sede, noi richiediamo da Monsignore il Patriarca e da ciascuno dei Vescovi sopranominati, che mettano il loro nome e il loro sigillo sopra la dichiarazione qui giunta, avvertendoli che, se domani venerdì 5 di Ottobre, all'ora del Mogreb, non abbiamo ricevuto la detta dichiarazione coi nomi e i sigilli, li considereremo come ribelli all'autorità della S. Sede, e dichiaramo che incorrono *ipso facto* la sospensione *ab ordine*. Ci riserviamo di procedere con sentenze maggiori, anche con la Scomunica, se fosse necessario, contro coloro che persisterebbero nella disubbedienza, ricusando di sigillare la dichiarazione da noi a loro presentata.

Scongiuriamo il Patriarca ed i Vescovi Caldei di riflettere innanzi a Dio alla responsabilità che assumerebbero sopra di loro con una dissubbedienza, che porterebbe un tanto scandalo e la rovina spirituale dei popoli a loro affidati. Scongiuriamoli di ricordarsi, che un giorno dovranno render conto delle loro gregge a Gesù Cristo, il Supremo Pastore e di fare in modo che si meritino la lode e non la condanna.

Fatto in Mossoul i 4 di Ottobre 1860.

F. B. Maria Enrico Amanton, Deleg. Apostolico

Exemplaire de la Déclaration prèsentés à la Signature du Patriarche et des Evêques Chaldéens le 4 Ottobre 1860.

Noi sottoscritti dichiariamo, che per dare alla S.Sede una prova della nostra filiale ubbidienza, ci sottomettiamo pienamente al suo giudizio intorno alla Questione del Malabar; e promettiamo di astenerci da qualunque atto che anticiperebbe il sudetto giudizio, promettiamo per consequenza di non andare e di non mandare nessuno al Malabar, ossia Sacerdote, ossia Vescovo, anche col solo titolo di esaminatore, o senza questo titolo, se non vi è la licenza della S. Sede.

Pour copie conforme, F. B. Marie Heneri Amanton.

DOCUMENT 51

RESPONSE OF THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AND BISHOPS TO MSGR. AMANTON IGNORING THE THREAT OF EXCOMMUNICATION

Copia della risposta data li 6 Ottobre 1860 dal Patriarca e Vescovi Caldei alla precedente Intimazione di Monsignor Amanton Delegato Apostolico, quale fu trasmessa alla Propaganda dallo stesso Patriarca con sua lettera 16 Ottobre detto anno.

Noi Patriarca Babilonese unitamente al corpo Vescovile della mia Nazione Caldea, dopo una matura ponderazione, sulla questione del Malabar, unanimemente abbiamo determinato e risoluto di consecrare due Vescovi sulle Sedi vacanti in Mesapotamia per mandarli in Malabar (ma però privi tanto di Giurisdizione che non possano porre le mani ad un minimo ragazzo, ma liberi nella celebrazione dei Divini Misteri giusta il loro grado) per fare una esatta e circonstanziata inquisizione sulla verità di questo fatto, e quindi darci un sincero e pieno ragguaglio, per quindi noi tosto rappresentarlo al Sommo Pontefice, se di certo, cioè, i Malabarici vogliano sottomettersi alla giurisdizione del loro naturale Patriarca Babilonese, ovvero rimanere sotto i Missionarii Latini.

Ora se questo nostro passo, che inoltriamo colla coscienza certa dei diritti del nostro Patriarcato, e persuasione che con ciò non trasgrediamo veruna legge nè alcun Canone, se diciamo, tal passo, giusta il detto della Eccellenza V. Rma, sarebbe degno di sospensione e di scomunica maggiore, il giudizio e l'emanazione di dette pene apparterebbero al solo Sommo Pontefice, dalle di cui mani se ci verranno imposte, con piena sommissione saremo pronti ad accettarle, e non d'altra persona che ha la sola facoltà delegatoria, perché il solo Pontefice Romano conosciamo essere Padre, Dottore, e Pastore dell'Universale Chiesa cattolica, e Vicario di Cristo, e Successore di S. Pietro e Capo dei Patriarchi e Chiese Orientali.

Ecco Illmo Signore, la nostra ultima decisa risposta con piena nostra libertà stesa e sigillata.

Mossul 6 Ottobre 1860

DOCUMENT 52

LETTER OF THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AND BISHOPS TO POPE PIUS IX, DESCRIBING THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF CONSECRATING A BISHOP FOR MALABAR

Lettera (16 Ottobre 1860) del Patriarca e Vescovi Caldei alla Santità di N. S. Papa Pio IX, nella quale reclamano contro Monsig. Amantan Delegalo Apostolico; e sostengono le loro pretenzioni sul Malabar. - Vi è annessa una Memoria nella quale riuniscono le ragioni, che credono di avere su quest'ultimo punto.

N. B. Questa lettera è scritta *originalmente* in italiano. Le firme sono in Caldaico.

Mossul 16 Ottobre 1860

Beatissimo Padre

A Pietro il vivo devono rimettersi le cause anche degli Apostoli, e spettare indi la conferma nella verità di Dio il Salvatore. Sola Sua Beatitudine, Beatissimo Padre, che in terra tiene il plenipotenziale Vicariato dell'Altissimo può rendere la di lui pace alla nostra Chiesa, ed indi eliminare lo scandaloso,

generale, e pericolosissimo disturbo suscitatovi nel ritorno in Chaldea del Revmo Monsig. Enrico Amanton il medesimo Delegato Apostolico, specialmente per due motivi, cioè per causa dei Malaberesi, e per la sequestratura del nostro novello Seminario riattato nel convento nostro di S. Giorgio in vicinanza di Mosul. Esponiamo brevemente ora l'uno e l'altro di questi punti colla sincerità, che conviene al nostro carattere commettendone, come devesi, il giudizio tanto delle nostre persone, quanto delle medesime materie al Sommo Giudice in terra, di cui in cielo segue la sentenza l'Eterno Giudice nell'irrevocabile giudizio.

Ci sia lecito pertanto di esporre umilmente e schiettamente quanto ci aggrava la coscienza a doversi deporre ai piedi di S. Santità. I Caldei Malabaresi da che sono stati alienati dalla ubbidienza di questo Patriarcato non hanno mai cessato colle replicate ed importune istanze a questo Patriarcato chiedendo colle lagrime d'essere rimessi al primo loro diritto. In special modo in questi ultimi tre lustri frequenti sono stati i loro plichi sul medesimo proposito. Ma supplicavano inoltre di ottenere da noi il permesso di spedire un certo numero della loro Clericale gioventù a studiare nella Caldea, onde impararne bene la lingua e il Rito. Noi per rispetto alla S. Sede sin ora non abbiamo aderito alla prima loro petizione per poter poscia farlo colla grazia della medesima; abbiam però creduto bene d'annuire alla seconda giusta loro dimanda, e son venuti (sei anni fa) sedici buoni giovani condotti da due religiosi ed esemplari Sacerdoti; che ad ora studiando hanno già imparato sufficientemente la lingua Caldaica letterale, ed il Volgare, e varii d'essi parlano anche l'Arabo; addestrati essendo tutti nella pratica dell'uffizio ed in tutto il Rito nostro: sebbene sfortunatamente alcuni d'essi per diversità di vitto, e troppa differenza di clima son trapassati con uno di detti Sacerdoti.

In questo frattempo ci hanno annojato i detti Malabarici colle loro suppliche, e con mandarci plichi scongiuranti noi per le viscere del Salvatore, e provocanti al giudizio d'Iddio a dover essere noi responsabili delle anime loro pericolanti, se rifiutassimo più a lungo a consacrare loro Vescovi; accusando eglino che non potevano più oltre vivere sotto la direzione dei Missionarii e Vicarii del loro paese, e che in nessuna maniera potevano

accommodare con essi adducendo molte e molte cause, che sarebbero più che sufficienti per dover aderire alla loro petizione: noi per altro in presente non ci crediamo in dovere di produrle, nè di proferir sopra un giudizio; perché non possiamo, né vogliamo farci giudici del Clero Latino che spetta a S. Santità. Si fatte lettere mandate alla nostra persona non effettuando quel che bramavano, si son applicali a scrivere delle più commoventi ai nostri Vescovi ed anche al Clero basso, ed eziandio ai secolari di tutte le città e diocesi, ove trovasi popolazione Caldea onde aggiunte alle loro le preci di questi ci commovessero ad aderire al loro intento: per il che si son fatti dei complotti dei secolari di diocesi per diocesi a Musul, Gezire, Mardin, Diarbakir, Seert, Emadia, Carcuk, Bagdad, e altrove. Quindi è che ad ogni banda ci si porgevano dei biglietti di proteste con calde pretenzioni a dover quanto prima consacrare Vescovi pel Malabar. Noi non approviamo, anzi disapproviamo le ingerenze dei secolari negli affari Ecclesiastici: non possiamo però reprimerli con intimo di veruna pena, per tema di non cimentare la fede cattolica d'essi, e per non eccitarli ad astio a perseguitare il Clero, di cui eglino sono l'unica risorsa; ciò che sommamente desiderebbono gli eretici e gli infedeli fra quali ci troviamo.

Il riassunto poi di dette proteste dei secolari inculcate spessissimo sono di questo tenore «Nel caso che il nostro Patriarca ed i Vescovi della Nazione persistino nel rifiutare la petizione dei Malabaresi; al certo noi pure rifiuteremo l'ubbidienza ad essi, e nè mancheremo a ricorrere al governo Mussulmano, o ci daremo tutto l'impegno a discacciargli dalle Chiese e Diocesi della Nazione, e a introdurvi invece degli Ecclesiastici di Clero Nestoriano, od altre sette». Ed ecco il più funesto caso, che vi si teme, e che sarebbe la vera infelicità e rovina di questa nazione, e chi sa quando mai anderebbe a finire. E già d'ora non hanno ribrezzo a spacciarci spesso nel pubblico e tradurci per altrettanti traditori dei nostri doveri, e per venditori dei diritti del Patriarcato calunniando, che noi ciò facciamo in vista di trattamenti da sperare dai Delegati e Missionarii tal' è lo scandalo e la breccia letifera che si cagiona dai loro discorsi alla stima di tutta la nostra Gerarchia, e che poi torna ad onta e scredito del Clero e Religione Cattolica, per cui tripudiano gli eretici compatriotti.

Oltre a ciò che si è detto si ha a notare ancora che nelle surriferite città diocesi non avvi cattolico di qualunque siasi rito, nè eretico, che non sappia e non parli delle questioni di Malabar nota a tutti per tradizione o per communicazione di persone o lettere, che quinci e quindi vanno e vengono a vicenda; ed è volgare l'asserzione in bocca della maggior parte «non esser vero che Roma cerca semplicemente chiamar alla fede cattolica gli Orientali, ma piuttosto ad assoggettarli al Rito Latino:» in conferma poi di questi pregiudizi s'allega come un argomento invitto il fatto di Malabar, che presso tutti gli Orientali passa per un assioma, esser stato sin dal principio della Chiesa sotto la direzione e regime della Caldea.

Di più, si va ancora nei discorsi e nelle commune loro conversazione, parlando delle lettere Apostoliche e delle Bolle dei Sommi Pontefici, ove si asseriscono i patti convenuti dalla S. Sede colle Chiese dell'Oriente nel richiamarle alla communione cattolica; vi osservano e ricantano regnare il medesimo paragone, che passa fra la tattica dei subalterni Ministri dell'Impero Ottomano nel darsi che fanno tutta la premura ad usare di tutte le arti a non mettere in esecuzione l'indulti del loro Sultano in riguardo delle cristianità suddite: così a pari dicono che i Missionarii o Vicari della S. Sede presso le chiese Orientali, si fanno in dovere di coscienza e sembrano porre tutta la loro energia non già nel ridurre gli acattolici alla vera fede ma nell'attaccare questi Riti e nel farne scemare la stima quanto possono; nulla però trascurano a impossessarsi di qualche communita di essi, o di qualche famiglia, o di certuna persona, o almeno in fine guadagnarvi sopra qualche jus de novo. E così vanno in oblìo i decreti dei Concilii Ecumenici e gli indulti dei Sommi Pontefici fatti in prò delle chiese dell' Oriente.

Al tempo dei Padri Italiani Domenicani coteste lagnanze non erano giunte a tanto esacerbare gli animi, delle popolazioni sebbene eglino avevano dati diversi motivi di esacerbazione o di odio ma in diverso genere di cose, di cui poscia ne diremo alcune. Al subentrare però dei Padri Domenicani Francesi, e poco prima dell'arrivo del medesimo Delegalo Apost. Amanton non ci fu possibile stare fermi in residenza, sia per i torti ed onta dei nuovi

Missionarii, sia ancora per le minaccie e querele dei nostri diocesani, che irritati dalle indebite ingerenze dei Missionarii s'infuriavano contro di noi, perchè non ci opponevamo apertamente a costoro. Riferiremo per brevità alcune di queste loro ingerenze.

Noi per sicurezza delle nostre gioventù sogliamo presso le chiese nostre mantenere le scuole per più motivi: 1. perchè siano educati sotto gli occhi dei superiori : 2. affinché insieme abbiamo la commodità di indurre in pratica nella recita dei divini Uffizi mattina e sera quel tanto che imparano le gioventù nelle rispettive scuole, perchè dagli educati in esse si eleggono membri del Clero; e così il medesimo Rito si pratica nelle laudi del Signore unitamente al Clero ed al popolo. 3. Ad esimere la gioventù dell'uno e l'altro sesso dalle ingiurie degli infedeli; con ragione dunque non permettiamo ad essi il frequentare scuole di altro Rito e di qualche distanza. Intanto i nuovi Missionarii avendo eretta una fabbrica presso la loro Chiesa a sufficiente distanza delle nostre, pretendevano di raccorre là tutte le gioventù cattoliche. Questa pretensione cagionò un grande mormorio nella popolazione, e noi non potevamo approvarla in riguardo dei nostri figli, perchè così perderebbero la lingua e gli usi del Rito, e resterebbero per sempre vuote le nostre chiese dovendo cessarvi per forza il canto quotidiano dell'Uffizio prescritto dal Rito medesimo. Sicché con ciò si voleva dare un colpo fatale ad esso. Ma noi volendo mantenere la carità con essi ci siamo adoperati colle buone a dissuadere loro l'intrapresa ben odiosa per i nostri, ma invano: perchè vedevamo che avressimo la pace coll'insistervi (sic). Malgrado adunque i surriferiti danni abbiam procurato mettere silenzio alla popolazione colla condizione accettata dai Padri, che non doveano sciogliersi le pristine nostre scuole, e che eglino continuassero a pagare i Maestri, come solevano fare i Padri Italiani; ma che si dasse libertà a ciascun giovane a frequentare la scuola, che più gli accomoda, e ciò pure per solo amor della pace.

Eglino però non avendo in alcun conto le rimostranze nostre, nè del convenuto di mano in mano tolsero la gioventù alle nostre scuole; anzi costrinsero quei, che vi restavano a rendersi alla loro o a restare senza scuola col finire a togliere lo stipendio dei respettivi

Maestri, che pur vollero trasferire alle loro. Al che non abbiam potuto tacere, ma convenuti amichevolmente in persona, e interpellati perchè cosi facessero a disprezzo delle nostre Chiese e Riti, e riguardi di nostra persona, ci risposero con manco di rispetto, che non ci spettava ingerirsi negli affari delle scuole, e che eglino pagando le scuole dei Caldei avevano soli il diritto di disporne a loro parere e dei figli e dei Maestri d'esse, senza che il Patriarca possa impedire, od opporsi ai loro divisamenti.

Saputa dal popolo nostro di Mussul questa ingiuriosa maniera di portarsi dei detti Patri verso la nostra persona faccia a faccia, si è suscitato, ed incominciò a parlare di essi ciascuno a suo capriccio. Allora si rinnovavano le memorie di simili altri disprezzi fatti per l'innanzi a noi od al nostro Clero: e si rammentavano e sin ad ora si rammentano le cantilene irrisorie composte e recitate nelle scuole dei Padri in disprezzo e derisione di noi, del nostro Clero e del popolo motteggiando ivi con epiteti burleschi e satirici ciascuno di noi. Tali sono i tratti della loro carità per cattivarsi gli animi degli Orientali!

Dei soprabbondanti mezzi, che a questi Padri si apprestano dalla pia opera di Lione per ordine della S. Sede eglino si servono verso alcuni del nostro Clero come ai loro prediletti ad onta nostra, e per renderli più ribelli a noi, senza degnarsi consultarci intorno a chichesia del nostro Clero, e se meriti, o no: i1 che noi con ragione teniamo per grande torto alla nostra autorità; e lo sprego così fatto dei sacri mezzi nella nostra opinione verso persone pervicaci è come una guerra alla nostra autorità e pace cattolica.

Trattandosi peraltro di affari del regime della nostra Chiesa, si presentano i detti Reverendi non con semplice consiglio, ma come assolute guide o dettatori da seguirsi senza rimbrotto, come per esempio: per la tal diocesi bisogna promuovere il tale; il tal altro, ancorché abile e degno fa d'uopo lasciarla dietro, perchè non è di loro genio ec. Annoveriamo a queste loro pretenzioni non dovute il dare che fanno l'azimo ai nostri (sic) del fermentato senza veruna necessità, e senza consulto e previa licenza. Si hanno dei altri affari di somma importanza, che noi per non recare noia a S. Santità gli tralasciamo.

A norma del precetto di carità abbiamo sin oggi osservato e fatto anche osservare dai nostri sudditi il proposito di sepellire sotto silenzio le mancanze dei fratelli Missionarii Domenicani, che a tante spese della S. Sede, ed elargizioni delle elemosine della pia opera di Lione sono lautamente mantenuti in Caldea. Ora però che eglino per i primi hanno attacato l'onore di tutta la nostra Gerarchia, senza aver verun di noi per grazia del Salvatore commesso alcun mancamento, e pronunziato mai alcuna proposizione incoerente o colla fede Cattolica, o colle regole di buoni costumi, nè contro la ricevuta tattica e disciplina della medesima, non ci crediamo per tenuti a non manifestare alcuno al Sommo comune Padre, quel che è passato prossimamente, o che ora continua. La riapertura della Missione Domenicana in Mussul va a sorpassare tre lustri; quanto abbia costato alla Chiesa Cattolica non ci interessa, e nè ci arroghiamo di farcene l'arbitri; quanto di bene abbiano fatto e promosso in riguardo ai Cattolici ed agli eretici ne sono testimoni tutte le nazioni di queste contrade. Di religiosi che sono si trattavano e si trattano in vitto e vestito (gli ultimi però riservano l'abito dell'ordine) da principi, e quelche spendevasi per due Religiosi nell'anno bastava per l'annuo mantenimento di 5 Vescovi Orientali. Non si è ancora inteso che alcuno d'essi in tutto il succennato spazio di tempo abbia mai predicato, o fatto istruzione alcuna nelle loro Chiese di Missione o in altro luogo. Non intendiamo di parlare dei RR. Padri Gesuiti, che hanno sempre predicato, siccome il fece ancora l'Illustrissimo Valerga in tutto il tempo, che restò in Caldea, e se ne partì pieno di meriti. In generale nessun eretico hanno tradotto all'Ovile di Cristo, al contrario con sommo scandalo uno dei loro Preti divenne Protestante, e tuttora persevera. Il loro più intimo amico Medico Merlo, che sempre si trovava nella brindesi della loro tavola è divenuto Maumettano, e tuttoché apostata continuava ad essere loro intimo, ed essere a parte dei loro innocenti solazi! Erano onorate da loro quasi ogni otto giorni alla Sacra Mensa le mantenute dei loro amici per tali conosciute da essi, delle quali gli aborti furono con infamia pubblica riconosciuti da tutta la città! La porta della missione fu più volte sporcata di ec. ec. in nota d'infamia! Le donzelle corrotte, che esposero bambini avendo confessato ai loro parenti che l'autore era un tal religioso

Domenicano diventarono l'oggetto osceno dei discorsi anche dei Turchi nelli loro Caffè. Preso a sassate un loro religioso rinchiusosi nella casa d'una donzella infame maritata, non potè esimersi dall'esser accusato a quattro tribunali maggiori del Governo, sinché il Console Inglese il tolse dalle loro mani. Non poche ragazze d'origine Cristiane liberate per mezzo dei Consoli dalle mani dei Turchi per l'apostasia dei loro parenti, sotto la cura d'essi Religiosi di pudiche che erano diventarono così oscene, che alcune si esposero al pubblico, ed altre stanche della scelerata vita abbracciavano il Musulmanismo. Le stesse scuole aperte alla spesa della Cattolicità sotto la direzione di cotesti Padri in Mussul non andarono esenti di sentori della corruzione e lascivia. Or dunque cessiamo di offendere la castissima mente di S. Santità con si fatti racconti che il numerarli ci condurrebbe molto a lungo; ma conchiudiamo col dire che dei Padri che ebbero l'ordine di ritornarsi in Italia, ad eccezione del P. Augustino de Marchi, nessuno partì esente di conosciute macchie. Ora tale vita presuppone consentanea dottrina; quindi si può conghietturare qual bene spirituale abbiano potuto inspirare ai popoli di queste contrade Orientali. Tali essendo dunque le virtù eroiche dei nostri Missionarii Domenicani, con molte altre divulgate nella infima plebe ancora; converrebbe, a nostro giudizio, non irritare più il popolo, onde non ripeta una tal brutale crambe.

Con massimo dolore dell'animo nostro abbiamo saputo di certo, che oltre alle cose mondane si son dati in contracambio e regali gli più sacrosanti oggetti del nostro culto, quali sarebbero le reliquie dei Santi e il sacratissimo Legno della Croce messo in croci d'argento e d'oro alle donne di mala vita, le quali son memorate di sopra; e chiesti d'onde ciò? risposero da tale, e tale Missionario, Croci e Reliquiarii son dati che ne' noi, ne' nostri Vescovi possono avere, nè le nostre Chiese possono tenere, nè ottengono per esporli alla pubblica venerazione.

Così pure si è portato, se non peggio, anche il Delegalo Apostolico Planchet, di cui non avvi bisogno spiegare i fatti, e la quantità d'oro che scialacquò nello sfogo delle sue brutali passioni, di cui non avvi bisogno di spiegare i fatti; perchè abbastanza (a nostra saputa) ne è stato scritto alla S. Congregazione, si dai suoi

alunni, sì dai di lui correligiosi compagni, e sono creduti. Il domestico poi prediletto del defonto Delegato Planchet ha preso il suo posto presso il Delegato Amanton; in questi giorni poi si è udito di lui che portando da parte del Delegato limosina ad una famiglia povera, che ogni giorno suol portare a preso la donzella di questa famiglia alla Chiesa di S. Giorgio, che é attacata alla casa, e commise con lei la disonestà, e fu all'atto veduto da un Giacobita ammalato, che andava pregare in Chiesa nostra.

La nostra premura, Santissino Padre, è, che la popolazione di Mussul e dei contorni di essa essendo alla luce di tante indegnità ed al sommo scandalizati, ed irritati dalle esecrate loro memorie, che per amor di nostro Signore, non si abbia a prendere alcuna risoluzione, elio possa gettare la mal ferma plebbe Orientale a parlarne male dei Messi della S. Sede con sommo detrimento della nostra santissima Religione, o a far un passo falso verso il schisma, che è da temersi molto e non sarà rimediabile da noi e da migliori di noi.

Da simili portamenti loro ferita al vivo la nostra popolazione, onde non abbandonare i loro figli senza educazione apportata dalla loro povertà, hanno contribuito, e riaperte le nostre scuole: e malgrado le vive e replicate istanze non abbiamo finora emanato verun ordine a richiamare la gioventù Caldea alle nostre scuole con eccezione delle altre. E pure questi buoni Missionarii hanno osato di accusarmi al Sig. Vice-Console di Francia a Mussul d'aver io inalzate ed aperte scuole rivali a quelle dei Padri Domenicani, come se avessimo inalzato una bandiera contro la bandiera dell'invitto Imperator di Francia. Per tal motivo è venuto questo Vice-Console a interpellarci in casa nostra, e a protestare d'accusarci presso l'Ambasciata francese. Propose poi tante proteste che non sappiamo dove andaranno a finire.

Santissimo Padre, noi nel ritornare al seno della Chiesa Cattolica, siccome pure i nostri buoni antenati, credevamo che vi era un solo Papa, e sinora, se non ci inganniamo, crediamo, che il solo Vescovo di Roma è il Papa della Chiesa Cattolica, altrimenti non si sarebbero convertiti i nostri antenati. Confermateci in questa verità, e saremo noi con tutti i nostri figli obbedientissimi sino alla morte. Non sono necessarii tanti intermedii per ubbidire a V.

Santità esattissimamente; l'ubbidire ai cenni di S. Santità per noi è di sommo onore.

Ai disturbi accennati sotto i numeri precedenti aggiungevasi la tanto ventilata questione della petizione dei Malabaresi, i quali stanchi dal sopportare gli incommodi e le infermità del diverso clima, chiedevano di ritornare al patrio suolo; ma volevano in compagnia di Vescovi di rito loro Caldaico, come era stato prescritto ed essi dal Clero e dal popolo di Malabar, siccome portano le loro lettere dell'accompagnamento, e le dopo venute da quella regione sottoscritte da un grande numero di Sacerdoti e fedeli principali. Noi per riverenza alla S. C. di Propaganda ci astenevamo dal consacrare Vescovi per Malabar, sperando di arrivare a far ciò con grazia della medesima; sebbene eravamo e siamo tuttora persuasi e convinti spettare al patriarcato della nostra Chiesa un tale diritto, che intendiamo di averlo dimostrato nella lettera qui inchiusa a V. Santità; ciò non ostante per sola delicatezza ed omagio, e non per dubio differivamo, e differiamo tuttora ancora, affinchè per grazia del Sommo Gerarca abbiamo ad esercitare con pace quella prerogativa della nostra Sede, che non intendiamo mai d' averla persa, nè per una nostra colpa, nè per una prescrizione, mentre abbiamo dei fatti recenti dei nostri Predecessori Patriarchi dopo l'incorporazione alla Chiesa Cattolica, i quali consacrarono Vescovi per il Malabar, e vi spedirono, si i Patriarchi che residevano in Diarbakir, come ultimamente ancora il fece Monsig. Patriarca Giovanni Hormisda prima dell'arrivo in Bagdad di Monsig. Alessandro Cuppery, e nel tempo della medesima delegazione di esso per espresso ordine della Porpaganda sotto Leone XII, ordine che noi medesimi e la maggior parte dei nostri Vescovi abbiamo letto a suo tempo; il cui tipo sta senza dubbio o in potere del R. Monsig. Trioche, o nelle carte della Chiesa Latina in Bagdad; così pure stava per consacrare il nostro ancora vivo Ex-Patriarca Nicolò Isaia, che ne depose la premura col rinunziare al Patriarcato. Quindi noi secondo le evidenti raggioni, che abbiano, al certo non siamo contenti, che si revochi in dubbio questo nostro certificato diritto e che se ne venga a decidere di nuovo nella Congregazione. Intese a Malabar le le nostre dilazioni nell'astenerci dal consacrare loro Vescovi, offesi ed esacerbati scrissero ai loro raminghi studenti presso di noi a ritornare presto, ma non senza aver ottenuto Vescovi; e gli imponevano che nel caso che i Vescovi Caldei non accettassero di venire a Malabar, due o tre di detti studenti si facessero consacrare Vescovi dal Patriarca Caldeo, ed in caso di rifiuto si portassero dal Patriarca Nestoriano a farsi consacrare e presto ritornare dicendo che non potevano ed erano risoluti *a non restare più sotto la dipendenza dei Vicarii Latini*.

Dietro dunque il nostro rifiuto si alzano i Malabaresi per andare al Patriarca Nestoriano per aver il loro intento. Allora i Padri Domenicani vedendo le funeste conseguenze, che potevano risultare da questo fatto si in Malabar come in Mussul ed in altri siti delle nostre diocesi, si accinsero con noi ad impedire loro un tal misfatto, e ci siamo serviti di tutti i mezzi possibili a trattenerli ancora per alcuni mesi sperando, che verrebbe un tal permesso dalla S. Sede, e ci siamo riusciti nella impresa.

Per trovare poi mezzo valevole ad impedire tanto male, che anderebbe a trascinare al seno della eresia infinità di anime di quella e di questa misera popolazione Caldaica circondata dai loro connazionali, per il medesimo motivo divenuti (solamente in Malabar) Monofisiti, e dai Protestanti, che brillano d'intorno d'essi e lor promettono tutti i sussidii si ecclesiastici come ancora temporali, noi in persona abbiamo giudicato bene d' andare a consultare e radunare i nostri confratelli Vescovi della nostra Nazione.

Arrivati a Diarbakir sul principio della trascorsa state abbiamo radunato i vicini Vescovi, e dopo varie tenute conferenze si è deciso per commune consiglio ed in iscritto sottosigillato da tutti ci obblighiamo tutti di andare alla diocesi di Mussul 1. per eleggere e consacrare Vescovi per le nostre vacanti diocesi, 2. per aprire il Seminario già preparato dal Delegato Planchet, 3. per consacrare uno o due Vescovi a titoli delle nostre diocesi della Caldea, e mandarli senza nessuna giurisdizione in compagnia dei Malabaresi, senza conferire verun ordine sacro ai Malabaresi medesimi per compiacenza della Congregazione di Propaganda; perchè ci avea scritto che non erano degni d'essere consacrati per aver essi ricorso agli Acattolici. Andati adunque i nostri senza

giurisdizione la loro cura ed offizio non sarà altro che cercare e prendere attestati certificati con sigilli, o sottoscrizioni dei rispettivi capi Ecclesiastici e secolari, e persone degne di fede di quel paese, se sia cioè vero, che quella popolazione voglia essere sotto il Regime del Patriarcato Caldeo di Babilonia, ovvero rimanere come stanno ora. Questi attestati poi venuti che saranno noi gli manderemo a S. Santità, onde aspettare la grazia della decisione. Con questo mezzo termine abbiam creduto bene di non offendere la S Congregazione di Propaganda, e di poter acquietare il nostro popolo, che dovunque bolliva di sdegno e malcontento, e per grazia del Signor dei Cieli ci siamo riusciti ad acquietarlo.

Speriamo poi dalla grazia del Divino Spirito, che conosce i nostri cuori, e che sa che per la necessità di evitare la perdizio delle anime a noi commesse, e che per impedire che il diavolo non abbia a strappare dal seno della sua santa Chiesa infinità di anime istigate ed in procinto della perdizione, abbiamo noi preso questo innocente mezzo termine, che che ne dicano, e vogliano inadequatamente scrivere i nostri adversarii, o per inganno, o per non esatte informazioni. Protestiamo poi d'innanzi al Signore, che non per interna convinzione e per iscarico delle nostre coscienze come Pastori della Chiesa cattolica col principio di ubbidienza al Massimo Vicario di Cristo abbiamo preso questa risoluzione ed andiamo a metterla in pratica.

Frattanto giunge il Monsig. Amanton nuovo Delegalo a Diarbakir e i due Vescovi che allora si trovavano a Diarbakir con tutto il Clero e i principali del nostro popolo andarono ad accompagnare l'ingresso del nuovo Delegato Apostolico. Nelle visite poi che feciamo a vicenda ivi nulla ci disse per parte della S. Congregazione, benché d'altronde ha saputo ciò che pensavamo di fare. Se egli ivi ci avesse spiegato e mostrato le intenzioni della S. C. i Vescovi non sarebbero per allontanarsi dalle diocesi per venire a Mussul, o avressimo presa altra risoluzione ancorché a discapito delle ragioni della nostra Chiesa.

Venuti che siamo a Mussul tutto il mondo specialmente la nostra Nazione aspettava anziosa, che fosse compito il nostro progetto. E mentre che da tutte le nazioni i principali per fino dei Turchi si sono degnati venire a farci la visita, i Missionarii Domenicani non si son degnati di farci visita. Ma dopo resa la visita alla S. Ecza. Monsig. Amanton, canonicamente abbiamo eletto al Vescovato di Amadia (che da un anno e più era priva di Pastore) l'ottimo Sacerdote Don Giorgio Kajat alunno di Propaganda: la sera precedente alla di lui consacrazione venne il detto Delegato al Patriarchio, ed ivi in presenza di tutti ì Vescovi interrogò, se erano stati cercati per lui i voti dei diocesani di Amedia, e fu soddisfatto dalla nostra risposta d'aver ciò adempito. Il giorno seguente, che fu Domenica in presenza di tutti i nostri confratelli Vescovi in piena Chiesa nella solennità della Messa l'abbiam consacrato Vescovo e fu la gioia di tutta la popolazione Cristiana.

Dopo questo sì regolare nostro agire, il R. Monsig. Amanton (già mal disposto come sentivamo da molti degni di fede, che aveano inteso da lui, o dai Missionarii pieni di rancore e disprezzo della nostra adunanza, che Sua Eccellenza era per promulgare contro il Patriarca ed i Vescovi Caldei le più severe censure; noi però non potevamo crederlo) Ci manda quindi un biglietto in cui vuole, che noi il facciamo a luce di tutto quello che eravamo per fare. Gli abbiamo risposto, che ci mostri le carte della sua Delegazione, e gli ordini della Santa Sede in riguardo della nostra Nazione in iscritto e sarà nostro dovere di metterli in esecuzione. Replica con secondo biglietto, che egli non può, nè vuole ciò palesarci. Gli rispondiamo pur in iscritto, che gli ordini che ora pregando noi non ci mostrate, dopo alcun passo nostro se a bella posta in disonore e scredito nostro paleserete non l'ammettremo. Cessa il mentovato Delegato per alcuni giorni nè ci scrive nè ci parla: frattanto noi eleggiamo in pieno consesso dei Vescovi e consacriamo per Bassora detta in Caldeo Fratmaiscian il Sacerdote Don Rocco, che da che è Sacerdote è Maggiordomo della nostra casa Patriarcale, ed in assenza nostra spesso è stato nostro Vicario nella Diocesi Patriarcale. È vero contro questa persona da qualche anno erano state delle accuse alla S. Congregazione; ma noi per mezzo del Delegato Planchet avevamo risposto e soddisfatto.

A chiesta di tutta la Nazione e specialmente dei Vescovi, i quali secondo i loro tenui mezzi hanno voluto contribuire a ciò,

abbiam procurato l'apertura d'un Seminarietto d'un certo numero di buoni giovani in supplemento al Clero nazionale. Perciò abbiamo mandato i Vescovi da Monsig. Amanton a chiedere il Seminario eretto nel nostro Convento di S. Giorgio da Monsig. Planchet insieme coi libri, letticioli, utensili di cucina ed adobbamento di chiesa, e qualunque altro sussidio donato da Planchet a questo nominato sacro luogo prima della sua partenza. Risponde Sua Eccellenza: ai Caldei non resta alcun diritto in quel fabbricato, ma è di nostra possessione e giurisdizione sotto la protezione del consolato Francese; e se vi dispiace potete ricorrere al Governo, od ove vi piace, ne mai produrremo gli istrumenti e titoli di tale nostro impossessamento, se non allorché saremo citati e costretti a produrli. Queste stesse parole furono dichiarate anche nella lettera che ci mandò poscia il Vice-Console Francese, nella quale ci divieta l'ingresso e dichiara esse sotto la bandiera di Francia, e protesta che nulla ometterebbe a far punire chi agisse contro il divieto. Quantunque potevamo occupare legalmente il detto Seminario, pure ci siamo astenuti dall' accusarlo presso il Governo per rispetto alla sua persona di Delegato, ed abbiam lasciato l'affare per ora sospeso.

Sì fatta maniera di agire del prelodato Monsig. Amanton talmente offese la Nazione, che se non fossimo presenti a Mussul a contenerli, era più che sufficiente a far loro perdere la fede e la communione cattolica, e sono già in bollore indicibile e non sappiamo, che ne sarà il fatal esito.

Procede oltre il Delegato e viene in persona e legge in presenza nostra e di tutto il Vescovado nostro (cosa inaudita nella Chiesa!) due sue carte contenenti intentamento di censure, se non facciamo in tutto secondo i di lui pareri spieganti le intenzioni della S. Congregazione di Propaganda: Eccone la fedele copia. (Somm. pag. 138.) Noi in presenza nulla su di ciò gli abbiam risposto per rispetto alla S.Sede. Abbiamo rimesso la risposta al giorno seguente, ed è partito in pace.

Quindi dopo aver in ripetute conferenze pensato, e ponderato quel che dovevamo rispondere attese le difficilissime circostanze nostre, ed i diritti della nostra gerarchia Patriarcale ed il pericoloso stato della Nazione e delle anime a noi commesse e le relazioni

certificate del Malabar, che ci vengono di continuo, fermi sempre nella illibata nostra ubbidienza dovuta al Sommo Vicario di *Cristo*, e convinti in coscienza, che al presente non possiamo fare altrimenti, abbiamo con tutto il corpo Vescovile deciso la risposta, che fu dai presenti Vescovi sottoscritta e sigillala, e rimessa al R. Delegalo; ecco qui anche la copia (Somm. pag. 140.) Dopo questa nostra risposta in iscritto, ci manda ei un altra sigillata lettera, che noi intatta gli rimisimo dicendo, che non abbiamo a risponderli diversamente dalla già speditagli. Ed ora è precisa la vicendevole comunicazione. Continua pure a proibirci l'adito del nostro Seminario, o scuola. Noi però così presenti in comune consiglio e gli Vescovi altri della nazione, i quali hanno confermato il nostro agire siamo, e saremo consentanei a noi medesimi ed ai nostri scritti, e speriamo nella clemenza del Paterno cuore di Sua Santità, a cui solo son datte le chiavi di aprire e chiudere, e di sciogliere e di legare, che si degnerà di prendere in considerazione la nostra soggezione perfetta ed ubbidienza al suo Apostolico Trono ed aver riguardo al nostro Patriarcato riconosciuto per uno dei Patriarcati Cattolico Orientali, come fu conosciuto anche prima della eresia di Nestorio fin dal concilio Niceno I, e dai Sommi Pontefici Vostri Predecessori così dichiarato nelle loro Bolle date agli Orientali, e specialmente nelle bolle confirmanti i Patriarchi predecessori, di cui tutti i privilegi e doti antiche e nuove nella nostra persona sono riconosciute nella Bolla della nostra confermazione. Preghiamo parimente S. Beatitudine a degnarsi dare una benigna occhiata ai fogli qui inchiusi (Somm.pag. 156), che espongono umilmente le ragioni del Primato Ecclesiastico di questa Sede sui nostri confratelli e conrituali Malabaresi, che anziosamente e nazionalmente desiderano il rinnovamento della loro incorporazione con noi come furono prima della apertura della Missione Portoghese cosi nel Nestorianismo come pure precedentemente nei primi secoli della Chiesa nel cattolicismo, i quali hanno dichiarato di lasciare il seno della vera Chiesa, come ha fatto una porzione di loro di circa 80 mila anime. Al contrario nel caso della redintegrazione del loro pristino Rito Caldaico sotto la desiderata dipendenza non solo i cattolici promettono di perseverare nella fede, ma gli eretici, che furono da essi promettono di ritornare al seno della chiesa.

Parimenti supplichiamo Sua Santità ad annuire alla S. Congregazione a far mettere il Patriarcato nostro al paralello degli altri Patriarcati Orientali comandando che quelle grazie e sussidii coi quali si vuol ajutare lo spirituale di questa nazione, e qualunque diocesi di essa, s'impartiscano col canale del medesimo Patriarcato, ossia per le nostre mani, onde col consiglio dei nostri confratelli Vescovi (che siamo a portata di saperne i bisogni meglio degli altri) sovveniamone i veri bisogni senza nulla sbrigare in vano, o in meno d'importanza; e noi tutti ci rendiamo risponsabili a renderne i più severi conti.

Per tornare al nostro affare, diciamo, che il Monsig. Delegato pur troppo per consiglio dei suoi correligiosi (a propria di loro dichiarazione avanti di noi medesimi) pare inseguitarci e cercare torti ed onte a noi, e disonore alla nostra dignità Patriarcale; con tutto ciò lasciamo il giudizio di queste cose alla Sua Santità. E malgrado i reclami della Nazione cessiamo per ora anche dal ripetere dal medesimo Delegato il nostro Seminario e la robba da lui trasportata. Giacché non possiamo credere, che Sua Santità voglia permettere un sì chiaro torto al così *rite* aquisito *jus* della Nazione. Abbiamo già conferito tutti insieme e siamo per aprire *ad tempus* un novello Seminario nella chiesa di S. Esaia a Mussul, e speriamo che nella primavera insegneremo anche il latino o l'italiano. Aggradisca Sua Santità Beatissima questo piccolo bene fatto per il trionfo della Chiesa cattolica.

Non ostante finalmente ciò, che fin qui è esposto dichiariamo d'esser a Sua Beatitudine ora e per sempre ubbidienti, e docili figli tanto in riguardo a ciò che abbiamo agito fin ora, quanto a ciò che faremo nell'avvenire; e le sue decisioni dirette *a noi medesimi* saranno sempre il nostro dovere, ed onore. Il perchè aspettiamo anziosamente i suoi sacri ordini, che si degnerà benignamente dirigerci.

Seguono le firme come appresso con i respettivi sigilli.

Chiede le vostre orazioni, e benedizioni della V. Santità Giuseppe Audu per grazia (di Dio) Cattolico, e Patriarca di Babel.

Michele Pietro Bar-Tatar Vescovo di Seert.

L'umile Ignazio Vescovo di Merdin.

L'umile Paolo Vescovo di Geziréh.

Giovanni Tamraz²² Vescovo di Karkec.

L' umile Emanuele Asmar Vescovo di Zahu.

Umo ed Obbmo Servo Pietro Giorgio di Natale Arcivescovo Caldeo di Diarbekir.

DOCUMENT 53

MEMORIAL SENT BY THE CHALDEAN PATRIARCHATE TO POPE PIUS IX CONCERNING CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR

MEMORIA (inserta alla precedente Lettera) in cui il Patriarca espone al S. Padre le sue ragioni sul Malalar.

Santissimo Padre

In osservanza ed in tributo di perfetta nostra subordinazione verso la Sede del Principe degli Apostoli; col bacio di piedi provoluti d'innanzi al trono della giustizia della Chiesa di Dio-Uomo, umiliamo il presente foglio che contiene poche memorie astruenti le ragioni, che militano ad attribuire al Primato della nostra Chiesa Caldea Cattolica il diritto di reggere e governare la Cristianità del Malabar nelle Indie Orientali. Dovevamo avere da guari presentate le nostre ragioni sulla questione del Malabar, che sappiamo si tratta da molto tempo nella S. Congregazione di Propaganda; nè si è omesso del tutto per gli anni passati di scrivere dal Patriarcato nostro su tal proposito alla medesima. E sebbene d'essa è stata sempre la persuasione di tutto il nostro Vescovado, che anzi di tutta la Nazione, pure prima d'ora nè tutti insieme, nè ad uno ad uno abbiamo osato esprimere a Sua Beatitudine gli interni nostri sentimenti, che ci corrodevano il cuore. Ora però che tutta la Nazione pel medesimo motivo si è massimamente

²² Monsig. Tamraz, il quale non intervenne all' Adunanza de Vescovi Caldei, con lettera diretta a Monsig. Amanton li *16* Febbrajo *1861* si meraviglia come il suo nome ed il suo sigillo sia stato apposto *senza la sua saputa* nelle lettere mandate a Roma dal Patriarca e suoi Vescovi.

perturbata, e per acquietare la quale ci siamo radunati tutti a Mossul presso il nostro Superiore Patriarca, nè possiamo fare a meno a manifestare colle ragioni succennate insieme le querele di tutto il corpo nazionale, che turbano la nostra pace, e quiete dell'animo: quindi l'umile supplica di tutta la Caldea è, che degni di suoi supremi clementi sguardi il mal acconcio susseguente intessuto di nostre ragioni accorciate per non annoiare; ed esaudire quanto prima i Caldei noti per figli docilissimi.

- 1. Che S. Tomaso l'Apostolo con altri dei discepoli abbia fondato le Chiese in Caldea ed in Persia di Rito Caldaico e specialmente la Sua Metropolitana di Babilonia, ossia Ctesifonte, e che indi passato alle Indie vi abbia eretto sia in Malabar, sia in altre parti delle Indie molte Chiese tutte dipendenti dalla sudetta Metropolitana Sede si legge nelle storie degli Orientali Caldei, Siri, Giacobiti, Greci ec. non havvi dubbio. Così si legge anche chiaramente in molti codici antichissimi, che contengono gli atti dei Sinodi dei primi secoli ed in altre molte storie d'antichità, che noi produrremo allorché saremone chiesti.
- 2. Nel decorso del secolo sesto allorché prevalse infelicemente il Nestorianismo nella Nazione, si sa con certezza d'infiniti atti di continuata giurisdizione dei Patriarchi Nestoriani sulle Chiese delle Indie, e specialmente in quelle di Malabar, che per questo si viddero senza contrasto fatte Nestoriane.
- 3. Nell' antichissimo Pontificale Caldeo attribuito a S. Simone Bar-sabaee, si prescrive come si deve aver cura di consacrare e mandare Vescovi ed altri Chierici alle Indie senza interruzione; e come indi devono ricorrere presto a chiedere Ministri in caso di bisogno; così di fatto si hanno innumerabili ricorsi nelle lettere dei Cleri delle Indie inserite nei nostri codici.
- 4. È positivo anche dalla storia e dagli atti autentici del Concilio I Niceno, che Giovanni Vescovo vi sottoscrisse in nome della Persia e di tutta l'India di cui era Primate.
- 5. Cosma Ideoplasta nel suo itinerario afferma, che nel principio del VI secolo l'India Malabar, ed altre parti di quella vasta regione soleva avere le sue Ordinazioni e Vescovi dal Primato della Caldea.

- 6. Attesta S. Crisostomo che al suo tempo le Indie erano piene di Cristiani, e suppone il suo discorso, che vi erano così frequenti sin dai tempi Apostolici; e non si può dire che egli non avesse letto gli atti del Concilio Niceno I, ove si osserva il Primato Caldaico sulle Indie.
- 7. Sozomeno disertamente l'asserisce nelle sue note storie: cioè tutte le Chiese Cristiane delle Indie dipendono dal Primato dei Caldei.
- 8. Da questi pochi attestati, senza più oltre ricorrere a cercare d'altri argomenti da altre Chiese, si deduce senza dubbio, che in Malabar, ed in tutta l'India v'erano Cristiani fin dal primo secolo della Chiesa. Ora mancando molte prove positive per la somma inopia di momenti relativi a quei primi secoli per motivo della perdizione degli atti delle Chiese atteso la feroce ed universale persecuzione della Sede di S. Mari, il solo argomento di prescrizione ancora deve bastare: da-poichè essendo al tempo della magnificenza del Patriarcato di Babilonia bisogna supporla antecedente al Nestorianismo fin tanto che non si dimostri l'epoca certa di tale usurpazione e gli autori; e di più di chi fosse la legittima giurisdizione sul Malabar durante tutto il tempo anteriore all' eresia.

Secondo Punto.

- È fuor di dubbio, che la Cristianità di Rito Caldaico non ha perduto sua ragione del Patriarcato Caldeo. Una tale supposizione e perdita di diritto deve provarsi o dalla parte della S. Sede, o dagli stessi nazionali. Ora è certo, che la S. Sede non ha annullato tale diritto:
- 1. Per esser il Sommo Pontefice, come tale, Capo di tutte le Chiese, egualmente senza distinzione di Rito, e propriamente di Rito Apostolico, di cui è proprio il Greco, il Caldeo, il Latino ec. senza distinzione.
- 2. Quindi non ci è una decisione della S. Sede, che abbia definito non poter i Malabaresi aver mai Vescovi Cattolici del proprio Rito dai Caldei come erano nel principio.

3. Anzi come in tutte le questioni analoghe, così in questa si sono mostrati protettori clementissimi i Sommi Pontefici della conservazione dei Riti Orientali ornamento sacrosanto della sposa di Cristo, e validissimo argomento contro gl'innovatori del XVI secolo e prove della imparzialità generosissima della Sede di Pietro in verso tutti i suoi figli, massime in verso i più abbattuti dalle vicende dei tempi. Ne sono testimonio le tante bolle dei Sommi Pontefici, specialmente quelle di Benedetto XIV.

Però secondo le decisioni dei detti Pontefici qualunque prescrizione di tempo non può valere contro la ragione del rito Originale. E però se la S. Sede ha commesso il Malabar alla cura dei Missionarii, ciò non fece come ai Latini, ma come ai Vicarii provisionarii durante il misero stato del Patriarcato Caldeo Cattolico, allorquando cioè era quasi annientato dalla persecuzione dei Mussulmani. Ed è per questo che si oppose sempre la S. Sede agli eccessi del Governo di Portogallo, e dei Missionarii, di cui è pur troppo nota l'ambizione in simili materie, da cui dobbiamo penare assai per giustificare le intenzioni dei Sommi Pontefici.

Ed è per questo pure che la S. Sede *ha repudiato il Concilio Diamper*, nel quale i Missionarii eccedettero i confini di loro Missione, e cangiarono nelle cose di Rito Caldeo di Malabar.

- 1. Ed in ricognizione di tale diritto nel tempo anche del Vicariato Apostolico in quelle parti lasciò la S. Sede libero tempo per l'esercizio del Rito Caldaico nel Malabar ad Elia Arcidiacono di Diarbakir, che era discepolo del Patriarca Giovanni Sulaka Martire del nome Cattolico e creatura di Giulio III il quale con alcuni convertiti del suo Clero evangelizò i Nestoriani suoi confratelli di Malabar, e presiedette in qualità di loro Ordinario.
- 2. Permise al Patriarca Ebejesus, il quale sotto Pio IV venné a Roma ed ottenne grazia del Sommo Pontefice di mandare il Vescovo Josef nel Malabar, ed accetto il richiamo, che avanti lui ed avanti il Concilio di Trento fece col Patriarca dei suoi sudditti del Malabar, che il Governo Portoghese voleva sottomettere all'Arcivescovado Latino di sua dizione, come narrano gli storici dello stesso Concilio.

- 3. Nell' anno 1560 il Vescovo Abramo benché ordinato dal Patriarca Nestoriano fu dopo la ricevuta fede Cattolica confermato da Pio V e mandato Vescovo del Malabar.
- Nel 1568 il Sommo Pontefice Gregorio XIII ordinò all'Arcivescovo di Goa di ammettere Abramo come Vescovo Caldeo del Malabar nel Sinodo provinciale, che si doveva radunare perché si dichiarasse Cattolico.
- 4. Nel 1590 Sisto V. dopo avere esaminato in Roma la fede di Simone Vescovo già mandato dal Patriarca di Babilonia, trovatolo buon Cattolico, lo rimise nel Malabar come Vescovo.
- 5. Nel 1616 il Patriarca Cattolico Elia nella sua sinodica a Paolo V raccomandava a questo Sommo Pontefice i suoi sudditti nell'India, e si lagna dei cattivi trattamenti, che ricevono i suoi in Malabar, e dice di voler mandare gli atti di quel sinodo Cattolico alla India Malabarica; e niente riprova il Sommo Pontefice di quella lettera.
- 6. Nel 1606 il Vicario Apostolico Josef Carmelitano coll'ordine della S. Sede per rimediare ai gravissimi accaduti nella Cristianità del Malabar, per l'interruzione del Vescovado di Rito Caldaico, per cui apostatò gran parte sottomettendosi alla giurisdizione dei Giacobiti, per essere il Rito e linguaggio di questi analogo a quello dei Caldei, diede loro Vescovo Alessandro di loro Rito.
- 7. Nel fine del secolo XVI ed in principio del XVII si vedeva nel Malabar il Vescovo Caldeo Gabriele ora ammeso, ora escluso dai Missionarii in una continua contezione dei diritti Ritici (*sic*).
- 8. Nel 1779 avendo la S. Sede ricevuta la legazione di due Sacerdoti del Malabar per aver il Vescovado, e per esporre le avanie loro dalla parte dei Latini non escluse del tutto la S. Sede la loro domanda, ma mandolli al Portogallo per esser esaminato il loro affare, e per ordine di S. Sede l'uno di essi Joseffo Cariato fu consacrato Arcivescovo dell'Indie.
- 9. La S. Congregazione al tempo del Patriarca Giovanni Hormìsda per mezzo del Delegato Apostolico Alessandro Cuppery in iscritto ordinò al detto Patriarca, che consacrasse, e mandasse presto uomini per Malabar; e noi stessi abbiamo letto quest'ordine,

e varii di nostri confratelli Vescovi ancora hanno letto lo stesso ordine, di cui il tipo deve esser conservato senza dubbio nell'archivio di Propaganda.

10. Finalmente prova che la S. Sede non ha annullato tale diritto, che in questa ultima mossa fatta a noi, e alla S. Sede da quei Cristiani, e da noi alla S. Sede continuamente ci viene detto dalla S. Congregazione d'attendere che la causa ancora è pendente, e che spera che sarà terminata fra poco la causa.

Dal fin qui brevemente esposto si deduce pure, che il Patriarcato Caldeo non ha perduto tale diritto sopra il Malabar; giacché si vede 1. che la dichiarazione di tale diritto non si è interrotta in ogni circostanza; 2. che la sospenzione di tale diritto fu precaria dalla parte del Padre Universale a cagione dello stato misero della Sede di Babilonia, cioè per le circostanze dei tempi di persecuzione; 3. che durante tale stato di cose la S. Sede non ha inteso di sopprimere, ma solo di supplire alla mancanza della Gerarchia Caldaica in Malabar; 4. tanto è più fermo questo diritto quanto che la stessa Chiesa Caldea Cattolica, che da Diarbakir non cessò mai d'esistere, ebbe gran parte nella corruzione dei Nestoriani del Malabar, come narrono le storie del Clero andato là coll'Arcivescovo Caldeo Habib Elia. 5. La S. Sede poi che difende la parte debole non intenderà certo di sanzionare le misure adoperate per escludere il Patriarcato di Babilonia per motivo della persecuzione Maumetana, che avea quasi distrutto il Patriarcato Caldeo Cattolico, e per pretesto della eresia, della forza del governo Portoghese, e della troppo nota ambizione dei Frati Missionarii. 6. S'aggiunge, che nella conferma che suol dare la S. Sede ai nuovi Patriarchi Babilonesi s'approvano tutti i diritti antichi e nuovi, che abbiano mai esercitato questi medesimi Patriarchi antichi ad eccezione della eresia. Ora eresia non è la giurisdizione ecclesiastica, che è loro propria fin dai tempi Apostolici, sui corrituali dell'India.

Diciamo ora della perdita di tale diritto fatta per propria rinunzia dei nazionali Malabari.

1. Perchè non hanno mai eglino cessato di richiamare non solo il Rito e linguaggio sacro, che in gran parte posseggono ancora, ma specialmente l'aver Vescovi del proprio Rito, e del

proprio Patriarcato, che ora è conosciuto sotto la denominazione di Babilonia, quando cioè sapevano che questi con gran parte della Nazione Caldaica era unito alla Chiesa Cattolica, ossia da quando che i Vescovi Caldei Cattolici andavano a convertirli dal Nestorianismo, e ciò dal fin qui esposto si rileva pienamente.

- 2. Sia esempio di tutte le altre loro ripetizioni la lettera communemente di cui noi abbiamo veduta la copia autentica mandata alla S. Sede piena di rispetto e fede inverso alla Maestra di tutte le Sedi, e contenente una descrizione che fa pietà dei mali trattamenti e della privazione di cose proprie del Rito, che soffrono da loro attuali Missionarii Carmelitani, sottoscritta da settantotto Parrochi, nella quale ripetono gli continui richiami fatti per aver pieno il Rito, e Vescovi dal Patriarca Caldeo; e quello che dà maggior fede a questa petizione è, che scongiurano il Sommo Pontefice di voler inviare da sua parte due persone per verificare le loro lagnanze.
- 3. Che se si dice, che nel Sinodo di Diamper hanno i Cristiani di Malabar promesso di non riconoscere il Patriarca Babilonese per loro Capo, la risposta è, che tale promessa fu fatta e vero, ma deve intendersi del Patriarca Nestoriano che allora prevaleva di molto al nostro; altrimenti non s'intendeva nè dalla S. Sede, nè da loro medesimi; se poi si voglia aver per tanto generale quella promessa da derogare ai sacri diritti delle Chiese Orientali, si nega la validità di quel alto ed anche di quel sinodo, in quella parte come in molte altre manifestamente false ed erronee, come hanno osservato i dottori Orientalisti.

In Mossul nel Patriarchio Caldaico 14 Ottobre 1860.

DOCUMENT 54

LETTER OF MAR PETER BAR-TATAR, BISHOP OF SEERT TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA ASSERTING CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR

Lettera di Monsig. Pietro Bar-tatar Alunno della Propaganda Vescovo Caldeo di Seert all'Emo Card. Barnabò Prefetto della S. C. nella quale espone e sostiene le risoluzioni del Patriarca e Vescovi Caldei sul Malabar.

Mossul 21 Ottobre 1860

Emo e RevmoCard. Prefetto

In omaggio da parte mia dovuto a codesta S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, che sia permesso a me figlio ed Alunno e esporle in breve ma ingenuamente quel tanto che passa quì nella Caldea fra la gerarchia della Chiesa Caldaica, ed il nuovo Delegato apostolico Amaton, e i di lui RR. PP. Fran-Domenicani (*sic*) Missionarii di Mossul.

Il nostro Patriarca Giuseppe Audo è attorniato (il dico per iscarico di mia coscienza, se poi non si voglia dar fede a miei detti, io sarò contento nell'interno mio d'aver soddisfatto con ciò nel cospetto del Signore Iddio) ubbidito, e secondato da tutto il corpo Vescovile in numero di dieci incluso il Patriarca, con proposito fermo di non alterarsi sino alla morte nella loro risoluzione; e in tal corpo Vescovile è fermamente ubbidito, seguito, ed anche eccitato generalmente dal resto del Clero e del popolo Caldeo sia della Diocesi Patriarcale, come delle altre Diocesi, parlo delle persone di nome e d'intendimento. La risoluzione poi così presa dal comune è triplice;

- 1. di non commettere la educazione e la direzione delle scuole dei bimbi dell'uno, e dell'altro sesso ai PP. Domenicani di Mossul; ma vogliono che tutte le scuole della Nazione siano per sempre dipendenti dalle diposizioni del Patriarca, e dei Vescovi rispettivi.
- 2. Massime la scuola del Clero, ossia il Seminario nazionale; ad ogni patto non si vuole commettere nè ai detti Padri, nè al Delegato ancorchè dovesse essere angelo del cielo, ma sarà per

sempre dipendente dal Patriarca insieme e i Vescovi Ordinari: e ne è impreteribile l'apertura, che già si è effettuata, e in questi giorni vi si farà il solenne ingresso coi giovani presenti; e subito vi concorreranno il resto dei candidati già predesignati; e si vuole mantenerlo a qualunque costo; ancorchè dovesse mendicare il Patriarca, ed i Vescovi; il popolo applaudisce.

3. tutta la gerarchia Caldaica, anche li massimamente offesi e maltrattati dal Patriarca di un cuore ed una bocca dicono risolutamente, che ne sono mai per cedere al diritto che ha ed ha avuto dai tempi Apostolici il Patriarcato Caldaico sopra i conrituali nostri Malabaresi; Si è enucleata la questione, ed è divenuta l'oggetto dei comuni discorsi anche della plebe, non solo nella diocesi Patriarcale ma in tutte le altre e lontane ancora.

La persuasione commune di tutto quello che chiamasi Caldeo, è così ferma ed intensa, che inettuatamente (sic) il corpo Vescovile insieme a tutto il Clero basso dicono, che se la S. Sede ci toglie quella porzione della nostra conrituale nazione, cederemo tutti insieme al sacerdozio ec. ec. ec. I Malabaresi poi che sono gente di poca costanza, e in mezzo ai scandali e sdrucioli, in varii dispacci loro e specialmente nell'ultimo sottoscritto da un centinaro di sacerdoti, e da molti capi del popolo, col consenso della generalità di quella nazione, che da sei giorni si è ricevuto, dichiarano, che non vogliono più trarre a lungo la loro questione; non vogliono i Padri Latini, e nè di dipendere dal Vescovo Latino, ma bensì dal vescovo del proprio rito, che sia consegrato dal Patriarca Caldeo di Babilonia, che riconoscono per unico loro legittimo Superiore il Patriarca. Soggiungono per parlando al Patriarca, che se non ci date Vescovo di Vostra consacrazione, sarete responsabile d'innanzi a Gesù Cristo della nostra perdizione; che ecco noi abbiamo già autorizzato i nostri Malabaresi che sono costì in Mossul d'andare presto dal Patriarca Nestoriano Mar-Simon, e farsi consacrare Vescovi e presto ritornare a Malabar.

Di fatti, Eminentissimo, così dimandano in loro comune al detto capo Eretico, ed in una altra al Console Inglese di Mossul, che li protegge in Mossul, vuole mandarli presto da Mar-Scimon; abbiamo preso la copia di queste due ultime lettere della nazione Malabarese. A mala pena i capi della nostra nazione, che

alimentano alle proprie mense questi giovani Malabaresi da tanti anni, ha potuto finalmente trattenerli dall'andare a commettere un tanto sacrilegio, ed apostasia contro la Fede, e Chiesa cattolica; e speriamo di riuscire a persuaderli a ritornare alla propria patria accompagnati da un nostro Vescovo, che prima era prete Vicario nella Diocesi Patriarcale di Mossul, e che fu consacrato a titolo del nostro Vescovato di Pherat Meisan, che è Bassora: il quale come abbiamo scritto in comune nel dispaccio a Nostro Signore felicemente Regnante Pio Papa IX spedito colla precedente posta. Questo Vescovo, che gli accompagna và là in qualità di esaminatore onde certificarci sullo stato presente di Malabar, e a impedire loro la scisma e l'apostasia; e a liberare questi che sono quì dal pericolo di farsi consacrare dall'Eresiarca: e così insieme almen per ora rendere la pace alla nostra nazione, che pur è minacciosa a fare una breccia irrimediabile per molti e molti anni, non potendo noi altrimenti ne mantenere i nostri posti, e ne soddisfare ai nostri doveri, se non condiscendiamo a siffatta espedizione. Sà poi Vostra Eminenza, che siamo fra infedeli, eretici, e cattivi cristiani. Noi pure siamo Vescovi della Chiesa cattolica, mercè la grazia di Gesù Cristo Nostro Signore abbiamo la disposizione di spargere il nostro sangue in attestato della fede cattolica e per l'unione colla S. Sede di cui il Pontefice Vicario visibile del Dio fatto uomo; pensando come dovevamo, allo stato presente della nostra nazione di cuì in Caldea, e di lì in Malabar, così abbiamo giudicato, così siamo persuasi; e speriamo che cotesta S. Congregazione approverà il nostro fatto suscepito (sic) per necessità, e con fortissime ragioni, che non ci permettevano di fare altrimenti. Vostra Eminenza Sapientissima non permetterà che la fede e l'unita della Chiesa cattolica con tante fatiche, e spese e sangue e sudori guadagnata, vada in bersaglio di scherni dell'infedeltà e dell'eresia sia quì che nelle Indie, per cose di pretenzioni umane; diritti al più ecclesiastici, che alle fine sono soggetti al sommo e divin potere di S. Pietro il vivo; noi Vescovi al più al più, per non vedere tanti mali potremo cedere ai Vescovadi e fuggire là dove non vedremo cogli occhi i mali della nostra nazione. Se permette, se vuole la S. Congregazione permetta al Patriarca, ed a noi Vescovi, o tutti, od alcuni a venire in Roma per trattare la nostra causa; ed a richiamare i reali diritti della nostra

nazione al trono del Principe degli Apostoli. È vero siamo poveri ignoranti, abbiamo però ragioni evidenti, che il Dottissimo Sommo Gerarca ben intenderà, e ci darà il nostro; se poi nò ci sarà più preferibile di morire ivi con un poco di pane, di quel che vedere cogli occhi nostri la desolazione della nostra nazione: ed è risoluzione comune, che in caso di ordini contrari a questi legittimi diritti della nostra Chiesa nazionale almeno molti di noi prenderemo la strada alla volta di Roma. Potrà allora rimediare il Revmo Monsig. Amanton a tutto, e i Padri di lui consiglieri prudentissimi, che non ancora entrati hanno messo il disturbo e lo scompiglio in tutta la nazione. Il Delegato sin da Parigi scrive al Missionario di Bagdàd « il Patriarca Giuseppe è già eretico, sta per compierla»; il Padre poi il divulga nel pieno consesso di preti e secolari vivi; arrivato a Diarbekir il medesimo Delegato fa sentire in due giorni di sua dimora ivi; che è per iscommunicare il Patriarchi ed i Vescovi Caldei; arriva in Mossul; ricava del Seminario nostro tutto l'addobbamento e le suppellettili comportate là da Planchet, per i nostri futuri alunni; arrivati in Mossul, ci toglie il medesimo Convento e Seminario, e lo sottopone alla bandiera francese; ordiniamo Vescovi per le nostre Diocesi, pretendere di sospendere tutta la gerarchia Caldaica col Patriarca.

Eminenza Revma, se i Delegati abbiano il potere di cacciare dalla unione cattolica; le intiere nazioni cattolico-Orientali, noi sin adesso non abbiamo saputo, e nè udito: quindi è che tutti i Vescovi insieme col Patriarca non si sono creduti in dovere di attenersi ai di lui pareri, senza informarsi prima dal Sommo Pontefice. È per questo che hanno scritto al medesimo Sovrano Pontefice, alla cui Sede siamo, e mercè la grazia di Dio speriamo di essere uniti ed ubbidienti figli ad ogni patto e condizione, senza mancare mai di richiamare alla Sua Giustizia e Clemenza il riattamento dei diritti della nostra nazione, di cui il Sommo principe Protettore riconosciamo tutti Vostra Eminenza Revma; e ho l'onore di essere

Umo Devmo ed Obbmo figlio e servo, Bartatar Vescovo di Seert, Ora in Mossul nella radunanza Nazionale.

DOCUMENT 55

LETTER OF POPE PIUS IX TO PATRIARCH AUDO INVITING HIM TO ROME AND ASSERTING THE EXCLUSIVE COMPETENCE OF THE HOLY SEE IN MALABAR

Lettera (26 Novembre 1860) della Santità di N. S. a Monsig. Audo Patriarca Caldeo.

Venerabili Fratri Josepho Patriarchae Babilonensi Caldacorum,

PIUS PP. IX.

Venerabilis Frater Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Hisce diebus venit ad Nos Dilectus Filius Religiosus Vir Vincetius Ligier Ordinis Praedicatorum, Nobisque nuntiavit, Te summopere queri, Venerabilis Frater, propterea quod nullum Nostrum Tuis Litteris responsum acceperis. Nova quidem et inexpectata Nobis accidit haec Tua querela, quandoquidem ubi redditae Nobis fuerunt Tuae Litterae die 2. proximi mensis Julii datae, et a quatuor Venerabilibus Fratribus Tuis Coepiscopis etiam subscriptae, Nos eisdem Litteris die 13 praeteriti mensis Septembris statim respondimus, idemque Nostrum responsum ad Te pervenisse arbitramur. Ab ipso autem Religioso Viro cum summo animi Nostri dolore novimus quomodo, Venerabilis Frater, Nostro, et hujus Apostolicae Sedis Delegato obstiteris in iis praesertim, quae ad ecclesiastica Malabarica negotia pertinent. Quod quidem molestissimum Nobis fuit, cum plures a Nostra Congregatione «Fidei propagandae praeposita Tibi Nostro nomine scriptae fuerint Litterac, quibus Tibi significatum fuit, hujusmodi de Malabaricis rebus controversiam ad Nostrum, et hujus Sanctae Sedis examen judiciumque a Nobis fuisse reservatam. Et quoniam noscebamus, controversiam ipsam propter quaestiones inter Te, et Nostrum Apostolicum Delegatum exortas non posse ad optatum exitum adduci, iccirco Dilecto Filio Nostro Cardinali ipsius Congregationis Praefecto commisimus, ut Nostro nomine epistolam Tibi scriberet, qua Te ad romanum iter cum uno vel duobus Tuis Coepiscopis suscipiendum in invitaret, quo Tu ipse. Venerabilis Frater, nemine alio interposito, cum Nobis de hac re

tractare, et agere posses. Atque idem Cardinalis Nostris mandutis obtemperans suam Tibi scripsit Epistolam die 13 hujus mensis datam. Nunc vero hanc familiarem Nostram ad Te Epistolam damus, qua Tibi significamus, Nostris in votis omnino esse, ut quamprimum cum uno, vel duobus Tuis Coepiscopis ad Nos venias, quo Nobiscum de Malabarica controversia agere queas. Atque interim exoptamus, ut non solum Te plane abstineas ab omni actione, quae controversiam ipsam quovis modo attingere posset, verum etiam omnia Tua rovoces acta, quae ad Malabaricas res pertinent. Plane non dubitamus, quin pro Tua erga Nos, et hanc Apostolicam Sedem observantia huic Nostro desiderio, et voluntati quam libentissime obsequi velis. Atque ea spe freti fore, ut quam primum Te praesentem intueri, alloqui, et complecti possimus, praecipue Nostrae in Te charitatis pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem Tibi ipsi, Venerabilis Frater, cunctisque Clericis, Laicisque fidelibus Tuae curae commissis peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romee apud Sanctum Petrum die 26 Novembris Anno 1860 Pontificatus Nostri Anno Decimoquinto.

DOCUMENT 56

LETTER OF CHAVARA TO THE PRIESTS AND CHRISTIAN FAITHFUL OF MALABAR WARNING THEM OF THE DANGER OF BABYLONIAN SCHISM

Litterae admonent fideles et sacerdotes Malabariae ne sinant decipi falsa propaganda quam faciunt p. Antonius Thondanatt eiusque socii, dant etiam media pratica ad dignoscendum utrum novus episcopus veniat cum auctoritate sanctae Sedis necne.

Evangelium secundum Lucam: cap.11, vers. 23

Dominus noster dixit: «Ille qui non est mecum contra me est, et qui non colligit mecum, dispergit». Sensus horum Domini verborum est hic: Ille qui intrat ovile quin recipiat auctoritatem ex sancto patre, successores. Petri, vicarii Christi, et utatur ea auctoritate, non est pastor qui colligit oves, sed qui eas dispergit. Cum pastor qui non est unitus cum sancto patre est inimicus ipsius Domini, pastor hic et illi qui uniti sunt cum illo pastore cadunt,

procul dubio, in gehannam, qui est locus statutus pro illis qui sunt contra Deum. Illi qui, progressi a Babylonia, intrabunt in ovile Domini in Malabaria, sunt pastores qui sine consensu et decreto sancti patris veniunt. Nos sumus persuasi quod illi veniunt dispergere nos ex ovile Christi et reddere nos escam pro lupis.

Fratres carissimi, verbum Domini est quod illi qui non intrant ovile per rectum ostium sunt latrones et lupi in vestitu agnorum. Ergo si pastores supra dicti veniunt intrare ovile absque decreto sancti patris, ne aures praebeatis eorum verbis decipientibus neque adgregemini cum istis; sed sub condicione salutis necessarium est ut sitis subditi rev.mo vicario apostolico qui est verus vicarius sancti patris apud Verapolim. Si accideret ut horum manibus vos moriemini martyres, consideretis hoc magnum Dei donum et ideo sitis etiam parato pro hoc. Notum quoque sit vobis quod illi qui habent permissionem et decretum sancti patris debent hoc decretum, in testimonium, ostendere rev.mo vicario apostolico verapolitano vel quilonensi, qui sunt vicarii apostolici Malabariae, et solum cum consensu unius horum possunt venire ad nos et quodvis sacramentum licite administrare inter nos. Desiderio salutis vestrae commotus, et timens ne cui sit occasio cadendi in novissimum hoc schisma et se subiciendi excommunicationi speciatim reservato sancto patri, haec vobis fratribus meis sacerdotibus qui sunt in patribus meridionalibus septentrionalibus et fidelibus dilectissimis mihi, frater vester humilis, pater Kuriakos Elias Chavara, prior monasteriorum Mannanam, etc. scribit.

Praces iaculatoriae his diebus frequenter recitandae aspiciendo matrem Dei:

«Maria immaculata, mater quae omnes Ecclesiae calamitates removes, ne relinquaris hanc nostram Ecclesiam ut disturbetur novo hoc schismate. Concedas ut ubique et semper omnes sancto patri qui auctoritatem sancti Petri consecutus est, subiecti sint, Amen».

Synodus diamperitana sessio II: can. 1, 3:

«Tactis evangelio et sancta cruce profiteor me non recipere alium episcopum, sive nunc sive in posterum, qui in Malabariam venerit absque decreto sanctae Ecclesiae. Item profiteor me recipere illum ut nostrum episcopum qui venerit cum decreto huius sanctae Ecclesiae et ei unitum fore».

[Kuriakose Elias Chavara].

DOCUMENT 57

LETTER OF MSGR. BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE ABOUT THE ARRIVAL OF ROKOS

Lettera (12 Maggio 1861) dì Monsig. Bernardino Vicario Apostolico del Malabar all'Emo Prefetto, nella quale riferisce l'arrivo di Monsig. Rochos nel Malabar.

Eminenza Revma

Erasi in generale sopita e pressoché estinta ogni aspettazione e speranza in questo numerosissimo stuolo d'immorigerati e discoli del Clero e popolo Siro-Malabarico dell'arrivo dei noti due Vescovi di Bagdad, ma non in me il timore di ciò, per esser ben informato, come già manifestai a cotesta S. Congregazione, di tutto il tessuto della secreta trama, e dell'ultima disperata risoluzione, che in fine avrebbero presa il Cassanar Antonio junior in Bagdad co' suoi intimi complici qui, di condurre cioè in qualunque modo un qualsiasi soggetto purché rivestito del carattere di Vescovo onde avere un Prelato di paglia, e venir da esso validamente ordinati tutti quei che io non devo, e quindi col battersi il petto essere assoluti dalle Censure, ed abilitati ad esercitare il Sacro Ministero con cui procacciarsi più facilmente un comodo, e mondano vivere con scandalo, danno, e rovina delle chiese, e dei fedeli; quando ecco che alle 8 del mattino dell' Ascensione si vedono d'improviso sortire da un Araba barcaccia, e discendere nella spiaggia di Coccino un Vescovo, non so se dei due consacrati dal Patriarca Babilonico, ovvero qualche eretico Giacobita, o d' altra denominazione, unitamente al menzionato Antonio Junior con tutti i giovani da alcuni anni colà condotti dal celebre Antonio Senior, ivi chiamato poi da Dio al tremendo redde rationem, e due altri

Sacerdoti di detto paese, scortati, mi dicono, da un Ministro Protestante, i quali tutti *recto tramite* si portarono alla Chiesa ed abitazione di un *Bava*, cioè Arcivescovo eretico già da più anni (stando io in Quilon) fatto venire da Antiochia, credo, da questi Nestoriani Malabarici, quindi da medesimi quasi del tutto abbandonato, e fatto esiliare dai due Regni di Travancor e Coccino. In questo albergo, ed in compagnia di tal soggetto dimorano fino al presente giorno (cosa che ha fatto raffreddar molto il calore riaccesosi per esser giunto il Vescovo della loro Nazione), avendo frattanto mandato avviso alle Chiese, ed attendendo che vadano ivi a riceverli, e condurli trionfanti qualche luogo.

Io ho subito incamminati a tutte le Parrochie i più rispettabili Sacerdoti fra questi Terziarj con una mia Pastorale, e con una formola di giuramento di fedeltà ed obbedienza alla S. Sede, al Vicario Apostolico *pro tempore*, o a quel Prelato cui della medesima S. Sede per via del Vicario Apostolico gli verrà notificato di dovere esser soggetti, e di non riconoscere né il Patriarca Babilonico, né l'Intruso testè giunto, il qual giuramento devono fare tutti i Vicarj, Sacerdoti, Chierici, e principali di ciascuna Parocchia nelle mani di detti miei inviati.

Di tanto posso per ora ragguagliare Vostra Emza, vedremo in seguito come andrà a terminare questa procella. Mi raccomando caldamente ai Momento, ed orazioni di Vostra Emza e baciandole la Sacra Porpora con profonda venerazione mi raffermo

Di Vostra Emza Revma

Verapoli 12 Maggio 1861.

Umo Dvmo Obmo Servo, Fr. Bernardino di S. Teresa C.S., Arcivescovo Vicario Apostolico.

DOCUMENT 58

APPOINTMENT OF KURIAKOSE ELIAS CHAVARA AS VICAR GENERAL FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST ROKOS

Litterae B. Baccinelli constituentes Kuriakos Elias Chavara vicarium generalem fidelium Ecclesiae syro-malabarensis, die 8 iunii 1861.

Nos Bernardinus de S. Teresia, metropolita regionis Pharsaliae, vicarius apostolicus Malabariae:

Nostro praedilecto patri Kuriakos Chavara, priori monasterii Mannanamensis et aliorum monasteriorum.

Propter difficultates quas nos sentimus inde a longo in administrandis ecclesiis sub nostra iurisdictione, propter provectam nostram aetatem et consequentem defatigationem et invaletudinem et insuper cum per nostram administrationem fructus spirituales, sive apud sacerdotes sive apud laicos, non videmus et in praesentibus rerum circumstantiis, secundum quod concilium Tridentinum decernit ut constituatur vicarius generalis prout necessarium est, te nominamus vicarium generalem ut gubernes ad res spirituales, quod attinet, sacerdotes atque laicos inclusos in ecclesiis syro-malabarensibus sub nostra iurisdictione. Etenim persuasus sum quod tu habes fortitudinem, solertiam, sapientiam atque virtutem quae necessariae sunt ad hoc officium implendum. Ideo praeter auctoritatem et privilegia quae ius commune recognoscit, concedo tibi omnia illa privilegia atque auctoritatem quae concedi posse recognoscunt litterae nostrae patentes.

Itaque Deum oramus ut Ipse tibi concedat omnem supernam benedictionem qua tu poteris administrare res spirituales sacerdotibus atque laicis inclusis in ecclesis Syro-malabarensibus sub nostra iurisdictione et sic ecclesias illas gubernare.

A Verapoli, die 8 iunii 1861

DOCUMENT 59

LETTER OF VICAR APOSTOLIC BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE INOFORMING HIM OF THE APPOINTMENT OF CHAVARA

Lettera (15 Giugno 1861) di Monsig. Bernardino Arcivesco-Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli nel Malabar all'Emo Prefetto della S.C.

Eminenza Revma

Nella mia anteriore notificai a V. E. come giunse in Coccino l'Intruso di Bagdad con raccomandazioni di quei Consoli Inglesi al Governo di Madras, ed al residente di questi due Regni. Con tuttociò a mia istanza presso le dette Autorità non fu riconosciuto, ma dopo circa un mese gli fu permesso di rimanere in questi paesi come un forestiere. In quel che però riguarda materia di Ecclesiastica giurisdizione mi fu risposto, che il Governo non può interferire (sic) qualora non vi siano casi di polizia; e ciò basta per far tutto il male che vogliono.

Divulgatosi l'arrivo di detto Infelice Vescovo (è un uomo di 60 e forse più anni di età, furbo, ingannatore, di niuna coscenza e non so qual fede abbia) subito accorsero, e ad esso si strinsero i più licenziosi e criminosi di questo Clero e popolo Siro- Malabarico. Ouindi mostrò ad essi le sue Patenti cioè le Attestazioni del Patriarca, che ora ha mandate in tutte le Parrocchie, nelle quali Attestazioni, o Testimoniali dice di aver fatto tutto con autorità della S. Sede. In ogni Parrocchia i perversi Sacerdoti e Secolari fan tutto il possibile, ed ogni arte adoprano per tutti obligare a seguir l'Intruso, onde non aver chi l'imbrogli il soddisfare con pace ogni passione, e rimanersi tranquilli in ogni vizio. Come andrà a terminare io ora nol sò. Quando sarà sedato questo primo furore potrò vederlo, e darne a V. E. certo ragguaglio. Se la metà del Clero fosse buono l'Intruso resterebbe quasi solo, ma i sacerdoti buoni, e mediocri son pochissimi e gemono amaramente. Essi coi nostri Terziarii han fatto, e fanno ogni sforzo per disingannare la moltitudine son corsi per ogni Parrocchia con la lettera di Sua Santità al Patriarca Caldeo, che opportunissimamente mi giunse, e tradotta feci imprimere e divulgare, e per esigere in pari tempo il giuramento di fedeltà alla S. Sede da tutti i Sacerdoti, e dai principali del popolo. Ma o Dio, i Sacerdoti senza difficoltà veruna fatto il giuramento prosieguon e vieppiù accrescono il loro impegno, e vanno a dar obbedienza all'Intruso simile, o forse peggior di essi, e ciò con la speranza che Sua Santità quindi si muoverà a compassione di tanta moltitudine e rattificherà il fatto: questo che dico è stato da essi coll'Intruso decretato, e lo dicono publicamente, e si animano l'un con l'altro a star forti ed uniti = poco importa (son le loro espressioni) che ora siamo scismatici o eretici, il Papa in fine non vorrei che si perda tanta gente, ed allora manderà i Brevi a questo Vescovo.=

In sì critiche circostanze, ho giudicato col consiglio dei miei Confratelli Missionari di costituire, come ho fatto, in mio Vicario generale pei Soriani il più anziano fra i nostri Sacerdoti Terziari, che è Priore del Convento antico e principale, è Capo di tutta la Cristiano, Congregazione, uomo veramente prudentissimo, versatissimo nella Sacra Scrittura, peritissimo nella lingua Siriaca, che in questa circostanza si e mostrato coi fatti attaccatissimo alla Religione Cattolica, ed alla S. Sede, quantunque per averlo i sediziosi e l'Intruso dalla lor parte fin da Bagdad, e molto più qui abbiano adoperata ogni arte, ed astuzia fino ad offerirgli di consacrarlo Vescovo, il che se avesser potuto ottenere tutti l'avrebber seguito, o quasi tutti, godendo esso presso di tutti grande stima, rispetto, ed autorità. Ora perciò affin di deviare il Clero e popolo, ed opporlo all' Intruso ho giudicato essere questo il mezzo più opportuno, e forse l'unico. Ma il mio pensiero, e la mia richiesta a V. E. qualora sia giudicata convenire si è di poterlo consagrare Vescovo Coadiutore pei Soriani nel caso, che la sola dignità di Vicario Generale non bastasse a trattenere la moltitudine dal seguir l'Intruso, e deviarlo da questo, e dal Patriarca Caldeo. Tanto più che non vi è da sperare che questo popolo di Rito Siro-Malabarico voglia ubbidire, e riconoscere il futuro Arcivescovo di Cranganor secondo il Concordato, onde in fine converrà alla S. Sede, come fù già quasi nel principio d'inviar per questi un Vicario Apostolico, o di soggettarli al Patriarca Caldeo, il che mi sembra il più disperato rimedio, essendo impossibile, moralmente parlando,

che possano governarsi da per se stessi senza ridursi in fine ad esser di solo nome Cristiani. Quantunque l'encomiato, e proposto soggetto manchi di quelle cognizioni necessarie a tal carica, nè possa avere, essendo del paese, quel petto che nelle circostanze si richiede nel Vescovo, appoggiato però come la vite dall'olmo, cioè dal Vicario Apostolico, e dai missionari farà certamente i suoi frutti migliori di quei del Patriarca Caldeo, e del suo intruso, perchè buono, e prudente, ed obbediente, ed inoltre nel predicare incanta. Mi perdoni Eminenza l'ardire di voler fare il consigliere, ma io ho creduto di dovere in coscenza esporre a V. E. ed a Sua Santità questo mio pensiero. Se sia espediente, o sia una sciocchezza a V. E. si appartiene a giudicarne, ed a me a fare ciò che mi sarà comandato. Soltanto devo avvertire, che il detto soggetto, il quale si chiama il P. Ciriaco Chavare Priore dei Terziari dell'Immacolata Concezione di Maria SS. del Monte Carmelo, ha il voto semplice di Umiltà, e quantunque non 1'avesse non accetterebbe tal Carattere e Dignità senza un precetto, come ho dovuto darglielo io per farlo accettare d'esser Vicario Generale. Se Sua Santità medesima mandasse i Monitori a questo Intruso, ed agli Ecclesiastici che l'han seguito sarebbe cosa molto giovevole. Omissis etc.

Raccomandandomi alle orazioni e Memento di V. E. le bacio riverente la Sacra Porpora, e con profonda venerazione sono.

Di V. Emza Rma.

Verapoli 15 Giugno 1861

Umo Dvmo Obmo Servo, F. Bernardino di S. Teresa C. S.

DOCUMENT 60

LETTER OF CHAVARA AND HIS COMPANIONS TO POPE PIUS IX FOR ASCERTAINING THE TRUTH ABOUT THE MISSION OF ROKOS

Lettera (19 Giugno 1861) di alcuni Sacerdoti Soriani del Malabar alla Santità di N. S. Pio PP. IX. diretta ad aver istruzione come debbano mantenersi col Vescovo Rochos. Traduzione di D. Giuseppe Guriel.

Alla Sede alta, e sublime del nostro Padre Santo (Pio) nono, che tiene in mano la chiave di Pietro, ed il Primato della Chiesa di Nostro Signore, che le disse «et portae inferi non etc.».

Noi umili figli Vostri, poveri ed ammalati nella fede, e nella carità (mentre che ci governa il degnissimo, ed onoratissimo Monsig. Bernardino Visitatore, e Vicario Apostolico di Malabar assieme coi suoi compagni fedelissimi, e degni Sacerdoti, che sono tre Carmelitani Scalzi (senza scarpe) della Madonna del Carmelo, conceputa senza macchia originale, ed il loro Superiore si chiama Padre Ciriaco Elia inginocchiandoci davanti alla sublime Maestà Vostra baciamo spiritualmente i Vostri benedetti piedi, e presentiamo alla medesima Santità Vostra queste poche lineole: cioè, in quest'anno 1861 ai 9 di Maggio arrivò qui da noi Monsig. Tomasso (Rochos), che da Mossul fu spedito colla sua Patente da Monsig. Giuseppe Audu Patriarca di Babilonia ed in sua compagnia v'era Don Antonio, che di qua s'era portato presso loro a Mossul: questo Vescovo predicava dicendo a tutti i fedeli, che Egli era mandato a Malabar col comando e permesso della Vostra Santità, communicato (il comando) al sullodato Monsig. Patriarca di dirigere le Chiese Caldee del Malabar; e Monsig. Bernardino predicava manifestamente colla lettera, e diceva, che contro ill volere della V. Santità, e comando della medesima, questo Vescovo fu mandato qui dal Patriarca colla sua propria autorità, comando, e volontà; e perciò scomunicando scomunica qualunque chierico, che riceverà da lui ogni Ecclesiastica autorità, e quello, che la dà; e s'è così tutti i Sacerdoti, e fedeli, che ogni giorno vanno da lui, ed acconsentono a qualunque sua opera, e

camminano nelle sue pedate, noi crediamo, che prima di giungere qua la risposta di questa lettera, tutte le chiese saranno prese dalla sua obbedienza ossia, lo seguiteranno tutte le chiese, eccettuate quelle, che sono dirette dai RR. Carmelitani; e questo lo sà quello, che conosce ogni cosa prima che esista (lo sa Iddio che sarà così).

Perciò noi con tutta 1' umiltà chiediamo dalla V. Santità, e colle lagrime agli occhi supplichiamo, onde ci faccia manifestamente conoscere la verità di questa cosa, e ciò lo faccia in lingua nostra Caldaica, in cui ci dica come il Patriarca ha chiesto dalla V. Santità: e quale risposta gli avete dato; ed a quale di questi due dobbiamo obbedire; sì custoditeci in questa grand'agitazione per quella via, che crederà V. Santità, ornata d'ogni bene: e ciò chiediamo per confermare i dubbiosi.

Finalmente genuflessi davanti al Trono della V. Santità baciando i suoi benedetti Piedi, chiediamo sempre dalla memedesima, onde spanda sii di noi la Sua S. Benedizione; che siamo Vostri Figli, e sudditi alla S. obbedienza della medesima Santità Vostra; sì spandete la medesima benedizione su le nostre Chiese, e sulle nostre abitazioni, e paesi, giacché siamo qui legati sempre dall' autorità degli Idolatri.

Dal Monistero di Maalam 1'anno del 1861 Il 19 Giugno.

Sieguono le sottoscrizioni.

D. Ciriaco Elia Perior
D. Acha Ciriaco
D. Alessandro
D. Giuseppe
D. Giuseppe
D. Giacomo
D. Ciriaco
D. Alessandro
D. Giacomo
D. Giovanni;
D. Ciriaco;
D. Giuseppe

Nota del Traduttore: *Ve è una riga sopra la lettera*, *che porta questo significato*: O nostro Padre Santo, ci manderete la risposta presto in nostra lingua Caldaica?

DOCUMENT 61

LETTER OF THOMAS ROKOS TO CHAVARA WARNING HIM OF DIRE CONSEQUENCES

Thoma per grazia Arcivescovo e Vicario Apostolico dei Caldaici Malabaresi al Sacerdote Ciriaco superiore del convento di Mananato.

Sappi che io son ben informato dell'iniquità e malizia, con cui tu in una tua lettera mandata in tutte le Chiese ci chiami lupo per divorar queste pecorelle. Oltre di ciò ora stesso qual altro Simon mago sei andato presso il Vescovo Bernardino capo degli insubordinatori ed hai ricevuto a prezzo di denaro la carica di suo Vicario Generale, ed esso ti ha maliziosamente promesso di farti Vescovo del Malabar. Per questo ecco che tu vai bugiardamente spargendo in tutte le Chiese e paesi, che tu sei andato presso del Vescovo Thoma e che hai veduto che non ha nessun ordine nè del Papa nè di nessun altro. Ah bugiardo! Ah ingannatore! Ah perfido! Quando mai sei tu venuto presso di noi? Quando mai hai tu parlato con noi? Quando mai hai saputo, se noi abbiamo o nò alcun ordine? Oh insensato! Oh ignorante! Perchè dici tali menzogne? Via con tuttociò questo non ti bastò. Tu vai spargendo e pubblicando in tutte le Chiese, che il Vescovo Thoma è sospeso, scomunicato ed eretico. Goffo! Infelice! infattucchiato dal desiderio d'esser Vescovo. Di dove hai saputo che noi siamo scommunicati ed eretici? Ti è forse venuta qualche lettera dal Papa, o dal Prefetto di Propaganda, o dal Patriarca? Forse dirai che te l'ha detto il Vescovo Bernardino. E se nostro fratello il vescovo Bernardino ti dicesse che vi sono cinque Dei tu lo crederesti? Il vescovo Bernardino non è nè Dio nè Papa. Perciò o insensato io ti suggerisco di tagliarti un pezzo di lingua. Lascia di far subugli. Se poi tu non ci presterai orecchio ti darò severo castigo per l'anima e pel corpo, e forse ti scaccierò dal convento. Ti basti l'impedir le persone dal venir presso di me col dirci, che vi è la scommunica. Non sai tu l'ordine del Re e de'suoi ministri di non far insorgere disordini? Sappi tutto questo e basta.

L'anno del Signore 1861 il 24 Giugno.

DOCUMENT 62

LETTER OF VICAR APOSTOLIC BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA CONCERNING THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE SCHISM

Monsig. Bernardino Arcivescovo Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli (22 Luglio 1861) riferisce l'andamento dei Siro Malabarici dopo l'arrivo di Monsig. Rochos: E trasmette copia dell'originale, e relativa traduzione Italiana di una lettera dal medesimo scritta al Sacerdote Malabaritano D. Ciriaco.

Eminenza Revma

Nella mìa anteriore lettera le accennava il principio dello scisma di questi Siro-Malabarici dietro l'arrivo repentino dell' inviatogli Vescovo dal Patriarca Caldeo. Ora vengo a notificarle che una metà, se non più, di detto Clero e popolo si son fatti preda di questo lupo, dappoiché hanno ben conosciuto poter alla di lui ombra compiacere tranquillamente tutti i loro vizi, moltiplicare senza timore alcuno i disordini, ed i scandali; perciò esultano, e massime gli Ecclesiastici portano i propri vizi in trionfo; rammemorando con isdegno contro di me il travaglio che han dovuto sostenere fino ad ora in attender le tenebre della notte per soddisfarli e tenerli occulti. Giorni fa accadde, che un pseudo-Vicario sostituito in tal officio dall'Intruso di Bagdad allegro e contento per ciò, e perchè già non di notte, ma di giorno, ed alla presenza dei principali suoi parrocchiani beveva a suo talento dello spirito di palma, bestemmiando in pari tempo contro di me; quindi mezzo ubriaco alzatosi inciampò in un vaso che gli era innanzi, e cadendo bocconi gli saltaron via quattro denti.

Dopo non molti giorni di dimora nella città di Coccino potè l'Intruso ottenere dal governo di uscirne, e con un certo il più facoltoso, prepotente, e capace di tutti questi Cristiani, e di molti gentili, si portò unitamente co'suoi satelliti a fissare la sua dimora in una Parrocchia distante da detta città circa tre leghe, situata nel territorio del Re di Travancor, ove sotto l'ajuto, direzione, maneggi dell'accennato prepotente, che ivi ha la sua dimora, i di cui cenni adora, e dal di cui arbitrio anche negli atti della usurpata

giurisdizione, ed ordine, come nel costituire Vicari, dar la facoltà di confessare ec. si egli l'Intruso dipende, e vuol che ognuno dipenda; ogni arte adopera propria di un precursore dell'Anticristo affin di strappar tutti se potesse (anche i Latini) dal seno della Chiesa Romana, e porli in quello di Babilonia. A questo effetto si studiano di appagare in lutto le brame, e le passioni dei anche più discoli del Clero, ed ignoranti, che già tutti confessano, celebrano (che orrore Eminenza!), son Vicari, maestri dei chierici, predicatori, fra i quali uno omicida scommunicato vitando, altri rei di sollecitazione, altri d'ingiustizia circa i beni delle Chiese, o di particolari ec. Al detto effetto non cessano di por me ed i Missionari in discredito ed avversione, predicando l'istesso Intruso per via d'interprete che siamo loro nemici, ma che devono perdonarci secondo il precetto Evangelico, e pregare il Signore onde ci converta ec. Mostra poi a tutti una mia lettera, che dice avere Vostra Emza rimessa al Patriarca Caldeo, nella quale mi fa dire alla S. Congregazione, che questo Clero e popolo di Rito Siro-Malabarico è in piccolo numero (cosa che mai mi son sognato di scrivere, e bugie si manifeste solo Egli, ed i suoi eguali posson dirle senza rossore alcuno); e che fra gli Ecclesiastici niuno vi è abile ad esser Vescovo. Questo si l'ho scritto, ma non ho inteso chiamare abilità per esser Vescovo quella che ha lui; perchè in tal senso avrei detto una solenne bugia, essendovene di tali come Esso quanti se ne vogliano per così dire. Per la qual cosa i buoni Sacerdoti son restati ammiratissimi, che il Patriarca abbia avuto coraggio di consacrare, ed inviargli un sì perverso soggetto; e se tali, esclamano, sono colà scelti per vescovi, che sarà la massa del Clero! Io non so come quel Patriarca, e questo suo Inviato potranno aggiustarsela con Dio. Il danno che han fatto, e fanno, ed i peccati di questa cristianità che han sopra il loro dorso sono di numero, e di peso incalcolabile, e neppur li sentono.

Ho inteso che il Patriarca sia per venire a Roma con due altri dei suoi Vescovi, e che ha scritto a questo suo Inviato promettendogli, che da Roma gli manderà i Brevi. Vostra Emza faccia invigilare, perchè son capaci di mandare qualche falso Breve di costà, e così compir l'opera delle tenebre.

Le compiego la copia di una lettera inviata dall'Intruso a quel soggetto, che nella mia anteriore dicevo a Vostra Eminenza averlo fatto mio Vicario Generale, dopo di esser questo in compagnia di altri Sacerdoti, e principali del popolo andato a trovarlo per dimandargli di mostrare se aveva alcun Breve Pontificio che autorizzasse la di lui venuta nel Malabar, onde disingannare la moltitudine cui avevan dato ad intendere, non ostanti le mie circolari, di aver Esso il detto Breve. Egli però avendo ben compreso il fine della loro andata gli fece dire che aspettassero alquanto, e dopo lunga pezza di tempo videro comparire i sbirri fatti venire dal suddetto prepotente sogetto, affin di prenderli tutti e condurli alla Polizia accusandoli come andati per insultarlo; essi però ascesi sulle barchette si sottrassero con la fuga. Questo fatto, e tutte le altre di lui operazioni han già tolti d'inganno tutti quelli che non vogliono espressamente farsi ingannare, ed ha fatto chiaramente conoscere di non avere altra autorità, altro scopo se non che quello dell'ambizione, e dell'avarizia.

La suddetta copia è accompagnata dalla versione in italiano. Se Vostra Emza desidera l'originale lo manderò: è stato lasciato affin di poterlo mostrar nella Corte in caso che si studiasse di occupare il Convento. Unitamente compiego una lettera diretta a Vostra Emza dal sullodato mio Vicario Generale sigillata come da esso l' ho ricevuta per inviarla, nè sò affatto cosa si dica. Avverto poi Vostra Emza che il progetto, e proposta, che nella mia anteriore lettera le feci di questo soggetto in mio Coadjutore ne esso, nè alcun altro il sà eccetto due soli dei miei Missionari sotto secreto, per cui V. Emza conoscerà essere una sua supposizione, in conseguenza d'averlo fatto Vicario Generale, ciò che l'Intruso dice nell'acclusa copia affin di prender motivo d' insultarlo, e di calunniarlo.

Fino al presente niun riscontro mi è giunto di V. Eminenza di quelli che io attendeva. Ho ricevuto soltanto una Circolare, Decreti ec. riguardanti la Residenza, la Relazione, ed il Seminario di Propaganda.

Per via del Nunzio Apostolico di Parigi ho inviati a Sua Santità 24,572 franchi di offerte che ho potuto fino ad ora raccogliere, parte li avrà già ricevuti, e parte li riceverà in breve.

Desidererei una Benedizione del Nostro Visibile Capo massime su di quelle Parrocchie, e di quei particolari, che in questa Colletta han mostrato col fatto, e si son distinti nell'attacamento e divozione al Vicario di Gesù Cristo. Questa Benedizione dimando anche per giustificarmi dalla maldicenza di quei, che per impedire questo dovere ai ben disposti e di buona volontà si son studiati di far credere, che io ciò faceva non per altro oggetto se non che per impedire 1'arrivo dell'Intruso, e per avere con che quindi tornarmene in Europa.

Tanto doveva in succinto per ora accennare a Vostra Eminenza, cui raccomando di aver presente me, e questo Vicariato, l'infelice Intruso, e suoi seguaci nelle sue orazioni e *Memento*.

Le bagio in fine la Sacra Porpora e con profondo rispetto e riverenza ho l'onore di protestarmi

Di V. Emza Rma

Verapoli 22 Luglio 1861

Umo Dmo Obblmo Servo, Fr. Bernardino di S. Teresa, Arcivescovo Vicario Apostolico.

DOCUMENT 63

LETTER OF CHAVARA TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA SEEKING CLARIFICATION ABOUT THE STATUS OF ROKOS

All'Em.o Prefetto della s. Cong.ne di Prop.da Ales. Barnabò.

Io umile vostro Figlio sacrerdote Ciriaco Elia priore dei Carmelitani Terziari di Maria Vergine conceputa senza machia originale, coi miei compagni sacerdoti che restiamo sotto l'obbedienza di Mgr. Bernardino, l'onorevole Vescovo e visitatore di Verapoli:

Mentre noi bracciando le vostre benedette mani, e chiedendo spiritualmente la vostra apostolica benedizione, facciamo conoscere all'Eminenza vostra una storia di sommo dolore che accede, e successa fra noi in questi giorni, cioè, da Giuseppe l'onorevole Patriarca di Babilonia fu mandato da noi Mgr. Tomaso (Rocos), il quale predicava a tutti questi Cristiani e diceva che Esso

era mandato per governare le loro Chiese con comando di Nostro Signore Pio IX, che l'aveva comunicato al Patriarca suddetto di Babilonia, e credevano alle sue parole tutti i sacerdoti e fedeli; e questi erano quelli, che dicevano ogni giorno, "i comandi di Mgr. Bernardino sono pesanti e insopportabili", e se V. Eminenza o da se stessa o dalla Santità di Nostro Signore, non lo sospenda, o interdica, per certo, come crediamo, fra due mesi tutti seguiranno le sue pedate, anche quelli, che sono rimasti adesso; perciò perseverantemente e con sospiri e molte lagrime chiediamo da V. Eminenza, onde presto, e senza dimora ci faccia conoscere la verità di quest'affare (di questa faccenda), e la ricompensa meritata ad una contrarietà così manifesta, e ciò in nostra lingua Caldaica, onde il clero di Malabar da se stesso lo veda, legga, e lo creda.

Finalmente facciamo conoscere, e manifestiamo a V. Eminenza il pensar verace del nostro animo; cioè da gran tempo l'animo dei fedeli, e dei preti s'è allontanato dal nostro Vescovo Bernardino per cagione dei suoi comandi, e per la sua direzione, che ogni giorno comandava col zelo, propriamente suo ed ancorché ciò facesse colla sua giustizia e zelo, ciononostante questi Fedeli e Preti dei nostri Paesi essendo deboli, e freddi nella carità non potevano tollerare; e perciò con tutta la verità pensiamo, che se non viene un altro vescovo, e si mette qui Mgr. Carlo, vescovo e visitatore Apostolico di Collam, ovvero un altro come piacerà a Vostra sapienza, non si convertiranno, e neppure torneranno (al grembo della Chiesa) tutti questi Fedeli, che hanno seguitate le pedate del vescovo caldeo, anche che Esso venga scomunicato e sospeso. Questa nostra petizione non sia un inclinamento per i Caldei, giacché conosciamo da principio, e molte volte la direzione Caldea nessuna utilità, e nessun giovamento porterà a prò (delle) anime nostre, che anzi sarà di scandalo della vera fede, di unione cogli eretici giacobiti, che qui dimorano; così, manifestato io nostro interno, raccomandiamo alla vigilanza della V. Eminenza le nostre anime, le nostre chiese, i nostri monasteri, che siamo tutti deboli, e mancanti nella fede, e nella carità.

Supplichiamo continuamente, onde scenda sul nostro paese la vostra benedizione, e la vostra orazione sempre ci sia propizia, onde il Dio, dalle misericordie eterne non ci rigetti; giacche Esso

non abbandona mai quelli che con cuore contrito lo cercano e tornano da lui colla retta coscienza.

Sacerdote fra Ciriaco Elia, Prjore Dal monastero di Mallalam, 22 luglio 1861.

DOCUMENT 64

LETTER OF BISHOP ROKOS TO THE PRIESTS AND PEOPLE OF MALABAR CONFIRMING THE LEGITIMACY OF HIS AUTHORITY

Indirizzo del Vescovo Tomasso Rochos ai Malabaritani dato da Taicatticheri lì 13 Agosto 1861.

Tomasso Arcivescovo e Pastore dei Siro-Caldei del Malabar Maggiordomo Consigliere fedele ed Assistente al Soglio del Eminentissimo Nostro Padre il Patriarca di Babele ai Reverendissimi Vicarii, Sacerdoti, e fedeli tutti nostri sudditi salute in Gesù Cristo e Benedizione dello Spirito Santo.

Dilettissimi Figli

Affinchè si verificassero in noi eziandio le parole del Profeta Isaia Cognovit bos possessorem suum, et asinus praesepe Domini sui Israel autem me non cognovit, et populus meus non intellexit, prima ancora che noi arrivassimo qua per causa di alcune pubblicazioni, che l'amantissimo nostro Fratello Monsig. Bernardino fece nelle Chiese furonvi fra i nostri diletti Sacerdoti e secolari non leggeri contrasti, per cui anche dopo del nostro arrivo alcuni per solo motivo di partito chiudono gli occhi alla luce della verità e la vanno oppugnando. Fra questi però in modo speciale il Nostro diletto figlio Ciriaco Griove del Convento di Mannanato coi suoi Discepoli non lasciano nelle loro Congreghe, e nelle Chiese d'inveire contro di noi o dell' Eminentissimo Nostro Patriarca, che c' inviò a queste parti con bestemmie, ed infamità, ed oltre di ciò dì pubblicare, che tutti gli atti Ecclesiastici esercitati dai Sacerdoti a noi obbedienti sono nulli, e che a coloro che prestano obbedienza a noi non rimane che l'Inferno, colle quali falsità oscurata la mente dei semplici fedeli tentano gettarli alla eterna rovina. Ben informati di tutto questo noi siamo oltremodo dolenti per l' imminente

gastigo che sovrasta a loro ed a quelli ancora che prestano orecchio alle loro insinuazioni. Imperciocché insegnandoci Gesù Cristo nel suo Vangelo che li peccati contro lo Spirito Santo cioè a dire contro la verità non saranno rimessi nè in questa vita, ne nell' altra, che dai frutti si deve conoscere se l'albero è buono o cattivo, che da uno stesso tesoro il giusto ne trae beni, ed il malvaggio ne trae mali, che d'ogni parola inutile dovrà darsi conto nel dì del Giudizio, e l'altro ancora, che Omnis qui irascitur fratri suo reus erit judicio, qui autem dixerit fratri suo raca reus erit concilio, qui autem dixerit fatue reus erit gehennae ignis; considerate voi quanto sono colpevoli ed in quanto pericolo di eterna dannazione si trovan coloro, che contro le parole stesse del Redentore profanano gli stessi S. Sacramenti, ed ingiuriano le Autorità Ecclesiastiche. Giunsero presso dell'Eminentissimo Nostro Patriarca i vostri lamenti con cui vi dolete che conforme alle parole del Profeta; che cioè il gregge senza Pastore riman disperso e cibo alle fiere, e all' altre del sapiente Salomone, che un popolo senza chi lo regga cade, così qui non avvi verun legittimo pastore, il quale possa reggere con ordine questi Siri-Caldei del Malabar. Commiserando pertanto questo Nostro Eminentissimo Padre il Patriarca i vostri affanni non mancò di darne informazione all' unico Pastore della Chiesa il quale ben consapevole di quanto attestano su tal riguardo i Sommi Pontefici Nicolò I. Leone X. Clemente VII. Pio V. e Benedetto XIV., che cioè ogni classe di persone deve riconoscere il proprio Superiore, ed il proprio Rito, che sopra le Chiese, e Case Religiose di ciascun Rito nessun può esercitare autorità di sorta alcuna fuorché i Superiori dello stesso Rito; per tutte queste ragioni il Sommo Pontefice Pio IX. unico nostro Superiore non esitò ad inviarci le Bolle in forza delle quali dopo essere stati consacrati, conforme al vostro desiderio c' inviò a voi unitamente a quelli che di qua voi là inviaste. Qui giunti avendoci molte Chiese e persone prestata obbedienza siamo da molti informati che i suddetti Sacerdoti vanno tuttora lavorando con perfida volontà per giungere al loro fine. Onde, dilettissimi Figli, voi non cadiate nei lacci del Demonio, ed uniti a loro non vi gettiate in un eterna spirituale rovina noi ci crediamo in dovere di farvi conoscere la verità, e crederemmo d'esser colpevoli innanzi a Dio se di tuttociò non vi rendessimo informati. Riservandoci d'informar di tutto ciò la S. Sede, per ora noi concediamo loro il perdono. Affinchè questo nostro ordine sia a tutti notificato, ordiniamo sia pubblicato per tre giorni festivi alla Messa in cui avvi più concorso di persone. I Vicarj pertanto delle Chiese qui sotto notate ricevendo questo nostro ordine subito estrattane copia, e data la consueta mercede al latore la spediscano immediatamente alle altre Chiese. Quei Vicarj che ricevettero, ed estrassero copia del presente ordine devono in esso stesso scriverne l'attestato.

Dato in Taicatticheri l'anno del Signore 1861, il dì 13 Agosto.

DOCUMENT 65

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO REVOKING BISHOP ROKOS FROM MALABAR

Lettera (7 Settembre 1861) scritta da Monsig. Audu Patriarca Caldeo presente in Curia a Monsig. Tomasso Rocos spedito nel Malabar.

Non ignora di certo i dissidiì e le vertenze nate tra noi e l'Illmo Amanton Delegato Apostolico, in rapporto alla questione dei Caldei di Malabar, e come vi abbiamo spedito a quelle contrade a fin di raccogliere le informazioni necessarie che riguardavano il fine e la petizione dei Caldei ivi dimoranti. Dopo la Sua partenza inverso quelle parti noi dietro l'invito del Sommo Pontefice ci siamo creduti in obbligo d'abbandonare la nostra Sede Patriarcale, e metterci tosto alla volta di Roma.

Ora coll'ajuto di Dio, ed in compagnia di Monsig. Pietro Giorgio di Natale sani e salvi siamo giunti a Roma.

Ma il Santo Padre, prima d'incominciare con noi le cose attinenti alla materia del Malabar ed alla desiderata loro richiesta, ci indicò la sua speciale volontà, cioè che gli affari dei Malabarici dovevano ritornare nel pristino loro stato come ne erano sul principio.

Quindi noi, come figli ubbidientissimi alla voce del capo e pastore visibile della Chiesa cattolica, non abbiamo potuto

contradire la Sovrana Sua Volontà, giacché in coscienza siamo tenuti a sentirla.

Motivo per cui, o Venerabile fratello, esigiamo dalla vostra compitezza che, all'arrivo di questa lettera alle vostre mani, abbandoniate il Malabar e torniate alla vostra Sede di Basra, e se caso mai non vi confacesse il clima di costì e voleste andare a Mossul e far stanza là sino al nostro ritorno, che come ne spero sarà vicino, ciò vi vien accordato da noi.

Abbiamo poi ferma fiducia nel Signore, che Sua Santità propensa come è (per trovare una via propizia di trarre alla pace e tranquillità tutta le nazione Caldea esistente nel Malabar e nella Mesopotamia) accoglierà ed esaminerà maturamente quanto saremo per esporre in proposito. Dunque o Nostro Fratello confidi a questa nostra lettera e torni.

Roma 7 Settembre 1861.

Io sottoscritto attesto d'esser conforme al suo originale: Pietro Giorgio di Natale, Arcivescovo Caldeo di Diarbekir.

DOCUMENT 66

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO BISHOP BAR-TATAR IN MOSUL ORDERING HIM TO RETURN TO HIS OWN DIOCESE OF SEERT

Lettera (7 Settembre 1861) scritta dal Patriarca Caldeo Monsig. Audu presente in Curia a Mosig. Bartatar Vescovo Caldeo di Seert dimoranti a Mossul.

Sappia Vostra Signoria che noi per la grazia dell'Altissimo li 31 Luglio giungemmo a Roma in compagnia del nostro Illmo confratello Monsig. Pietro (*Giorgio di Natale*) due volte abbiamo avuto l'udienza della Eminenza Sua il Sig. Cardinal Prefetto della Sacra Congregazione; ma però gli affari stan come prima, veruna nuova cosa s'è fatto; può andare pure molto lontano quest'affare.

Speriamo, che finora saranno messi in tranquillità i cristiani di Mossul e Bagdad dei disturbi ed inconvenienti movimenti. Perchè è di dovere, che ritorniate alla vostra Diocesi, da cui per necessità e secondo il nostro comando da lungo tempo ne siete assentato, perciò d'obbligo che ella sia presente alla medesima, motivo per cui esigiamo dalla V. Signoria che all'arrivo di questa nostra lettera alle vostre mani tosto vi trasportiate da Mossul a Seert, ed anche usi tutta la sua abilità affinchè a cagione della vostra partenza, non naschino dei disconvenienti e sconcerti nella gente di Mossul, ma anche nei villagi d'intorno, ma però con patto che non sorstiate da Mossul, sinchè non sia giunto costi D. Luigi Sciauriz al quale già abbiamo scritto di venire costì (là), e per non restar senza maestro e direttore il nostro nuovo Seminario, che è troppo caro al nostro cuore.

Le rimanenti notizie le daremo nell'avvenire. Le desidero ogni sorta di salute.

P.S. In questa circostanza dobbiamo farvi conoscere avere veduto con meraviglia cosa voi avete risposto al Cardinale Prefetto che vi ricordava l'obbligo della residenza, cioè di non potere arrendervi alle sue ingiunzioni senza un ordine espresso nostro, quasichè noi non dovessimo essere i primi osservatori dei canoni, e degli ordini della Propaganda, cresce quindi la necessità che con la prontezza dell'ubbidienza ripariate quanto avvi d'irregolare in quella vostra lettera.

Roma, 7 Settembre 1861. È conforme in tutto come l'originale.

Pietro Giogio di Natale, Arcivescovo Caldeo di Diarbekir.

DOCUMENT 67

LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO FR. SCIAURIZ REVOKING HIM FROM BAGHDAD

Lettera (7 Settembre 1861) di Monsig. Audu Patriarca Caldeo presente in Curia al Sacerdote Caldeo D. Luigi Sciauriz dimorante a Baghdad.

Vi facciamo sapere che noi coll'ajuto dell'Altissimo li 31 Luglio arrivammo a Roma, ebbimo dalla Sua Eminenza il Signor Cardinal Prefetto per due volte l'udienza; ma però gli affari stanno

come lo erano, nessun passo nuovo si è fatto; può anco portarsi più a lungo, con tutto ciò noi speriamo che finora le confusioni ed i disturbi sarannon in sommo tranquillità tra la gente di Bagdad, perciò non avraano essi più bisogno della sua dimora presso di loro, molto più perché anche Monsignor Michele Bartatar dovrà rintonare alla sua diocesi, quindi affinché non rimanga il seminario senza maestro e direttore, all'arrivo della nostra lettera alle vostre mani, vogliamo che si metta a trasportarsi da Bagdad in Mossul, per dirigere il collaggio secondo il vostro zelo con tutta la premura.

Dunque usi tutta la prudenza acciocché dalla vostra partenza da Bagdad non nasca qualche disturbo nella popolazione e rendeteci consapevoli della vostra sortita da Bagdad e arrivo in Mosul.

Le notizie ne avrà in Mossul, e stia sano nel Signore.

Roma 7 Settembre 1861,

In tutto è conforme al suo originale: Pietro Giogio di Natale, Arcivescovo Caldeo di Diarbekir.

DOCUMENT 68

SUPPLICATION OF PATRIARCH AUDO TO POPE PIUS IX FOR ABSOLUTION FROM EXCOMMUNICATION

Istanza di Monsig, Audu Patriarca Caldeo presente in Curia (8 Settembre 1861) colla quale domanda dal S. Padre una piena assoluzione.

Beatissimo Padre

Dopo il nostro arrivo qui in Roma, e l'abboccamento con S. E. il Sig. Cardinal Prefetto della S. C. riguardo alla consacrazione di Monsig. Toma-Rocos Vescovo di Basra siamo entrati in qualche sospetto d'essere caduti nelle censure dei SS. canoni, per non avere atteso al divieto della S. V. trasmessoci per mezzo dell'Emo. Prefetto della S. C. intimatoci dal Delegato Apostolico. Noi quantunque abbiamo fatto ciò in buona fede, e crediamo d'esser liberi da qualunque censura ecclesiastica; non ostante per essere noi figli ubbidienti della S. Chiesa, e della S. V. imploriamo a

tranquillità della nostra coscienza dalla B. V. una piena assoluzione se la creda necessaria, ed insieme una dispensa da qualunque irregolarità potessimo avere incorsa nella supposizione anzidetta.

Roma 8 Settembre 1861.

È conforme ad litteram all'originale: Pietro Giorgio di Natale, Arcivescovo Caldeo di Diarbekir.

Ex audientia SSmi die 8. Septembris 1861.

SSmus etc. Audita relatione praesentis supplicis libelli, eorumque omnium quae ad illum quocumque modo referri poterant, nec non perpensis actis, quibus R. P. D. Joseph Audo Babylonen. Patriarcha Chaldaeorum in Mesopotamia Archiepiscopus Thomam-Rocos e Malabar, Presbyterum Aloysium Sciauriz e Bagdad revocat, et Michaeli Petro Bartatar Episcopo Serten in suam remeare diocesim jubet, quibusque ea reparantur in quantum reparari valet, quae contra Sedis Apostolicae prohibitionem directe, et per S. C. Propagando Christiano nomini Card. Praefectum, atque per R P. D. Delegatum Apostolicum iterato panditam gesta sunt, praefatos Oratores R.P.D. Josephum Audo Patriarcham, et R. P. D. Petrum Georgium di Natale Archiepiscopum Seleucien. Chaldaeorum ab omnibus sententiis censuris poenisque ecelesiasticis ob praemissa tam a jure quam ab homine latis quomodolibet incursis benigne in utroque foro absolvit et liberavit; et insuper cum iisdem super inregularitate siqua ex praedictarum censurarum violatione innodati existant dispensavit. Voluit tamen illos serio hortari, ut quam erga Sedem Apostolicam venerationem et obedientiam verbo saepius et in praesentiarum opere ostenderunt, eamdem et in posterum profiteri pergant tam directe quam indirecte, scilicet etiam erga illos, qui Ejus auctoritatem et personam quocumque titulo gerunt; nec non praefatos Episcopum Bartatar, Archiepiscopum Rochos, aliosque Episcopos, qui participes in lacrymabilibus memoratis factis fuerunt, moneant, ut et ipsi consulant conscientiae suae.

Datum ex aedibus S. C. de Propaganda Fide die et anno ut supra.

Alexander Card. Barnabò Praef.

DOCUMENT 69

CIRCULAR LETTER OF CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO TO BISHOPS, PRIESTS AND ALL OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CHALDEAN CHURCH

Circolare (23 Settembre 1861) di Monsig. Audu Patriarca Caldeo presente in Curia ai suoi sudditi dimoranti nalla Mesopotamia.

La benedizione divina discenda sopra i diletti nostri figli dimoranti nella regione di Mesopotamia di qualunque grado e condizione eglino siano ec.

Non vi è ignoto come noi dietro l'invitto fattoci da S.S. ed in adempimento dei nostri desiderii siamo venuti in questa alma Città in compagnia del V. nostro fratello Monsig. Pietro Giorgio di Natale, ove giunto col aiuto di Dio senza avere sofferto incomodo veruno durante il nostro lungo viaggio. Dopo aver visitato l'Emo Prefetto della S. Congregazione, ed avere aperto il discorso con lui relativamente agli affari, per cui ci siamo qui portati, siamo venuti in cognizione di molte cose, che noi prima ignoravamo, e ci siamo chiariti, che ciò che ci era stato riferito intorno agli affari di Malabar non corrisponde pienamente alla realtà del fatto. Avendo noi ora saputo che questa S. Congregazione non solo non rigetta le istanze fattele dai figli della nostra nazione dimoranti in quelle parti, ma che anzi è disposta pienamente ad accogliere, e fare a suo tempo, e con la benedizione del Signore tutto ciò che ridonda in loro vero bene e vantaggio spirituale; perciò abbiamo potuto conoscere, come già da vari anni, con intesa della S. Congregazione erasi dal Vicario Apostolico del Malabar istituito ed eretto un Collegio in quella regione per l'educazione ed istruzione dei giovani della nostra nazione, affinchè istruiti che fossero nelle scienze ecclesiastiche, ed ammaestrati nelle cognizioni, ed insieme nelle virtù, si promovessero alcuni di essi al Sacerdozio, ed anche al Vescovato, ove si giudicherà opportuno: anzi abbiamo con molta soddisfazione appreso, come il menzionato Vicario Apostolico erasi già associato un Sacerdote Siro-Caldaico perchè in qualità di suo Vicario lo coadiuvasse

nell'amministrazione dei fedeli di quel rito sull'esempio di quanto erasi già praticato cogli Armeni in Costantinopoli prima che la S. Sede Apostolica stabilisse colà l'ecclesiastica Gerarchia. Abbiamo parimente trovato l'Emo Prefetto della S. Congregazione ben disposto ad aiutarci, perchè il Collegio recentamente eretto nel Mossul sia messo in istato di raggiungere pur'esso l'anzidetto fine.

Scorso poco tempo dal nostro arrivo in questa Metropoli del Cattolicismo il Prelodato Emo Prefetto ci condusse all'udienza della Santità di N. S. il Sommo Pontefice Pio IX felicemente regnante, da cui abbiamo ricevuta l'Apostolica Benedizione, la quale gli abbiamo chiesto di voler estendere a tutto il nostro popolo Caldeo si ecclesiastico, che secolare; e Sua beatitudine si degnò benignamente d'impartirla a tutti; implorando loro da Dio ogni bene, e felice successo nelle loro intraprese, ed avanzamento nelle virtù. Quindi nel discorso tenuto con noi ci ha eccitato fortemente ad essere noi, e tutta la nostra popolazione uniti a questa Sede Apostolica, e soggiunse dicendo: se noi saremo uniti, e strettamente legati con Pietro, potremo fare, e superare ogni cosa; al contrario poi se saremo da lui divisi non potremo mai far cosa alcuna di buono; a dopo alcune altre parole disse: dobbiamo indubittaamente comparire Lui e noi inanzi al giusto, e terribile tribunale di Dio per rendere stretto conto di tutte le nostre azioni, non ché del modo con cui abbiamo governato il gregge alla nostra cura commesso, e che perciò dobbiamo cercare di condurci verso questo a noi raccomandato in un modo lodevole, e perfetto ponendo sempre innanzi agli occhi, ed avendo di continuo di mira in tutte le nostre operazioni ciò che è confacevole, e conducente al conseguimento del suo fine principale ed unico e vero suo bene, ed essere fervorosamente solleciti nel rimuovere quelli impedimenti, ed ostacoli che possono essergli d'inciampo, ed arrestarlo dal pervenire al suddeto desiderato fine; e principalmente in rimuovere quelle cause, per cui sono suscitate fra i figli della nostra nazione le discordie, ed i litigi, e dalle quali sono nate le scissure, e le sedizioni.

Ora noi dunque inerendo alle istruzioni del Vicario di Cristo, che non possono fallire nè mancare, e seguendo parimente i consigli dell'Emo Prefetto eccitiamo i nostri dilettissimi figli nel

signore della nostra popolazione Caldea, siano ecclesiastici che secolari a usare ogni diligenza onde venga conservata l'unione fra di loro con stretti legami della carità, e concordia, ed allontana ogni scissura cagione di odio, ed animosità, e dilungatosi ogni spirito di partito, che ordinariamente intorbida la mente di chi lo possiede, e gl'impedisce di conoscere bene il vero.

Ed affinchè si ottenga più facilmente questo nostro desiderio intendiamo colla presente di benedire, ed assolvere di qualunque censura, e pena ecclesiastica di qualunque persona che possa esservi incorsa, ecclesiastica o secolare, o sia questa pena emanata, ed inflitta da noi, o da qualunque altro nostro Vicario; e ciò lo facciamo non per altro fine se non per rimuovere ogni ostacolo che potrebbe impedire che regni quella pace, e concordia bramata da Sua Santità (Iddio la conservi lungamente) e dall'Emo Prefetto, e che noi desideriamo ardentemente.

Per questo fine ancora togliamo ai RR. nostri diletti figli monaci la proibizione di poter girare liberamente conforme al loro costume nella città, e nei villaggi, mentre raccomandiamo ad essi di essere i primi a procurare di ristabilire la pace, e la tranquillità, assicurandoli, che, se essi camminino conforme alla loro vocazione, regole, e costituzioni, che comandano principalmente l'osservanza dell'unione, pace, carità fraterna, e l'ubbidienza dovuta ai rispettivi Superiori, noi li terremo sempre in luogo di figli diletissimi nel Signore. Così finalmente per lo stesso suddetto fine vogliamo, ed esortiamo tutto il nostro popolo Caldeo di qualunque grado, e condizione egli sia a voler condursi coi RR. PP. Missionarii latini con perfetta unione, e concordia rispettandoli nostri ausiliarii nel ministero dell'Apostolato, ristabilendoli, come noi di tutto cuore facciamo, i quali amando, ed uniti di pensieri, e di affetti, che deve stringere e unificare i figli di un medesimo padre, ed i ministri di uno stesso Vangelo.

Finalmente non dobbiamo tralasciare qui il raccomandare il suddetto nostro popolo, ed esortarlo di prestare il dovuto rispetto, ed onore a Monsig. Delegato Apostolico; avendo in riguardo alla maestà della persona, che Egli rappresenta a cui doveasi ogni venerazione, onore, sommissione ed ubbidienza da tutti,

particolarmente dal ceto dei cattolici, di cui noi per grazia di Dio formiamo parte.

Questo ciò che desideriamo da Voi, e bramiamo dalla Vostra ubbidienza figli dilettissimi nel Signore, mentre preghiamo l'Altissimo a voler spargere su di voi copiosamente le sue celesti grazie, di benedire voi, e le vostre abitazioni, di prosperare le vostre intraprese, ed accrescervi in ogni bene spirituale e temporale, e di concederci ancora un felice ritorno a voi, e di poter rivedervi presto in ottimo stato di salute, il che ve l'auguriamo di tutte cuore, e la divina benedizione discenda sopra di voi.

Roma 23 Settembre 1861.

Io sottoscritto attesto d'essere questa traduzione conforme *ad verbum* al suo originale.

Pietro Giogio di Natale, Arcivescovo Caldeo di Diarbekir.

DOCUMENT 70

REQUESTS MADE BY PATRIARCH AUDO IN ROME AND THE RESPONSES OF THE CARDINAL PREFECT

Domande fatte in Roma da Monsig. Audu Partiarca Caldeo nell'Ottobre 1861 all Emo Card. Barnabò Prefetto, e risposte date dall'Emza Sua Rema.

Monsig. Giuseppe Audo prega V.E. Rema a voler inchinarsi ad accogliere le seguenti sue richieste, e di ordinare, laddove creda convenevole, che vengono posta in esecuzione.

- 1. Che non siano ricevuti de' Giovani Caldei, come alunni in questo V. Collegio Urbano senza l'intesa del Patriarca *protempore*.
- 2. Che i Missionari non si portino oltre i limiti del convenevole, col pretendere d'avere un pieno potere, ed ampla Giurisdizione sopra tutti gl'individui della nazione.
- 3. Che non amministrino il SS.Sagramento dell'Eucaristia nell'azimo ai seguaci del Rito Caldeo, ove trovansi ministri, e Chiese del medesimo rito.

- 4. Che nè i Latini, nè le altre nazioni Orientali ricevano nei loro Istituti monastici, e nelle loro Congregazioni, o Compagnie dell'individui Caldei, senza previo consenso del Patriarca *protempore* in iscritto.
- 5. Che vengano restituiti al collegio di Mossul quei mobili ed arredi sagri, che la bo. me. di Monsig. Planchet aveva assegnati al medesimo collegio, e che i Missionari ora tengono in possesso come cosa loro propria.
- 6. Il Medesimo Patriarca chiede inoltre di special grazia, che l'Emza V. Revma voglia generalmente beneficare, e favorire la sua Nazione col farle stampare nel nativo idioma il Rituale, la dichiarazione della Dottrina Cristiana del Bellarmino, le Glorie di Maria, (già tradotto in Caldeo dal medesimo Patriarca), qualche altro libro ascetico, che l'Emza V. Revma crederà vantaggioso al suo popolo. Come pure di accordargli (sic) cosa d'arredi sacri per distribuirli alle chiese, che ne hanno gran bisogno. Finalmente di raccomandarlo premurosamente alla Pia Società di Lione a fine di porgergli degli ajuti, e soccorsi, onde egli possa istituire nella Sua Nazione de'Collegi, restaurare le chiese cadenti e fabbricare una casa per unirvi insieme le Monache, che sono quà, e la disperse, con l'altrui scandalo, e pericolo delle loro proprie anime.

Risposta di Sua Emza Revm alle dette domande

- 1. Per parte di Propaganda nulla osta, ma se l'intenda coi vescovi
 - 2. Si faranno ristampare gli antichi decreti, e si manderanno.
 - 3. Provisto di sopra.
 - 4. Provisto di sopra.
- 5. Si sono già date istruzioni in proposito a Monsig. Delegato Apostolico.
- 6. Si acconsente, ma il libri vengano trasmessi sottoscritti da Monsig. Patriarca. Quando agli Arredi Sagri appena si avranno si spediranno. In ordine a ciò, che nel fine dell'articolo sesto si dice, a suo tempo e luogo si scriverà.

DOCUMENT 71

COMPLAINTS OF APOSTOLIC DELEGATE AMANTON AGAINST THE ACTS OF THE PATRIARCH IN ROME AND THE CIRCULAR LETTER

Osservazioni e querele di Monsig. Amanton Delegato Apostolico della Mesopotamia, Persia ecc. sulla istanza presentata al S. Padre da Monsig. Patriarca Caldeo (Somm. Num LXII. pag. 205) per aver l'assoluzione delle censure; e sulla Circolare inviata da quest'ultimo (Somm Num, LXIII. pag. 206) ai Caldei della Mesopotamia.

Mossul le 7 Novembre 1861

Eminence

J'ai l'honneur de vous accuser reception de la lettre que vous m'avez écrite en date du 28 Septembre dernier. Cette lettre contenait deux documents, c'est-a-dire la supplique adressée au Souverain Pontife par le Patriarche Chaldéen, et la circulaire envoyée par le même Patriarche à sa nation. Veuillez me permettre, Eminence, d'exprimer ma pensée relativement à ces deux documents.

Quant au premier, J'aurais mieux aimé ne pas le connaître, et je regrettée que Votre Eminence aid cru devoir me le transmettre. En s'adressand au Souverain Pontife lui-même, le Patriarche Chaldéen à osé parler de sa bonne foi; il a osé déclarer qu'il se croit libre de toute censure ecclésiastiques, puis il s'est contenté de demander, et encore simplement ad *cautelam* une absolution génerale qui ne lui parait pas nécessaire! Mais je n'ai pas à me prononcer sur une pareille attitude prise vis-à-vis du Souverain Pontife; ce que je tient à faire remarques, c'est que dans le supplique en question, il a été permis au Patriarche de ne pas dire un mot, un seul mot qui pût faire allusion aux censures que j'ai portées contre lui et contre son Evêques. Votre Eminence voudra bien observer, je l'en prie que je ne me plains pas de ce fait; je me borne à le constater. Pendant près d'un an, vous avez gardé le silence le plus absolu au sujet de ces censures; en suite vous les

avez appellées simplement *comminate*; de plus, le Patriarche a pu en toute liberté cèlébrer à Rome les Saints Mystères, et en derniér lieu il a pu se dispenser de demander l'absolution dont il avait besoin. Il est vrai que d'après le rescrit joint à la supplique, cette absolution a été donnée; mais il restera toujours vrai aussi qu'elle n'a pas été demandée. Cette remarque j'avaiz à cœur de vous la présenter.

Quant au second document, je regarde comme un devoir d'exposer avec une franche liberté les réflexions qu'il me suggère. Je dirai brievement et clairement me pensée.

- 1. Dans sa circulaire, le Patriarche se permet de dire à son Peuple qu'il a été parfaitement accueille par Votre Eminence, accueille une manière très gracieuse con ogni garbatezza. C'est un premier mensonge ; car, selon ce que m'a ecrit le R.P. Ligier d'après des renseignements emanés de Votre Eminence elle-même, il est certain que le contraire a eu lieu. Le Patriarche et l'Evêque de Dierbekir, avaient eu à la Propagande une réception tellement sévère, que pendant plusieurs jours ils n'osèrent plus s'y présenter, et que Votre Eminence fut obligée de prendre l'initiative en adressant au Patriarche les notes préliminaires, dout le texte est entre men mains. Tel est du moins ce que je trouve dans les renseignements que j'ai reçus de Rome.
- 2. Le Patriarche sa permet d'annoncer à son Peuple que peu après s'être présenté à Votre Eminence, presque *tout de suite*, selon le sens de son espression arabe, Votre Eminence l'a conduit au St. Père. C'est un second mensonge, car en realité ce peu après signifie six semaines : il est constatè que le Patriarche est arrivé à Rome le 31 Juillet, et qu'il a dû attendre jusqu'au 14 Septembre pour etre admis à l'audience du Souverain Pontife.
- 3. Conformément à ce que Votre Eminence a bien voulu m'écrire en date du 28 Septembre, et conformément à ce que le Révérend Père Ligier m'a ecrit en date du 21 de ce même mois, l'audience accordée au Patriarche a été extrémement sévère : le Patriarche a reçus de la part du Saint Père les reproches les plus vifs, il a été profondément humilié, et la réparation de sen torts a été exigée comme condition du pardon qu'il avait besoin d'obtenir. D'après ceux renseignements authentique, il est donc certain que le

Patriarche a été reçus durement par le Souverain Pontife or dans la circulaire, non seulement le Patriarche ne laisse rien, absolument rien deviner des reproches à lui adressés, mais encore il travestit ce qui s'est passé entre le Souverain Pontife et lui. A l'entendre, l'audience doit se résumer ainsi: le Saint Père avec une bonté et une condescendance extrêmes a daigné le bénir, lui et toute sa nation, puis il s'est borné à une recommandation générale sur la nécessité de se tenir unit fortement au Siège Apostolique. Je dis une recommandation générale, car le Patriarche a bien soin de la présenter ainsi, pour ne pas laisser soupçonner qu'elle lui était personnelle. Votre Eminence se rappellera sans doute que j'ai eu la charité de présenter le Patriarche comme étant coupable, mais beaucoup moins que d'autres; elle ne supposera donc pas que j'aurais voulu le voir s'humilier davant sa nation et de manière à compromettre sa dignité. Je ne voulais nullement cela; mais si le Patriarche ne s'humilie pas, au moins devrait-il ne pas denaturer les faits.

4. Après avoir noté brièvement ce qui prècède, comme ayant moins d'importance, j'ai à m'exprimer sur ce qui concerne le Malabar. Avant tout, Eminence, je vous prierai et d'une manière spéciale, de vouloir bien observer que je suis dans la plen complète indifférence au sujet de cette question. Que le Patriarche Chaldéen ait ou n'ait pas le Malabar, je n'ai pas à men préoccuper; cette affaire est en dehors de moi, elle n'appartient pas à mon jugement. Si j'en parle, c'est donc uniquement à cause de ce que le Patriarche en dit dans sa Circulaire. Votre Eminence ne saurait oublier qu'elle avait enjoint au Patriarche de retirer ses mains de l'affaire du Malabar; Votre Eminence ne saurait oublier qu'elle m'a enjoint, à moi, d'agir a tutt'uomo, de faire tout ce qui était possible, pour arrêter le Patriarche dans les triste voie qu'il avait prise; Votre Eminence enfin ne saurait oublier qu'elle ne m'a jamais reproché trop d'ardeur dans meux efforte pour l'exècution de ses ordres. Or, aujourd'hui, malgré tout cela, comment se fait-il qu'il soit permis au Patriarche d'annoncer joyeusement à son Peuple le succès qu'il a obtenu si vite? Comment se fait-il qu'il soit permis au Patriarche de dire à son Peuple, que non seulement la S. Congrégation n'est pas opposée à ses desirs, mais que dèja elle a pris les dispositions

nécessaires pour les seconder ? Bien plus, comment se fait-il que dans une circulaire dont, vous avez nécessairement pris lecture, le Patriarche ait pu dire : « ci è stato ben chiarito che tutto ciò che ci era stato riferito in quanto al Malabar ed altro non era secondo gli ordini suoi?» Il y a ici une fourberie orientale, car le texte arabe de la circulaire Patriarchale prèsente une double sens; on peut egalment traduire par ces mots: « non era secondo il suo stato, (del Malabar) au bien par ceux-ci: « non era secondo gli ordini suoi » (di Sua Eminenza). Cette equivoque habilement ménagée ne permet pas de déterminer quel est celui des deux sens que le Patriarche a voulu donner; mais ce qu'il y a d'incontestable, c'est que le second est tout aussi naturel que le premier. Ceux qui lisent ou entendent la circulaire, sont parfaitement libres d'interpreter comme ils veulent; et alors Votre Eminence peu comprendre ce qu'il y a de flatteur pour moi dans ces paroles, aux yeux de ceux qui voudront les expliquer dans le second sens. Au reste, Eminence, peu importe la signification que l'on attribuera aux paroles de la circulaire ; il y a un fait qui domine les paroles, un fait qui ne saurait echapper à personne, un fait qui dit beaucoup plus que tout le reste. Le voici. Tant que le Patriarche Chaldéen et ses Evêques ont traité avec le Répresentant du Saint Siège, ils n'ont rien pu obtenir de lui, sa resistance a été ou ne peut plus obstinée; au contraire, dès que le Patriarche a pu traiter directement avec le Saint Siège, sans l'intermédiaire du Déléque, il a pu tout obtenir, ses voux ont été pleinement satisfaits, son succès ne laisse rien à désirer! C'est là ce qui ressort de la circulaire, et il faudrait être aveugle pour ne pas le connaître. Maintenant, Eminence, veuillez me permettre, je vous en prie, de la demander respectuesement, comment n'avez-vous pas senti tout ce qu'un semblable procèdé devait jeter d'odieux sur mon caractère et faire soupconner de me part? Encore une fois, je ne me plains pas de ce que le Propaganda a cru devoir faire au sujet du Malabar; je me plains de ce que le Patriarche a obtenu et annoncè son succês d'une manière si penible pour moi. Jamais je n'ai regretté mes souffrances, tout que j'ai pu les croire utiles à la cause de l'Eglise; mais je doù le dire avec franchise aujourd'hui, je ne puis plus accepter les stériles humiliations; sous le poids des quelles vous m'avez laissé pendant près d'un an. Je conçois très bien que le Patriarche ait ecrit sa

circulaires, il y avait tout intèrét; mais ce que je ne conçois pas, c'est que vous l'ayez envoyée telle qu'elle est, avec ordre pour moi de le faire connaître à tous. Ici on me demande, si Votre Eminence a bien réellement lu cette pièce, et je dois répondre que sans aucun doute Votre Eminence l'a lue.

5. Je ne puis relever avec détail tout ce qu'il y a d'etrange dans l'ecrit du Patriarche; mais je m'arrête aux points les plus saillants. Rien n'est plus pénible que ce qui concerne les moines. Il ne m'appartient pas de préciser quels sout (sont ?) les sentiments actuels du Patriarche vis-à-vis des religieux de S. Hormès: seulement, ce qui est positif, c'est que sa manière de s'expliquer sur eux ressemble à une indigne moquerie : tout le monde l'a comprise, et le superieur de ses religieux me dit lui-même qu'il aurait beaucoup mieux aimè ne pas entendre ce qui lex concerne. Lorsque le Patriarche a voulu punir les moines du tort qu'ils avaient de rester soumis au St. Siège et aux instructions de son Délègue, il a osé les signaler comme des traitres ; il s'est permis de faire lire publiquement - intra Missarum solemnia - une lettre dans la quelle il accusait leur digne Supérieur d'avoir vendu sa conscience au Délégué pour une somme déterminée ; et comme si les outrages dont il les chargeait ne sufficaient pas encore, le Patriarche avoit défendu qu'on leur laissait dire la Messe dans les villages Chaldeen, qu'on les laissait même prier avec les Prêtres de ses villages, et qu'on leur donnait les secours à eux accordée jusqu'alors par le pieté des fidèles. Or, maintenant, pour toute réhabilitation, que fait le Patriarche ? Il veut bien declarer dans sa Circulaire qu'il donné aux moines la permission de parcourir les villages, comme s'ils avaient besoins de la permission pour cela! il veut bien être assez bon pour lever l'espèce d'interdit dont il les avait injustement frappè! et encore, immediatement après avoir daigné leur accorder tant d'indulgence, le Patriarche a-t-il grand soin de recommander aux moines qu'ils soient les premiers à procurer la paix ! En vérité, n'y a-t-il pas une amère derision dans cette attitude du Patriarche? Son langage pourait-il respirer plus d'orgueil et une plus souveraine inconvenance ? On dirait vraiment que jusqu'ici les moines ont été des fauteurs de troubls, des perturbateurs de la paix. Devinerait-on jamais que les moines

Chaldéen au contraire ont donné constamment l'exemple de l'obéissance le plus parfaite et du calme le pleu chrètien? Devinerait-on jamais que celui qui ose parler ainsi, est précisément celui qui a donné l'exemple de la revolte, qui a propagé le désordre, au grand scandale de tous, et qui a préparé la ruine de sa nation ?... Et, il faut bien le remarquer aussi, le Patriarche ne seit pas contenté d'offrir aux moines un injurieux pardon; il a trouvé bon de leur donner une leçon, et devant le public. Dans sa génerosité, il voudra bien le recevoir comme des enfants qui lui sont chers: mais ... mais c'est à une condition, à la condition qu'il auront bien soin de vivre selon leurs statuts, qui leur reccomandent spécialement la conservation de la paix et l'obéissance aux Superieurs! Franchement, il faut n'avoir honte de rien, pour oser prendre ce ton ; car enfin ignore t-il que les moines ont conservé la paix, tandis qu'il jetait le trouble partout? ignore t-il que les moines ont pratiqué l'obéissance, tandis qu'il donnait, lui, le scandale de la revolte ? Et puis, qui le Patriarche entend il désigner en parlant de Supérieure? Est-ce la Propagande? est-ce la Délégué ? est-ce Lui ? ses prétentions au sujet des moines sont trop bien connues, pour qu'il soit possible de se méprendre ; et il est difficile de ne pas apercevoir une menace indirecte dans ses paroles.

Je ne dirai rien de plus sur les moines ; seulement je prendrai la liberté de faire un rapprochement.

Pendant le lutte Chaldéenne, un elève de la Propagande, le *Prètre Sciauriz*, a donné les preuves de la plus odieuse ingratitude, il a manifesté l'esprit de plus détestable, il a fomenté audacieusement les troubles les plus graves. Apres tout cela, que lui a-t-on fait ? Le Patriarche lui a adressé, non pas d'ici, mais de Rome même, une lettre elogieuse : il suppose que les désordres de Bagdad ont cessés, que sa présence en cette ville n'est plus necéssaire, et des lors il le rappelle à Mossul pour lui confier, pour confier à son zèle, l'education de ceux qu'il destiné au Sacerdoce! Et de plus, c'est Votre Eminence elle-même qui a envoyé cette lettre.

Pendant la lutte Chaldéenne, les moines se sont conduits comme de vrais enfants de l'Eglise; le Patriarche les a traités d'une manière indigne, il leur a prodigué les injures, et cela précisement à cause de leur obéissance. Ensuite, qu'oit-est arrivé aux moines? Dans un ecrit daté, non pas d'ici, mais de Rome même, dans un ecrit destiné à être public, le Patriarche daigne pardonner aux moines qu'il a injuriés et traites d'une manière indigne, puis il leur fait la leçon. Et de plus c'est Votre Eminence elle-même qui envoyé cet ecrit, avec ordre de le faire connaître à tous.

Que pourrai-je répondre on me dit, que le Propagande réserve tout les menagments pour ceux qui l'insultent, et qu'elle laisse sans les soutenir ceux qui lui sont fidèles?

- 6. Après avoir parlé des moines, le Patriarche parle deux Missionaires latins. Je suppose qu'il s'agit ici des Réverend Peres Dominicains, car on a jugé a propos de ne pas les nommer. Mais en tout cas, lors même qu'il s'agerait spècialement d'eux, quelle réhabilitation pourraient-ils trouver dans ces quelques paroles du Patriarche ? s'il n'eut jamais eu aucun tort à l'egard des Pères, je comprendrais son langage; mais après les avoir publiquement denoncés comme les corrupteurs de sa nation, comme des hommes que son clergé ne devait plus fréquenter, comme des loups revetus de peau de brebis, pourrait-it décemment se contenter d'un simple recommandation? Est-ce là tout ce qu'il devait leur offrir en reconnaissance de leurs longs services, et surtout en réparation des outrages dont il avait poursuivi? Je n'insisterai pas sur ce point, car je ne veux pas laisser croire à ma partialité; seulement je devais en conscience faire observer que les Rev. Pères Dominicain n'ont pas obtenu la rehabilitation qui leur est strictement due.
- 7. Je serai bref egalement en exprimant ma pensée sur les passage qui me concerne. Vers la fin de sa circulaire, le Patriarche a deux ou trois lignes pour exhorter son peuple à me respecter. Il exhorte son peuple; mais qui est-ce qui m'a manqué de respect? Est- ce son peuple, on lui? Et d'ailleurs, que signifie ce respect dont parle le Patriarche? s'il a entendu donner pour moi personnellement une recommandation générale, sans egard au passé, la recommandation est un non-sens, elle est inutile, car son peuple m'accorde le respect que lui me refuse; s'il a entendu donner au Représentant du St. Siège une réparation pour les

grossières injures dont il seit rendu coupable envers lui, sa reparation est plus que nulle, elle est d'une inconvenance manifeste. Ce n'est point par un mot jeté à la fin d'une lettre qu'en efface des torts aussi scandaleux. Votre Eminence me permettra de le dire, il est souverainement regrettable pour l'autorité du Saint Siège, que ceux qui ont defendu sa cause, soient traités ainsi. Au reste, en exprimant mon jugement, je ne rèclame rien pour moi ; sortir au plus tot de la situation que vous m'avez rendue si penible, c'est l'unique chose je demande. Per sa lettre du 7 Septembre dernier, Votre Eminence me disait de voir si ce n'était pas à tort que je me plaignais d'être abandoné; je puis répondre en conscience que maintenant, plus que jamain, je suis autorisé à me considérer comme totalement abandonné de la Propagande. Si nos efforts n'eussent pas été paralysés, la nation Chaldéenne ne serait pas aujourd'hui dans un si grand désordre; le Délégation n'aurait pas subi un abaissement si profond, et il n'y aurait pas en du Malabar ce que Votre Eminence elle-même appelle une déplorable situation! Nul ne saurait contester ces tristes résultats ; quant à ma responsabilité, elle est complètement dégagée, car j'ai fait grâce à Dieu, tout ce qui pourait les prévenir encore; mais ce que je n'accepte pas, c'est l'humiliation qui pèse sur moi, malgré la conduite que j'ai tenue. Rien de sèrieux n'a été fait depuis nos luttes, pour sauvegarder au moins le dignité de le Mission dont j'étais chargé.

Avant d'achever ces dernières explications, je dirai aussi un mot relativement à la publication de la circulaire. J'ai été stupéfait quand j'ai vu que j'étais moi-même obligé de faire connaître cet ecrit. On sait à Rome que je ne suis pas accepté, que je suis en rupture complête avec les Evêques du Patriarche, et c'est moi qui suis choisi pour leur transmettre la circulaire. Si au moins il y avait eu la prècaution d'envoyer ici des exemplaires en nombre suffisant et revêtus du sceau Patriarcal, ces exemplaires auraient été reçus sans le moindre contestation; mais je suis rèduit à faire ecrire des copies, à les munir de mon sceau pour les authentiquer, et à les envoyer à chaque Evêque, bien qu'il ne me reconnaisse pas. Que pourais je faire de l'unique exemplaire qui m'étè adresseé? Le faire lire dans la petité Eglise des Pères Dominicains, c'était

eveiller chez les opposants les susceptibilités les plux viveux ; le faire lire dans les Eglises Syriennes, c'était une grave imprudence ; le faire lire par certains Prêtres dans les Eglises Chaldéenne, c'était me constituer en tort, car la hierarchie a des loix qu'il faut respecter, même quand il s'agit de Bar-Tatar et d'autres : je davais remettre la circulaire aux Evêques et non pas aux Prêtres. Pour me conformer aux instruction de Votre Eminence, et pour user du seul moyen légitime et prudent qui soit à ma disposition, j'enverrai à l'Evèque de chaque diocèse Chaldèen une copie de la circulaire, une copie munie de mon sceau. Seulement, il est au moins probable que cette copie aura partout le sort qu'elle a eu à Mossul : ou déclarera ne vouloir accepter que l'original, et à dire vrai, ce ne sera pas sans quelque raison, car il est inconcevable qu'en des circostances aussi grâves, un écrit daté de Rome, l'écrit d'un Patriarche, soit adressé à des fidèles dispersés dans tout la Mésopotamie, et leur soit adressé en un seul exemplaire dont les copies sons authentiquées par un homme non reconnu !... quoi qu'1 en soit, je me prêterai à ce que Votre Eminence exige ; je veux que jusqu'au dernier jour ma conscience me rend un bon témoignage : au moins j'aurai executé tous les ordres qui m'ont été donnés, même ceux qui sont penibles et ou ne peut plus humiliants pour moi.

Plusieurs fois j'ai eu la pensée de m'adresser au Saint père en le suppliant humblement de vouloir bien examiner ma conduite et juger mes réclamations ; il est certain que le Saint Père ne permettrait jamais que son représentant fût condamné à une si triste rôle, s'il connaissaiet exactement l'etat des choses. Mais je ne serais ni délicat, ni loyal, si j'avais recours au Souverain Pontife, avant d'en prévenir Votre Eminence. J'attendrai donc la réponse à cette lettre, pour savoir à quoi me déterminer.

Agréez, Eminence, l'expression du profond respect avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être.

Les très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur

F. B. Marie Henri Amanton

DOCUMENT 72

LETTER OF POPE PIUS IX TO THE VICAR APOSTOLIC OF VERAPOLY AUTHORIZING HIM TO EXCOMMUNICATE ROKOS

Vicario Apostolico Verapolis significat, per S. Congregationem ipsum accepturum esse literas Patriarchae Chaldaeorum revocantes Episcopum Rochum, quem ad Malabares eiusdem Chaldaei ritus contra voluntatem Sedis Apostolicae miserat, contra quem, si parere renuat, ipse excommunicationis sententiam ferre debeat.

Venerabili fratri Bernardino Archiepiscopo Pharsaliensi Vicario Apost. Verapolitarno,

Pius PP. IX. Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Hisce literis tibi, ven. frater, significamus ven. fratrem Iosephum Patriarcham Babyloniensem Chaldeorum nostro iussu compulsum dedisse epistolam ad statim revocandum Episcopum Rochum, quem istuc ad Malabaricae Ecclesiae negotia procuranda contra nostram voluntatem miserat; nostra autem Congregatio Fidei Propagandae praeposita huiusmodi epistolam tibi mittet, ut eam nulla interposita mora eidem Rocho tuto tradendam cures. Eâ spe sustentamur fore ut ipse nostris et Patriarchae mandatis continuo, prout debet, obediet. Si autem ipse ob suam contra canonicas sanctiones agendi rationem ecclesiasticis iam implicitus censuris reluctari ausus fuerit, tibi in mandatis dedimus, ut in eumdem, rite prius monitum, excommunicationis sententiam feras. Denique hanc etiam occasionem libenter amplectimur, ut iterum testemur et confirmemus praecipuam nostrarn in te caritatem. Cuius quoque pignus esse volumus apostolicam benedictionem quam toto cordis affectu tibi ipsi, ven. frater, cunctisque clericis laicisque fidelibus tuae curae commendatis peramanter impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscat., die V. septembris MDCCCLXI., pontificatus nostri anno XVI.

DOCUMENT 73

REPLY OF POPE PIUS IX TO CHAVARA AND COMPANIONS DECLARING THE ILLEGITIMACY OF THE MISSION OF ROKOS

Nonnullos sacerdotes ritus Syro-Chalaei Malabaris, Pontificem sciscitantibus de missione Episcopi Rochi, monet, hunc Patriarcha Chaldaeroum missum ad illos fuisse contra voluntatem pontificiam, eum proinde nulla in eos auctoritate pollere, ac iam praecepisse ut revocaretu, ipsos autem Vicario Apostolico Verapolis subiacere debere.

Dilectis filiis presbyteris Cyriaco Eliae Perior, Alexandro Eliseo aliisque presbyteris ritus Syro-Malabarici, in Vicariatu Apostolico Verapolitano,

Pius PP. IX. Dilecti fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Perlibenter vestras obsequentissimas nuper accepimus litteras die XIX. iunii datas, quibus, dilecti filii, suppliciter ad nos confugistis rogantes, ut vobis significare velimus, quomodo vos gerere debeatis erga Episcopum Rochum, qui istuc venit die IX. maii vertentis anni cum litteris ven. fratris Iosephi Patriarchae Babylonensis Chaldaeorum, asserens se ab ipso Patriarcha nostro iussu missum fuisse, ut istius malabaricae Ecclesiae regimen procurationemque susciperet. Gratum admodum nobis accidit, vos in tanti momenti negotio Apostolicam hanc Sedem omnium ecclessiarum matrem et magistram consuluisse, ut omne a vobis errandi amoveritis periculum. Itaque sciatis velimus, eumdem Episcopum Rochum istuc se contulisse commemorati Patriarchae arbitrio contra expressam nostram voluntatem, cum ipsi Patriarchae iampridem in mandatis dedissemus, ut in ecclesiasticis ecclesiae Malabaricae negotiis se nullo prorsus modo immisceat. Ex quo, dilecti filii, per vos ipsi intelligitis, Episcopum Rochum nulla omnino auctoritate et iurisdictione pollere, ac veluti intrusum habendum esse, ipsumque in ecclesiasticas incidisse censuras, ac proinde verum legitimumque istius Malabaricae Ecclesiae praepositum esse ven. fratrern Bernardinum Archiepiscopum Pharsaliensem, quem istic nostrum et huius Apostolicae Sedis Vicarium constituimus et a quo in omnibus pendere debetis. Atque

etiam vobis manifestamus, nulla nos interposita mora Patriarchae Iosepho praecepisse; ut eumdem Episcopum Rochum statim revocaret. Dum vero de his rebus vos certiores facere properamus, caelestium omnium munerum auspicem ac paternae nostrae in vos caritatis pignus apostolicam benedictionem intimo cordis affectu vobis ipsis, dilecti filii, permanenter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die v. septem. MDCCCI.XI., pontificatus nostri anno XVI.]

DOCUMENT 74

LETTER OF CHAVARA AND COMPANIONS TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE SEEKING CLARIFICATIONS

Lettera di Ciriaco Chavare Priore e compagni all'Em.mo Prefetto (2 ottobre 1861). Originale è in lingua siriaca.

Eminentissimo e rev.mo sig. cardin. Ales. Barnabò, Prefetto della S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide,

Noi umili vostri Figli, cioè P. Ciriaco, con altri sacerdoti che stiamo sotto la direzzione (obbedienza) di Mons. Bernardino Vescovo di Verapoli; noi dico bacciando le sue benedette mani, gli scriviamo per la quinta volta la ricordandanza (sic) della nostra amarezza, cioè Mons. Tommaso (Rokos) vedendo che nessun profitto ha fatto fin'ora colle sue contrarietà, e neppure ha ricevuta alcuna risposta dalle sue lettere da che è arrivato qui, incominciò a girare per le Chiese ed a dare gl'ordini sacri ai dotti, agli ignoranti, ai buoni ed ai malvaggi; ed in questi ultimi quattro tempi del passato Settembre ha conferito il sacerdozio, il diaconato ed altri ordini, e questo ha tutto in Rito Caldaico, che fin'ora non l'abbiamo veduto mai.

Nel mentre che c'è giunta la vostra istruzione, che mandaste a Mgr. Bernardino, il Roccos predicava in tutte le chiese a lui obbedienti che quel scritto non è venuto da Roma ma bensì è stata composto dal medesimo Bernardino; a noi poi è venuto (continua il Roccos), una lettera dall'ill.mo David, vescovo latino Galikia, che ci la mandata da Roma e così in essa mi scriveva: Nostro Patriarca Caldeo quando arrivò alla porta della città di Roma, il Papa mandò

ad incontrarlo tutti i Cardinali, e colla grande onorificenza fu egli da loro accolto; non solo questo, ma quando il S. Padre intese che il Delegato Apostolico aveva ostato gli affari di Mgr. Tommaso (Roccos), subito s'inquitò contro di lui, e lo fece chiamare a Roma affligendolo con ogni rimprovero...Così Egli quotidianamente e da per tutto và predicando.

In conseguenza di ciò vi perghiamo di darci presto la Risposta della nostra lettera che mandammo a nostro Signore e questa risposta sia in lingua nostra Chaldaica con sigillo del Papa, e così poter far leggere a tutti quanti la verità dell'affare; ed anche a farla leggere a tutti quei Preti, che si non untiti col Mgr. Tommaso (Roccos), e finalmente per chiudere la bocca degli Iniqui. Noi speriamo che questo vescovo sarà chiamato a Bagdad, e certo, che appena costui sarà levato da quà, finiranno tutte le tribulazioni, e le confusioni del Popolo, che se Esso si fermerà qui, nessuno tornerà in dietro, anche sia scommunicato.

Finalmente chiediamo la V. Santa benedizione sopra di noi e sopra tutte le nostre chiese. Amen.

Dal monastero di Giuseppe a Mannanam, 2 Ottobre 1861

Seguono le firme: Fr. Ciriaco Elia Perjod; Fr. Ciriaco Albertos; Don Giuseppe servo di Christo; Don Giorgio servo di Christo; Don Giovanni servo di Christo; Don Zacharia servo di Christo.

DOCUMENT 75

LETTER OF MSGR. BERNARDINO TO THE PROPAGANDA FIDE ACKNOWLEDGING THE RECEIPT OF DOCUMENTS FROM ROME

Monsig. Bernardino Arcivescovo Vicario Apostolico (1 Novembre 1861) sulla lettera, che il Patriarca Caldeo scrisse da Roma al Vescovo Rochos.

Eminenza Rma

Credo necessario d' informare V. Emza essermi stato giorni fa assicurato di aver questo intruso Vescovo Caldeo ricevuta una lettera di costà del suo Patriarca, ed averla pubblicata nelle Chiese

ove attualmente sotto il titolo di visita va, se può, o per eccitare, o confermare la ribellione, nella quale lettera gli da notizia, che le loro cose in Roma vanno bene; e lo esorta a star forte; poiché egli (il Patriarca medesimo) verrà qua con un altro Vescovo.

Sono stato inoltre di bel nuovo assicurato, e mi sembra di averne ancor io già informata V. Eminenza, che il detto Patriarca prima di recarsi in Roma scrisse, e fece scrivere a questi ribelli d'esser fermo nell'accennata determinazione di venire quà a por la sua Sede qualora fosse privato di quella di Bagdad.

Sappia altresì V. Eminenza che il detto Patriarca tiene l'intruso e questi ribelli al giorno di ogni cosa. Prima che V. Emza me lo notificasse con la sua pregiatissima lettera dei 31 Agosto corr. anno, questi già sapevano l'arrivo in Roma del medesimo, e dei compagni: ed ora prima di ricevere 1' ultimo plico eran giorni che sapevano già, avere il S.Padre risposto alla lettera di questo Clero fedele, e di avere dato a me l'ordine di scomunicare l'intruso. Tuttociò mi rende molto sospette di doppiezza le operazioni del Patriarca, e dei suoi compagni.

Jeri a sera, come ho accennato, mi giunse il plico di V. Emza in cui ricevei le due veneratissime lettere di Sua Santità accompagnate dalla pregiatissima di V. Emza in data del 7 Settembre corr. an. con la lettera del Patriarca da farsi tenere all'intruso Rochos, e mi studierò di eseguire scrupolosamente, quanto in esse mi viene ingiunto. Veramente le attendevo con grande ansietà, perchè dal buon effetto che produsse il previo avviso di V. Emza nella citata lettera arguivo il gran bene, che saran per produrre in questa cristianità le parole del medesimo Vicario di Gesù Cristo. Ma riguardo all'intruso, e suoi complici massime Ecclesiastici, fuori di un miracolo della infinita Misericordia, non mi sembra esservi da sperare che si ravvedano ed obediscano. *Omissis* etc.

Altro per ora non mi occorre. Raccomando pertanto me e questo Vicariato alle orazioni e *Memento* di V. Emza le bagio la Sacra Porpora e con profondo rispetto mi protesto

Di V. Eminenza Revma Verapoli 1 Novembre 1861. Umo Dvmo Obmo Servo, Fr. Bernardino di S. Teresa, Arcivescovo Vicario Apostolico.

DOCUMENT 76

LETTER OF BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA TRANSMITTING A FORGED LETTER CIRCULATED IN MALABAR

Monsig. Bernardino Arcivescovo Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli (4 Novembre 1861) trasmette tradotta in Italiano una lettera pubblicata dal Vescovo Rochos in lingua Malabaritana.

Eminenza Revma

Ora appunto ho ricevuta Copia di una lettera, che questo intruso Rocos in lingua Malabar ha pubblicata, ed in pari tempo ho avuta un'analoga notizia, e mi affretto di communicar l'una e l'altra a V. Emza, perchè credo possan servirle.

La copia di detta lettera fedelmente tradotta dal Malabar la vedrà qui annessa. La notizia è questa. «Che il vicegerente²³ in Bagdad del Patriarca ha scritto a questo intruso Rocos di non credere, nè far caso veruno di ciò che il Patriarca gli scriva da Roma; ma solo dovrà far caso di quello, che gli scriverà quando sarà in Bagdad».

Raccomando me e questo Vicariato alle orazioni e *Memento* di V. Emza le bagio la Sacra Porpora e con profonda venerazione mi confermo.

Di V. Ema

Verapoli 4 Novembre 1861.

Umo Devmo Obbmo servo, Fr. Bernardino di S. Teresa, Arcivescovo Vic. Apost.

Copia d' un ordine venuto da Roma.

Lettera scritta da Monsig. Trios (*Trioche*) francese Arcivescovo e servo fedele del S. Padre che con grande zelo favorisce il nostro Patriarca e i nostri affari.

²³ Forse era D. Luigi Sciauriz

Dice in questa lettera che il nostro Patriarca giunse in Roma, che quando fu vicino tutto il collegio dei Cardinali conforme all'ordine del Papa con grandissima solennità usci ad incontrarlo coi più grandi onori e lo fecero ascendere sul cocchio stesso del Papa, che quando fu al palazzo Papale ivi gli assegnarono un appartamento, che mai si prestarono tanti onori a nessun Patriarca, che tutti furono stupiti e lietissimi al contemplare il venerando aspetto della sua canizie: Che già prima il Patriarca aveva informato il S. Padre di tutte le opposizioni e violenze che i Missionarii e Delegato Apostolico di Mussul avean commesso, dei disordini che per loro cagione alcuni hanno fatto insorgere nel nostro Malabar, che in quest'informazione data al S. Padre il Patriarca per mezzo del sullodato Monsig. Trios 1'aveva ancor informato delle nostre miserie ed affanni: Che a tali notizie il S. Padre sommamente addolorato dopo d' averli severamente ripresi subito li richiamò, che il S. Padre chiamò a Roma il Vescovo che partì da Portogallo per l'Indie, che giunsero in Roma le lettere del nostro Arcivescovo Thoma unitamente alle nostre suppliche e agli scritti dei nostri avversarii, che onde por fine a queste liti il S. Padre determinossi di mandare il Patriarca nostro Padre, che mai darà ascolto alle suppliche e preghiere dei nostri avversarii, e che soltanto prima del venturo Avvento saran date le debite determinazioni circa quest' affare. Che infine tutti preghiamo fervorosamente il Signore onde ci faccia la grazia poter godere qui stesso del venerando aspetto del nostro Patriarca e si degni mandar ad effetto la sua buona volontà e desiderio circa di noi, e di concedergli infine lunghi anni di vita.

21 Ottobre 1861.

Conforme all' originale: Antonio Cassanaro.]

DOCUMENT 77

RESPONSE OF BISHOP ROKOS TO VICAR APOSTOLIC BERNARDINO CONCERNING THE THREAT OF EXCOMMUNICATION

File Allegato al Num. 75.

Thoma Arcivescovo del popolo Caldaico Malabarese al nostro Fratello Monsignor Bernardino Arcivescovo di Farsaglia e Delegato Apostolico del Malabar,

Facciam noto alla Fraternità vostra, che giunse presso di noi la vostra lettera dei 6 Novembre a cui unita trovammo una lettera scritta a nome del Patriarca di data molto anteriore. Non essendo questa lettera conforme alle lettere, che ordinariamente ci scrive il Patriarca e non essendovi in essa neppur scritto il nostro nome, noi non le possiamo prestar fede di sorta. Ci ordina in essa di far ritorno in Bassura o in Mussul, dal che noi ricaviamo che ancor non ricevette il Patriarca le lettere, che noi le spedimmo. Oltre di ciò nella vostra lettera ci ordinate di dar ascolto alla voce del Sommo Pontefice e del Illmo Patriarca, e far ritorno alle nostre contrade. Ma sappiate fratel nostro, che noi in tutto il corso di nostra vita mai lasciammo di ascoltare gli ordini dell' Illmo Patriarca e del Sommo Pontefice, e tuttora ancor l'ascoltiamo. Ci dite inoltre, che se noi non ritorniamo ci fulminerete la scomunica, sappiate però che noi essendo in aspettativa di riscontro alle nostre lettere da Sua Santità il Sommo Pontefice e Sua Beatitudine il Patriarca, prima di ricevere tali lettere di riscontro nè noi possiamo ritornare, nè pur il permetterebbe questo nostro popolo. Se pertanto voi con tutto ciò cercate d'esser nostro nemico e far vendetta su di noi non lasciate pur di vendicarvi, giacché nè noi, nè il nostro popolo non diamo ascolto nè riceviamo la vostra scomunica, vi notifichiamo però che in ultimo vi pentirete d' aver fulminato tale scomunica, ma a nulla varrà il vostro pentimento. State bene.

L'anno del Signore 1861, il 1 Décembre.

DOCUMENT 78

LETTER OF BERNARDINO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE INFORMING HIM OF THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF ROKOS

Monsig. Bernardino Arcivescovo Vicario Apostolico di Verapoli (13 Decembre 1861) riferisce di aver scomunicato il Vescovo Rochos: e trasmette una lettera del medesimo.

Eminenza Revma

Nelle anteriori lettere quattro in numero inviatele nel prossimo passato mese di Novembre ragguagliava Vostra Emza dei procedimenti e fatti più rimarchevoli di questo infelice Vescovo Rocos, che qui si fa chiamare Tomas, ed altresì dei come gli feci tenere la lettera di richiamo del suo Patriarca, non che del conto che egli, l'Intruso ne ha fatto; ed anche le compiegai una Circolare dal medesimo emanata in seguito di detta lettera, e dei miei Monitori che l'accompagnavano.

Ora vengo ad informare Vostra Eminenza che avendo fatti passare ventidue giorni dalla consegna di detta lettera e Monitori nè vedendo essorvi neppur indizio di voler esso obbedire, ma che pel contrario persistendo nella intrapresa carriera ed impegno dimostrava a chiare note voler ad ogni modo resistere, e nulla omettere anche di più iniquo per riuscirvi, in fine nel dì trenta del p. p. Novembre col parere di questi Padri giudicai di solennemente scommunicarlo, o anatematizzarlo usando della formola mutatis mutandis, e ceremonie prescritte dal Pontificale per questo atto. Fallo ciò, per via di un Cassanar dei nostri Terziarii mandai al medesimo intruso Vescovo Rocos la scritta e pubblicata sentenza di Scommunica, trovandosi egli in una Parrocchia di qui distante circa una lega, volgarmente detta *Gnarica*, e dai ribelli Cassanar e secolari, che ivi si trovavano radunati, ne ebbe per mercede buon numero di vituperi, ed insulti. Alcuni giorni dopo il qui narrato, e dopo aver mandato in Cuccino un Cassanar per consultare l' eretico Vescovo detto il *Bava* suo protetto, direttore ec. m'inviò per posta la lettera, ehe qui compiego con la sua versione. L'altra lettera che qui pur vede compiegata, diretta a Sua Santità è la mia risposta, che prego Vostra Emza a fargliela umiliare.

La lettera che Sua Santità si è deguata diriggere in risposta a questi ubbidienti e fedeli Cassanari è stata con grande riverenza e giubilo da essi ricevuta, con grande apparato e pompa pubblicata nella Chiesa del Convento maggiore dal mio Vicario Generale con un analogo sermone, ed ha prodotto gran bene, di modo che alcune intiere Parrocchie han ritroceduto dalla ribellione, e molti delle ancor contumaci si sono ravveduti, e se non fosser circa una ventina di Cassanar, che sembrano invasi dal principe delle tenebre, e con ogni indicibil maniera ed arte si affaticano instancabili per compiere i desideri del lor padre, credo che quasi tutti avrebbero già dato ascolto ed obbedito alle voci del Vicario di Gesù Cristo, e l'Intruso si sarebbe trovato coi soli più perversi del Clero, e popolo; tanto più per esser già da qualche tempo cessata del tutto l'occulta, e coperta protezione del Governo Brittannico a favor di Bagdad, ed essersi posto nel vero stato di non interferenza: cosicché i due Divan di questi due Regni han potuto emanare, e fan rigorosamente osservare il Decreto da me in altra accennato, di non poter cioè l'Intruso por piede in niuna Parrocchia non intieramente del suo partito, con che gli han tagliate le gambe.

Dopo il fin qui narrato mi pervenne la lettera di Vostra Eminenza in data dei 28. decorso Settembre con le annesse copie della lettera di Sua Santità, e della *Circolare del Patriarca* Caldeo, la quale dall'esser stata quà subito inviata dal Vicegerente, credo, di detto Patriarca, e da questo Intruso pubblicata, si rileva essergli stata molto gradita, come lo è a questi ribelli, che prendon da questo motivo di più ostinarsi, *penetrando essi bene il senso di alcune espressioni, che in detta Circolare si contengono*, ed andando gonfi di vanagloria per esser ivi dichiarati di Nazione Caldei, il che Dio non voglia esser stato scritto con malizia, affinchè cioè non si raffreddino nella loro impresa, essendoché in questo paese ciascuno ha per suo grande onore il poter in qualsiasi modo farsi tenere per straniero di origine almeno.

Le lettere che Vostra Emza mi accenna avermi inviate cioè dei 17 Giugno, 31 Agosto, e 7 Settembre le ho ricevute.

Ora ho inteso che i ribelli han determinato d'inviare al Patriarca Caldeo una deputazione di venti *Cassanar* affin d'intendere se veramente il detto Patriarca siasi mutato di opinione,

e per effettuar questa spedizione ec. han raccolte quattromila Rupie, che formano diecimila franchi, spogliando, s'intende, le chiese. Però questa notizia non è certa. Certo è che l'Intruso ha giurato ad essi sul Evangelio, che mai li abbandonerà, ed essi mai abbandoneranno lui.

Altro per ora non mi occorre, se non pregare Vostra Eminenza di aver presente me, e questo Vicariato Apostolico nei suoi *Memento*, e con profonda riverenza bagiandole la S. Porpora mi confermo

Di V. Emza Revma

Verapoli Decembre 1861.

Umo Devmo Obbmo servo, Fr. Bernardino di S. Teresa C. S., Arcivescovo Vic. Apostolico.

DOCUMENT 79

LETTER OF THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE TO CHAVARA AND COMPANIONS INFORMING THEM OF THE SURRENDER OF THE PATRIARCH IN ROME

La Sacra Congregazione riconosce le diverse lettere di Chavara riguardo al Vescovo Roccos e loda la sua fedeltà e l'obbedienza verso la Santa Sede.

Molto Rev.o Padre

In riscontro alle varie lettere inviatemi dalla P. V. ancora a nome dei suoi correligiosi debbo loro significare che negli ultimi disgraziati movimenti dei caldei, hanno fatto benissimo a tenersi uniti al vicario apostolico di Verapoli, ascoltando solo la voce ed eseguendo le disposizioni ordinate da lui. Avranno dal medesimo appreso che il Patriarca di Babilonia e l'arcivescovo di Diarbekir chiamati in Roma dal Santo Padre hanno riconosciuto e condannato la deplorevole condotta tenuta da essi e dai loro confratelli nella disgraziatissima vicenda avuta costì. Quindi domandarono perdono al S. Padre e impetrando dal medesimo l'assoluzione dalla censura e la dispensa dalla irregolarità contratta dopo aver solennemente promesso a questa Sacra Congregazione e

ripetuto dinanzi al Vicario di Gesù Cristo che tornati alle loro Chiese avrebbero usato efficacemente della loro autorità per rimediare ai mali da loro cagionati richiamando intanto l'intruso Roccos dal Malabar, lo Sciauriz da Bagdad ed allontanando il Bartratar da Mossul. Si confortino dunque a rimaner saldi nella fedeltà alla legittima autorità e nell'attaccamento alla S. Sede, nella speranza che mediante l'aiuto del Signore tutte le questioni suscitate nel Malabar possono incontrare una pacifica soluzione colla piena soddisfazione dei buoni e con la sincera conversino dei traviati, e prego il Signore che loro conceda ogni bene.

Roma, dalla Propaganda Fide, l'8 Marzo 1862 Al piacere di V. S., il Card. Barnabò Pref.

DOCUMENT 80

LETTER OF PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE ASKING HIM TO FULFIL THE PROMISES MADE DURING HIS VISIT IN ROME

Versione della lettera Araba di Monsig. Audu Patriarca Caldeo diretta li 4 Agosto 1862 all' Emmo Prefetto, nella quale dice di aver adempite le promesse fatte in Roma, e domanda che si compiano quelle, che vi ricevette.

Mossul 4 Agosto 1862

Eminentìssimo Principe

Ricevetti le sue due lettere, la prima in data 12 Febbraio, e la seconda ai 24 di Aprile, le lessi, ma in quanto al senso le trovai strane, poichè in esse ella mi fa la prescia, ch'io adempia le solenni promesse fatte a lei, ed alla Sua Santità, nel richiamare, cioè, il Vescovo Toma Rocos da Malabar, e Bartatar da Mossul, e Sciauriz da Bagdad, e finalmente ella vuole da me, ch'io procurasi che il popolo Caldeo veneri i religiosi latini, ed i religiosi di Mar-hermes: ed in modo speciale che presenti questa venerazione, quest'amore a Delegato Apostolico. Ed ella dice che se io non adempierò presto questi obblighi di cui me ne sono incaricato, allora ella sarà costretta a pubblicare tutto ciò che si è succeduto tra noi in Roma,

in riguardi di queste faccende, e con questo modo giustificherà la condotta della S. Sede. E da questi detti ella mostra ch'io quasi non son desso che le diedi quelle ben note lettere²⁴ per il ritorno delle suddette persone, e le diedi non per altro che per il rispetto alla Sua Santità, e se non fosse questo motivo, non l'avrei date, poichè io era certo che da si fatte lettere, dovean sorgere ben presto infinite dicerie, ed infiniti danni al popolo Caldeo esistente sia in Malabar, sia nella Mesopotamia; poichè la materia già era inoltrata per cui fu intrapreso l'incommodissimo viaggio a Roma.

Nulla dico intorno la triste commozione che al suo tempo fu fatta nel popolo a cagione di queste lettere; tornai da Roma alla mia Sede, e non cessi affatto a lodare e ringraziare i benefizii di Sua Santità, e parimente il zelo, e la cura della S. Eminenza, che quasi ella ha procurato molto per adempiere il mio desiderio, non pensando io affatto a tutto ciò che si diceva contro me, e contro i miei Vescovi, che tutto si ridondava ad infamare noi, ed il nostro onore, e la nostra reputazione. E non solo si diceva contro noi prima della nostra partenza a Roma, come v. g. siamo scommunicati, legati, impazziti, ec. ma poi di più si moltiplicavano le dicerie, come v. g. siamo stati cacciati dalla presenza di Sua Santità, e siamo carcerati nel S. Uffizio, ed impediti dalla messa ec. ec. narrazioni, che da se medesime commossero la nazione e non la lasiano nella tranquillita, e la esacerbano, e irritano cosicchè la impediscono a fare la pace e stabilire la carità tra essi, come io da tutto il cuore desideravo, e procuravo. E quanto siamo giunti col mio fratello Di Natale di queste contrade, abbiamo incominciato a fare tutto ciò che ci avvertì Sua Santità, allorchè abbiamo avuto la felicità di presentarsi a lui, cioè abbiamo incominciato a tranquillizzare la nazione coll'offrirle ogni mezzo, ammonizioni, per arrivare al nostro intento; e tutto ciò, già fin adesso ella ha avuto la contezza: (che il mezzo più sicuro e capace a togliere queste inimicizie, era il dare alle nostre mani una dichiarazione, colla Circolare della Sua Santità, avente la dichiarazione che il Malabar appartiene alla Sedia di Babilonia; e che si potrebbe

²⁴ Allude alle lettere che sono in Somm. Num. LX. pag. 203. Num. LXI. pag. 204.

consecrare Vescovi, quando si troveranno persone pie ed idonee nella scienza e diriggere questo popolo. E la Sua Eminenza ci promise spesse volte di darci, e finalmente nulla ci diede e c'inviò colle mani vuote, ed ora desidera da noi la tranquillità della nazione, *et quidem* appena che saremo arrivati, che quasi i cuori degli uomini stassero nelle nostre mani).

Ciò non ostante mentre noi procuravamo a persuadere la nazione che rifiuta totalmente la persuasione, per non aver veduto in mano la sullodata dichiarazione, ed ecco ci vennero da India a popolo Caldeo di queste parti, le lettere nelle quali la copia del di lei scritto inviato a D. Ciriaco, ed ai suoi compagni in Malabar nella lingua Caldaica scritta alli 31 Agosto 1862 (sic) N. 4 ed in essa lettera queste parole = Difficoltà grande è giunta a Chorkan l'affare di Malabar = ²⁵ parole che irritarono, ed inasprirono la nazione a non accettare affatto le nostre ammonizioni, e consigli, e non credere affatto i nostri discorsi in riguardo delle lodi alla Sua Emza. E dopo alcuni pochi giorni vennero i di lei scritti inviati ai preti Siri di Bagdad, ed ai religiosi di Mar-hermes in Mossul, nelli quali ella racconta a loro tutto ciò che si è passato segretamente tra noi, e lei. Per tranquillizzare la di lei coscienza, in riguardo della consecrazione di Toma Rocos, ci ha fatto ella la prescia di prendere da noi, in modo di segreto, e che nessuno sappia la carta, ²⁶ ed ecco la cosa da per tutto si è pubblicata, e da per tutto si predica dai preti Siri in Bagdad, colla efficacità del di lei scritto a loro inviato che dice cosî "Il Patriarca Caldeo e il suo Vescovo non furono ricevuti in Roma, se non dopo aver ottenuto il perdono e presa l'assoluzione dalla scomunica ec.," ed ella loda coloro che avevano preso la parte del Delegato, il quale, come tante volte ci avete confessato, ch'egli abbia errato. E nulla dico intorno la lettera che fû mandata dalla parte di lei al Patriarca Samhiri (Siro) ed ad altro anche, soffro tutto per la maggior gloria di Dio, mentre io altrimenti sperava da Sua Emza per avermi fatto specialmente

 $^{^{25}}$ Queste parole sono riportate in Caldaico; e tale n'è la versione fattane da D.G. Guriel.

²⁶ Allude alla istanza, che il Patriarca diresse al S. Padre per avere la assoluzione ecc. riportata in Sommario LXII. pag. 205.

l'onore di essere il procuratore²⁷ di questo Patriarcato, e ciò per accrescere la stima e l'onore di questo patriarcato, e non già per avvilirlo, e vilipenderlo dinanzi le altre tutte nazioni, e sino dinanzi l'infimi villani, e semplici.

E queste lettere non solo resero nullo il mio lavoro ma mi imbarazzarono totalmente, e mi resero odioso agli occhi di tutti i figli della mia nazione, di modo che tutte le mie parole più non si ascoltano, e non si credono, e non si accettano, ed inoltre hanno incominciato a scrivere a me e al mio fratello De Natali delle lettere, e coi discorsi offensivi a me, ed al lui, e con tal modo, che non si può affatto soffrirlo. E le copie d'alcune lettere si sono già inviate dal suddetto mio fratello alla Sua Emza; ed ella già le abbia lette. E s'è possibile diciamo dunque, che cosa ella sperava da me ch'io le dicessi, e vi scrivessi un ora prima in riguardo della mia nazione sciagurata? Dopo ch'ella ha chiuso alla mia faccia la porta di tutti i mezzi? E non mi bastarono tutti questi dolori, ella vuole di nuovo accrescerli coi suoi due scritti suddetti nei quali m'intimorisce di pubblicare tutto ciò che accadde tra noi in Roma riguardo queste faccende? Ma io non capisco, cosa le rimase che non l'abbia pubblicato per giustificare la condotta della S. Sede? Se vi è una cosa ignota a noi e nota a lei, la pubblichi pure ed io la soffrirò con tutto ciò che ho sofferto fin d'ora, ringraziando però sempre i di lei favori! E noi siamo già preparati a soffrire tutte le cose a gloria di Dio, poichè colla nostra pazienza dobbiamo guadagnare le nostre anime.

Ecco che le nostre promesse si son adempite, abbiamo richiamato il Vescovo Toma Rocos, Bartatar e Scauriz, ciascuno al suo posto, questa notizia deve rallegrarvi senza dubbio. Però solamente desidero dalla S. Emza a considerare, quanto sia perfetta la loro obbedienza, e non sono come si pensava di loro, poichè essi sarebbero ritornati prima di questo tempo, se non fossero impediti dal freddo dell'inverno, e dalla contrarietà totale del popolo che l'impediva ad uscire. Quanto al Vescovo Toma Rocos, quantunque

²⁷ A fine di esimere il Patriarca dal peso di ritenere in Roma un Procuratore, ed anche per fargli cosa grata l'Emo Prefetto si compiaceva promettergli di aver cura speciale della nazione Caldea.

egli tornò malgràdo i Malabarici che sino a questo dì non cessano a richiedere da noi ad inviarli altri Vescovi invece di questo, tuttavia non si contentarono dal richiedere, ma eziandio mandarono di nuovo alcune persone per essere consecrati Vescovi, e se non vogliamo consecrarli da noi alcuni, dopo due mesi in circa forse verranno a Mossul, ma noi anticipatamente abbiam fatto consapevole il nostro procuratore a Bagdad, che li persuadesse a ritornare al loro sito facendo loro conoscere che noi non li consacreremo affatto senza la licenza espressa da Sua Santità, ma non credo che saranno persuasi; e nemmeno i Caldei esistenti in Bagdad e Mossul ec. lasciano la loro protezione in pro d'essi, poichè i suddetti non vogliono tornare vuoti, e se non sarà da noi consecrato un vescovo, saranno costretti d'andare presso i Nestoriani, o presso i Giacobiti, imperocchè il Vescovo Giacobita che sta in India ha scritto al Patriarca, ed alla sua nazione, che si procurassero in pro degli affari dei Malabarici inviati a queste parti, e che li accettassero con tutto l'onore, e stima, e che li facessero consecrare Vescovi per l'India se questi hanno tolto la speranza dal nostro Patriarcato; ed inoltre quel suddetto Vescovo ha voluto dal suo Patriarca, che mandasse con questi, altri Vescovi o chierici da sua parte, per ajutarli di ciò la Sua Eminenza ne sia certo e certissimo. Dunque preghiamo V. E. che dopo aver lette queste nostre righe, accomodi questa faccenda secondo la volontà di Dio, e secondo ciò che si richiede dalla carità delle anime riscattate col sangue di G. C. poichè se Ella vuole, può fare questo, ed essendo Ella il nostro Principale Procuratore, la preghiamo e supplichiamo che procuri a facilitare la faccenda di questi poveri, affinchè non sia ella la causa della loro dannazione, giacchè noi siamo certi, che se non li ajuterà in questa volta per adempiere i loro desiderii saranno senza verun dubbio usciti dalle vostre mani, e dalle nostre, e noi saremo scevri ed innocenti dal danno e dal male che sarà per succedere sia nel popolo Malabarico, sia nel popolo esistente in queste parti. Dunque la preghiamo a consigliarci colla sua opinione, ma un ora prima per trovarci cauti.

Quanto a Bartatar, che fû sentito ch'egli abbia dato la dispensa in primo grado d'affinità, queste notizie pervenute alla S. Sede sono del tutto false, e senza fondamento, poichè prima della

nostra partenza a Roma noi l'avevamo data col nostro manoscritto, egli li ha assistiti soltanto, ed ella se vuole, esamini bene, e vedrà che la cosa è come diciamo, poichè non siamo tanti semplici nei nostri affari, sopra tutto in si fatte cose. Noi anche sappiamo il diritto canonico. Dunque stia di buon animo.

Ci siamo meravigliati come ella permise a Chaiat che rimanesse in Mossul fuori della sua diocesi in circa d'un anno perfetto, e dopo che l'abbia lasciata non ci ha detto almeno nelle lettere pervenuteci di colà. Noi desideravamo che stasse in Mossul per la scuola aperta in Mossul, come ella ci ha richiesto, e dopo la sua abdicazione alla sua diocesi, gli abbiam riferito tutto ciò che Sua Eminenza disse intorno alla scuola, ed egli non ci credette: e scrisse a lei per informarci, e secondo le sue parole, che la Sua Eminenza non vuole che abdicasse, ma la diede la licenza che stasse anche un anno; la preghiamo di farci conoscere il suo comando in riguardo di questo. Finalmente già ha sentito Ella il collegio aperto in Mossul fû chiuso, e la prima cagione fù perchè Monsig. Chaiat non volle starvi, giacchè voleva che la spesa sia fatta come l'anno precedente, or in quest'anno la nazione, per non aver adempito il suo desiderio, non volle contribuirci affatto e rifiutò assolutamente a consegnare la spesa destinata, e che consegnava l'anno precedente; per ciò siamo stati costretti a chiuderla pro tempore, sino a che Iddio avrà di noi la pietà e della nostra povera mal augurata nazione.

Ecco in breve ciò ch'era necessario ad informarla intorno della mia nazione, spero una risposta efficace a guarire la sua infermità al più presto che sia possibile. Addio.

DOCUMENT 81

LETTER OF PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE ADVANCING BITTER COMPLAINTS

Lettera di gravi ed acerbe lagnanze scritta il 1 Settembre 1862 da Monsig. Patriarca Caldeo di Babilonia all'Emo Card Barnabò Prefetto di Propaganda (Traduzione del P. Ambrogio Darauni Abbate Mararonita).

Fratello Carmo e Revmo

Sento grandissimo dolore che io dall'Emza Vostra altro non ricevo che rimproveri, umiliazioni e dispiaceri invece di ricevere dalla parte dell'Emza Vostra consolazioni, trionfi, e glorie; mentre che l'Emza Vostra non ignora che io mi trovo in mezzo a nemici della nostra Religione, e che io aspettava con anzietà notizie consolanti dalle E. V. è arrivata una lettera della Fraternità Vostra al Revmo Amanton in data del 19 Luglio la quale conteneva, che noi abbiamo domandato per mezzo del Reverendo Delegato affine di ottenere da Roma l'assoluzione al nostro figlio il Vescovo Tomas Rocos (come ha scritto alla Fraternità Vostra il Delegato), e con tutto ciò noi non abbiamo manifestato al suddetto Delegato il nostro desiderio su questo oggetto minimamente, perciò la Fraternità Vostra appoggiata sulla lettera del Delegato dice, che non si può assolvere il lodato Vescovo prima di verificare, e di accertarsi che sia preparato veramente per ricevere la penitenza, perchè è scomunicato nominatamente per ordine dei S. Padre per mezzo del Delegato Apostolico del Malabar. Monsig. Amanton venne da me apportatore di una lettera Vostra a Monsig. Rocos ed ha detto a me di far venire il suddetto Vescovo da Elhabet, perchè faccia penitenza finchè non gli venga l'assoluzione da Sua Santità, e noi non acconsentendo alla domanda di Monsig. Amanton abbiamo detto che noi rispondiamo a Roma sopra noi stessi, e questa è la nostra risposta.

1. La fraternità Vostra non ignora ciò che io scrissi prima unitamente ai Vescovi di nostra Nazione; si al S. Padre come alla Fraternità Vostra in riguardo ai Delegati Apostolici che si trovano nelle nostre parti, che noi non riceviamo, ne conosciamo affatto

quei Delegati che comandino in qualsivoglia maniera nè sopra di noi, nè sopra il nostro Clero, nè sul nostro popolo; perchè è cosa nuova nella, e specialmente manderebbe in rovina il nostro Patriarcato, ed i suoi diritti, ed ora pure confessiamo che non riconosciamo questo diritto nei Delegati Suddetti, nè gli vogliamo.

- 2. Prima della partenza di Monsig. Toma pel Malabar nella riunione dei nostri vescovi fù deciso, che il sullodato Rocos nel tempo della sua assenza non debba ricevere qualunque ordine, fino anche da Sua Santità se non gli perviene per mezzo nostro, e questa decisione è stata scritta, e sigillata da noi e da tutti nostri Vescovi, e da Monsig. Ebdejesu Chaiat e dal Superiore altresì del Convento, ed è stata consegnata nelle mani di Monsig. Rocos.
- 3. Quanto noi fummo a Roma l'Emza Vostra ha chiesto a me, che io scrivessi le note lettere per fare ritornare i miei Vicari al loro destino, ed il suddetto Rocos ritornò alla sua Sedia, nel tempo stesso io non voleva scrivere queste lettere, ed ho detto: mandate voi, scomunicate quei che volete, e fino Monsig. Toma, e Monsig. Michele Bartatar, e chiunque volete; ed avete risposto negativamente, e mi avete risposto che questo offendeva i miei diritti, ed era contrario alla mia giurisdizione.
- 4. Dopo che io ho posto nelle vostre mani le note lettere per far ritornare il suddetto Vescovo, nel nostro discorso la fraternità Vostra mi ha detto che se il suddetto Vescovo dopo di avere ricevuta questa lettera non voleva tornare dal Malabar, gli mandiamo la scomunica, ed io ho risposto negativamente, e vi ho assicurato che noi non ci contentiamo affatto di questo, e vi ho detto, che ogni qual volta non volesse ritornare me lo facciate sapere, e noi lo faremo sortire senza ritardo, e la Fraternità Vostra si è contentata di questo; ma ci è stato manifesto ora che la Fraternità Vostra ha mancato all'accordo che era fra noi: mandando la scomunica assieme con la lettera suddetta, siamo stati molto maravigliati di tale procedimento, e quelle che di più ci ha maravigliati si è la lettera della Fraternità Vostra mandataci in data di 12 Febbraro, ove parla di Monsig. Rocos scongiurandomi di mantenere la promessa: dice "Voi potete, e dovete fare secondo la vostra giurisdizione riguardo al suddetto, come avete preso a voi la premura del suo ritorno" ricordandoci della promessa stabilita fra

di noi Fraternità Vostra, non doveva mai mancare alla promessa. Eh quale giurisdizione potevamo noi esercitare sopra il suddetto Monsignore, dopo che la Fraternità Vostra l'ha presa da noi, e la consegnò al Reverendo Delegato Apostolico Bernardino perchè la esercitasse, siccome realmente ha fatto secondo la vostra lettera a Monsig. Amanton!

5. Quando è arrivata la nostra lettera al Malabar unitamente alla scomunica mandata da parte vostra, il Delegato Bernardino l'ha spedita al Monsig. Toma Rocos unitamente ad una sua lettera al suddetto, nella quale lo sollecita di uscire dal Malabar, e ritornarsene alla sua patria secondo l'ordine del S. Padre, e l'ordine del suo Patriarca; (ed inoltre Bernardino prima di spedire la lettera a Monsig. Rocos ne ha fatto tirare più copie e l'ha fatte leggere per tutte le chiese perchè la conoscessero tutti gli abitanti del Malabar, prima che fosse comunicata a chi era inviata cioè al detto Monsignore Rocos, il quale dopo averla ricevuta, se fosse rimasta segreta se nessuno l'avesse letta, senza dubbio il medesimo poteva facilmente lasciare quelle parti e ritornare senza strepito) e lo ammonisce nella sua lettera dicendo che se non volesse partire, e sottoporsi, ha l'autorità di scomunicarlo per ordine di Sua Santità. Il Vescovo gli rispose "dicendo che sino dall'adolescenza a quel giorno egli non disobbediva al S. Padre, ed al suo Patriarca fino a questo momento mi sottometto a loro e gli seguirò sino alla morte; ma nel momento non posso accertarmi di questa carta se sia quello del mio Patriarca, poichè non è scritta secondo l'uso del mio Patriarca, e perchè il mio nome non è scritto dentro questa carta; inoltre io avevo scritto al S. Padre, ed al mio Patriarca facendoli consapevoli del mio stato, e da questa carta suppongo che non siano arrivate le mie lettere nelle loro mani, per questo prima di ricevere le risposte da Sua Santità, e da Monsig. Patriarca non posso lasciare queste parti, ed i miei connazionali non mi lasciano partire, prima di ricevere una risposta alle loro suppliche da Sua Santità, e da Monsig. Patriarca, e perciò bisogna che io aspetti la risposta: se non mi date tempo finchè abbia ricevuto la risposta, e se volete perseguitarmi ed odiarmi, come avete fatto dicendo di essere scomunicato, sappiate che da voi non ricevo scomuniche". Dopo questa risposta il suddetto Vescovo non ebbe più altra

risposta dal suddetto Delegato, nè in iscritto, nè in parole; ha pensato il Vescovo che il Delegato sia stato contenta della risposta, e dopo due mesi, quando il vescovo si è recato a Kurgin ha conosciuto il nostro volere circa il ritorno da queste parti, subito ha deciso di ritornare; siccome ha inteso colà che il Delegato Bernardino gli aveva intimato la scomunica, il vescovo gli spedì uno scritto domandandogli se veramente gli avesse intimata la scomunica; in secondo luogo gli chiedeva le spese del viaggio; perchè gli abitanti del Malabar non le volevano pagare, perchè non volevano che partisse giammai, ma gli dicevano stà con noi, perchè non vogliamo nutrire ne Papa, ne altri, e non riconosciamo affatto la sua scomunica ec. E quando hanno veduto che il detto Vescovo non udiva i loro voti, hanno promesso di dargli 50,000 lire sterline con la condizione di restare con loro fino all'Autunno, ed egli non ha voluto: Alla fine sono stati obbligati di accusarlo al Governo perchè gli fosse impedita la partenza, ma egli con fatica si è liberato, ed è tornato. Il Delegato Bernardino gli mandò le spese del viaggio senza rispondergli, e fargli sapere qualche cosa sulla scomunica.

6. Quando noi mandammo il Vescovo Rocos pel Malabar, lo mandammo per la nostra Nazione, e non per una straniera Nazione, e siccome trovassi scritto sì nell'antica che nella moderna storia e Sua Santità stessa allorquando noi ci trovavamo in Roma, quando noi godemmo la felice sua presenza, ci ha spiegato verbalmente che il Malabar appartiene a noi, conservato per noi fino a che noi possiamo avere persone che possano assisterlo, e regolarlo, e fino ad ora nè Sua Santità nè i suoi antecessori hanno ordinato Vescovo giuridico pel Malabar, ed i Delegati inviati sono procuratori momentanei; e di poi il cambio del rito dell'azimo al fermentato e cangiamento di alcune cose nel loro rito nella riunione di Manabir (sic)²⁸ ed altri tempi e contro la loro volontà, e con la loro volontà pure è tirannia contro i canoni, e contro tutte l'Encicliche delli Sovrani Pontefici, i quali dicono sempre che tutti vogliono che siano cattolici, e non latini, così pure nell' Enciclica generale in

²⁸ Sembra doversi riferire al Sinodo di Odiamper tenuto nel Malabar l'anno 1599.

data dell'18 Aprile di questo anno Sua Santità Pio IX felicemente Regnante ha assicurato alla Chiesa Universale, e ciò che è di più, ed è cosa nota, che gl'abitanti del Malabar da quando sono andati nelle loro parti i Missionari Latini, e ministravano, fino ad ora non cessarono per quanto poterono con ogni diligenza di rifiutare questa a loro estera giurisdizione.

7. Noi non mandammo il Vescovo nel Malabar se non per togliere i litigi e gli scismi, non che i danni spirituali, e temporali i quali erano continui senza questo invio, come ne abbiamo scritto a Vostra Fraternità ed abbiamo spiegato a voce quando fummo a Roma.

Dopo tutto ciò che abbiamo detto 1. Che il mandare la scomunica a Monsig. Rocos per mezzo del Delegato Bernardino contraria ai diritti del nostro Patriarcato. 2. Se era d'uopo del castigo per il Vescovo Rocos per non aver ascoltato il Delegato Bernardino, che minacciali la scomunica, questa scomunica dovea estendersi a noi, ed a tutti i Vescovo nostri, e non al suddetto vescovo Rocos, perchè noi stessi abbiamo a lui ordinato di nulla ricevere da qualsivoglia se non è per mezzo nostro. 3. Il mandare queste scomuniche da parte Vostra senza nostra intelligenza secondo la Vostra confessione a noi a voce, è cosa contraria alla nostra giurisdizione, ed offesa a noi. 4. È cosa contraria al segreto stabilito fra di noi, sul quale appoggiati abbiamo consegnata quella lettera pel ritorno del Vescovo suddetto. 5. L'invio della scomunica da parte Vostra è contro la volontà del S. Padre, per cui non vale, perchè l'invio di questa scomunica era certamente sotto condizione, cioè se il Vescovo resisteva, come dichiarò il Delegato Bernardino nella lettera a Monsig. Toma Rocos, ed in verità è, che il Vescovo non si oppose all'ordine, ma disse non potere egli lasciare, ne lasciarlo gli abitanti prima di ricevere le risposte delle loro lettere dal S. Padre, e da noi; se il Delegato Suddetto non si contentava delle ragioni del Vescovo, e non voleva concedergli il tempo per ricevere le risposte alla sue lettere, doveva prima di intimare la scomunica spedire in iscritto una lettera una seconda volta al Vescovo, perchè il Vescovo Toma avesse conosciuto, che il Delegato tuttora persisteva, avrebbe fatto il possibile di lasciare un giorno prima il Malabar. Dunque questo ordine è improvviso,

perchè intimato a chi non era disobbediente, ostinato, e perciò chi l'ha intimato ha mancato a ogni canone ed all'ordine di Sua Santità. Se questo ordine è tale, non si suppone che il S. Padre abbia dato simile autorità al Delegato, perchè intimi al suddetto Vescovo la scomunica; Ma siccome da se medesimo, e con spirito di odio ha fatto ciò il Delegato, così la scomunica è nulla. 6. Che il Vescovo Toma non ha fatto mancanza alcuna, nè andando nel Malabar, nè in tutto ciò che colà ha fatto, perchè ha obbedito al suo Superiore, ed alla volontà dell'unione de' suoi Vescovi, ed il suo invio era per una Nazione che lo voleva, e che certamente lui pure voleva, è perciò non vi è luogo a peccato, così non può essere punito con punizione grande come è la scomunica, che è la massima penitenza che trovasi nella Chiesa di Dio.

E perciò in riguardo a tutto ciò che abbiamo esposto, facciamo sapere alla Fraternità Vostra che noi non riceviamo affatto scomunica. 1. Perche è erronea come abbiamo detto. 2. Perchè è intimata da un Delegato che trovasi nelle nostre parti, che se, Iddio non permetta, non volete abbandonare (sic) questo come è di dovere, sappiate che noi non c'entriamo; nè l'intimiamo, nè vogliamo essere responsabili del pessimo esito che arriverà se vi volete mantenere ostinato. 3. Non vogliamo che gl'ordini di Roma che riguardano a noi, ed al nostro Clero, ed alla nostra Nazione circolino, e vadano nelle mani dei Delegati, o per mezzo loro, ma gli vogliamo per mezzo vostro, perche siamo il capo di questa Nazione, e non lo è altri; e pure non vogliamo che le nostre lettere si mandino aperte per mezzo dei Delegati, che prima le leggono, e poi le sigillano, e ce le consegnano, ma desideriamo che di fuori ci sia il Vostro sigillo per non sospettare. Con queste cose noi vediamo bene che i mezzi adoperati con noi sono ad un solo fine, cioè per indebolire il nostro Patriarcato, e per le perdita de suoi diritti, e far sortire la popolazione dalla Nazione Caldea. Mandate adunque o caro fratello gl'ordini che sortono da parte Vostra per le nostre mani, col nostro nome, e mostrate col fatto un poco di amore per la nostra Nazione, e per il suo onore non che per quello del nostro Patriarcato; vedrete allora quanto zelo sarà operato da noi, e dal nostro Clero per il bene della Chiesa, e per la conversione degl'eretici. Quei Missionari che ogni anno spendono immense somme, non possono convertire un anima.

Il Patriarca Nestoriano ha 22 anni e non è un anno che è stato fatto Patriarca. Questi ha ricevuto una decorazione dal governo Ottamano; e non vi è principe che governi come lui senza contrarietà nella sua diocesi, siccome governa questo giovinastro la sua ricca nazione; e noi invece per le moltiplici contrarietà, e guerre fatte senza nostro volere con i Delegati ingiustamente, ed i Missionari, (*sic*) questa circostanza ha preso influenza sulla mia Nazione, la quale non vuole più sentire nè me, ne altri in tutto ciò che non sodisfa alle sue brame diverse; e vi sono altre cose che io voleva scrivervi, ma per non dar più peso mi sono contentato di questo.

Preghiamo la Fraternità Vostra che tutto ciò che è stato scritto in questa, e quelle che abbiamo scritto in quella in data del 4 Agosto dell'anno passato, una delle quali per il S. Padre, l'altra per Voi, riceviate meglio da noi tutto ciò che abbiamo manifestato alla Fraternità Vostra, perchè cessi ogni litigio da parte nostra, certi che altro fine non abbiamo in questo se non la pace, ed il bene delle anime, e noi aspettiamo la risposta salutevole con premura dalla parte Vostra. Ciò è quello che era necessario fare manifesto alla Fraternità Vostra. E così sia.

Scritto nel 1 Settembre nella Residenza Patriarcale di Babilonia in Mossul l'anno di Cristo 1862.

+ Giuseppe Audo Patriarca di Babilonia.

DOCUMENT 82

LETTER OF APOSTOLIC DELEGATE AMANTON TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA FIDE CONCERNING THE COMPORTMENT OF ROKOS

Monsig. Amanton Delegato Apostolico della Mesopotamia, Persia ec. sulla scomunica del Vescovo Rochos, e sopra gli ulteriori tentativi dei Malabaritani.

Mossul 25 Septembre 1862

Eminence

Le courrier du Jeudi 18 Septembre m'a apporté les deux lettres que vous avez adressées au Patriarche Chaidéen et au Supérieur des moines de Rahban-ormêz.

J'ai remis immédiatement celle qui était destinée au Supérieur des moins, car il se trovait à Mossul en ce moment.

Quant a celle du Patriarche, voici ce qua j'ai fait. Le courrier étant arrivé ici vers midi, j'ai lu celle lettre, j'en ai pris copie, et deux heures après je la fait remettre au Patriarche au main propre. C'est à dessein que j'indique ici l'heure de l'arrive du courrier et l'heure de la remise de la lettre, afin d'expliger clairement l'intention et la conduite du Patriarche en cette circonstance. Le Supérieur des moines m'ayant prié de lui faire connaître ce que Votre Eminence lui ecrivait, attendu qu'il ne sait pas l'italien, il a su aussitôt ce que Votre Eminence disait au sujet de Rochus, mais je lui ai raccommandé de garder le silence et de s'abstenir seulement de l'office au quel Rochus assistait. Mon but en lui donnant cet avis était de ne pas heurter le Patriarche par une divulgation précipitée; je voulais aussi me réserver le temps de constater si le Patriarche laisserait ou ne laisserait pas Rochus prier avec les Prêtres et dire la Messe, car dans le cas où Rochus n'aurait plus communiqué avec les fidèles, c'était une preuve que le Patriarche aurait fait son devoir, et alors je n'avais rien à dire.

Le jour de l'arrivée de votre lettre j'ai donc gardé le silence; mais ce jour là même Rochus étant allé à la Prière publique comme auparavant et le lendemain Rochus ayant dit la Messe, il était évident que le Patriarche ne tenait aucune compte de ce que vous lui avez ecrit.

Ce fut alors seulement, après avoir countaté le prévarication du Patriarche, que je me crus obligé d'avertir les Prêtres qui fréquentent son Eglise. Je les informai simplement du fait de l'excommunication de Rochus avec qui ils ne paraient plus prier, en ayant soin de leur expliquer la réserve que j'avais eue jusqu'ici pour ne pas heurter le Patriarche. De que cet avertissement fut donné aux Prêtres, le Patriarche n'eut connaissance, et alors il eut des craintes; il sentit que ce sarait une humiliation pour lui, si les Prêtres refusaient de prier avec Rochus ou s'ils sortaient de l'Eglise, dans le cas ou celui-ci viendrais à l'office. Il réunit donc les Prêtres demandant à chacun son avis, comme si l'avis de ces pauvres Prêtres pourait confirmer on infirmer la valeur d'un fait de cette nature. Dans celte assemblée Sciauris fit tout ce qu'il pourait pour que cette excommunication ne fût pas reconnue et acceptée; cependant lorsque le Patriarche demanda l'avis de les Prêtres, ceux-ci lui répondirent que la chose était trop claire maintenant et que de lors ils ne pouraient plus communiquer avec Rochus. Il est certain que si les Prêtres avaient donné une réponse contraire à celle-là, le pouvre Patriarche aurait laissé son Rochus dire la Messe et prier avec les fidèles, comme il l'avait déjà fait depuis l'arrivée de la lettre de Votre Eminence; mais la conduite de les Prêtres l'arrêta, il comprit que si Rochus se présentait à l'office, il recevrait un affront public, attendu que les Prêtres se retireraient, et avec eux les fidèles. Le Patriarche se vit donc contraint a garder chez lui Rochus et de ne plus les laisser célébrer; il prétend que je l'ai traité en ennemi, et que j'aurais du m'abstenir d'avertir les Prêtres comme je l'ai fait. Mais franchement, après avoir countaté que le Patriarche ne tenait aucun compte de la dernière lettre qu'il avais reçue, dovai-je me taire, et ainsi me faire complice de ces dérision et de ces scandales? J'ai cru que si Votre Eminence avait ecrit au Patriarche et au Supérieur des moines que ce Rochus est un excommunié vitandus, son intention était que la chose fût connue.

Je m'abstien de tout réfléxion sur le triste état de choses au quel on est arrivé, et sur les difficiles complications de cet état de choses; seulement, pour ne pas omettre un devoir de ma charge, je

devais avertir Votre Eminence de ce qui a eu lieu après la recéption de sa lettre.

Quant aux Malabars, qui sont ici, je n'ai rien de positif à dire; ne pouvant être consacré ou ordonné par le Patriarche chaldéen ils ont présenté, dit-on, une requête au *Vice-Consul Anglais* pour obtenir qu'il leur facilitat l'accés auprès du Patriarche Nestorien qui se prêterait à leur désir. Iront-ils réellement chez ce Patriarche schismatique, je n'en sais rien encore, et je ne puis rien affirmer.

Omissis etc.

Agréez, Eminence, l'assurance du profond respect avec le quel J'ai l'honneur d'être

Le très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur

F. B. Marie Henri Amanton.

DOCUMENT 83

LETTER OF POPE PIUS IX TO CHALDEAN PATRIARCH AUDO CONFIRMING THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF ROKOS AND PROHIBITING HIM TO SEND ANY BISHOP TO MALABAR

Il Santo Padre (25 settembre 1862) ammonisce il Patriarca Caldeo Mons. Audu, onde non permetta la celebrazione dei sacri Misteri al Vescovo Rokos, scommunicato da Mons. Arcivescovo Vicario Aposotlico di Verapoli e rinnova la proibizione già datta in Roma al Patriarca d'ingerirsi nelle cose del Malabar.

Venerabili fratri Iosepho Patriarchae Babylonensi Chaldaeorum,

PIUS PP. IX. Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Nuper nobis redditae sunt tuae literae die iv. proximi mensis àugusti datae. Postquam nos legimus, dilecto filio nostro Alexandro S. R. E. presbytero Cardinali Barnabo nostrae Congregationis Fidei Propagandae Praefecto opportunas dedimus instructiones, ut tibi, ven. frater, respondeat ad ea omnia de quibus in eisdem tuis literis loqueris. Iam vero te minime ignorare

arbitramur, commemoratam nostram Congregationem iam inde a die vii. septembris superiori anno misisse ven. fratri Bernardino Archiepiscopo Pharsaliensi Vicario Apostolico Verapolitano pontificiam nostrarn epistolam die v. eiusdem mensis septembris datam, qua ipsi praecepimus, ut in Episcopum Rochum excommunicationis sententiam ferret, quoties idem nostris et huius S. Sedis mandatis resistens nollet Malabariam relinquere. Atque idem ven. frater Archiepiscopus Pharsaliensis suis literis die xx. novembris superiori pariter anno scriptis, significavit, se commemoratam nostram accepisse epistolam, ac deinde per alias suas literas mensis decembris eiusdem superioris anni confirmavit, se rite monuisse eumdem Episcopum Rochum, eumque nostris et huius Apostolicae sedis mandatis pertinaciter obsistentem, secundum nostra iussa, solemniter excommunicavisse. Itaque credere nolumus quod relatum ad nos est, te scilicet, ven. frater, cum eodem Rocho agere perinde ac si ipse non esset auctoritate nostra nominatim excommunicatus ab eodem Vicario Apostolico, nec ullis ecclesiasticis illaqueatus censuris, sed ei permittere, ut sacrosanctum Missae sacrificium celebret et alia sacri ministerii munia obeat. Quae si vera essent per te ipse vides quam vehementer improbari et redargui deberet huiusmodi tua in hac re agendi ratio et quam gravem nobis et huic S. Sedi iniuriam inferres. Nunc vero probe memineris, ven. frater, tibi Romae moranti prohibitum omnino fuisse, ne ullum pro Malabaricis Episcopum consecrares. Atque memorata nostra Congregatio Fidei Propagandae praeposita per suas litteras die XIV. proxime mensis iulii vertentis anni nostro iussu tibi scriptas haud omisit tibi manifestare huiusmodi prohibitionem a nobis die 1. eiusdem mensis iulii fuisse renovatam, nostramque voluntatem omnino esse, ut nemo a te vel ab alis Chaldaeorum Episcopus in Malabariam sub quovis titulo ac praetextu mittatur.

Quam quidem prohibitionem hisce nostris literis denuo confirmamus, atque iterum tibi eisdemque Chaldaeorum Episcopis praecipimus et interdicimus, ne ullo prorsus modo a te et ab ipsis Episcopis aliquid agatur circa res, quae ad Malabaricas ecclesias pertinent. Eâ porro spe sustentamur fore, ut una cum eisdem Episcopis velis hisce iteratis nostris monitis et mandatis eâ, qua par

est, reverentiâ et obsequio obtemperare. Nos enim pro apostolici nostri ministerii munere nihil antiquius habemus, quam ut Malabaricarum ecclesiarum utilitati ac bono consulamus. Denique caelestium etc. apostolicam benedictionem impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die 25 Septembris Anno 1862, pontificatus nostri anno XVII.

DOCUMENT 84

LETTER OF PATRIARCH AUDO TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA IMPLORING ABSOLUTION FOR BISHOP ROKOS

Monsig. Patriarca di Babilonia (19 Gennaro 1863) implora l'assoluzione del Vescovo Rochos: e si dichiara docile e pronto in tutto ai voleri della S. Sede.

Eminenza Revma

Sotto la data del 24 Novembre del caduto anno abbiamo umiliato all'Emza Vostra la risposta dell'ultima, che V. Emza cì fece l'onore di scrivere, unitamente ad un'altra al S. Padre. Vogliamo sperare che ambedue le siano pervenute, e ci vorrà favorire della risposta per nostra consolazione, ed anche per nostra quiete e tranquillità intorno allo stato della preziosa salute di V. Emza, la quale preghiamo di tutto cuore il Signore a voler conservare lungamente.

Ora nella presente prendiamo la libertà di dirle qualche cosa a riguardo al Vescovo Rocco, e di pregarla a volersi contentare del gastigo da lui finora sofferto. Egli ha ubbidito ciecamente agli ordini della S. Sede; essendosi segregato dalla comunicazione degli uomini, rinchiuso in una piccola appartata camera di questa nostra Residenza, ove trovasi da quattro mesi incirca: dal che ha sofferto molto la sua salute, ha perduto le forze, ed incominciarono a vedersi in lui i segni della vecchiaja. Avendo egli adunque adempito pienamente i comandi; e non avendo fatto alcuno reclamo contro la omissione delle debite condizioni fatte dal Vicario Apostolico nel fulminare contro di lui la scomunica; e non essendosi ancora scusato col dar la colpa ai Vescovi, che unitamente al Superiore del convento l'hanno animato con dargli in

mano diverse scritture; ma si contentò solo di chiedere misericordia, perdono, ed assoluzione dal S. Padre, e dalla S. Sede mediante l'Emza Vostra, ci nasce certa speranza nel cuore che la S. Sede, e 1'Emza V. non vorranno rigettare la sua umile istanza, nè accrescere il suo abbattimento. Egli è proprio di chi è stato costituito da Gesù Cristo Pastore buono, ed amoroso di non rifiutare la dimanda degli afflitti, e tribolati, e di non ributtare chi pentito, chiede perdono ed assoluzione. E siccome l' Apostolo Paolo perdonò al Corinto più grave colpa ad istanza de' Corinti, ed il Concilio Calcedonense accolse benignamente quei Vescovi che aveano seguito l'eresia di Nestorio, ed Eutiche, dopo d'aver dato segni di resipiscenza; così confidiamo, che il S. Padre vorrà accogliere questo infelice, ed aver misericordia di lui. Tale grazia ci promettiamo di ottenere dalla clemenza di Vostra Emza per la speciale cura che ci fece l'onore di prendersi de' nostri affari, e per la perfetta obbedienza che prestiamo agli ordini della S. Sede, e della S. Congregazione, senza far conto del disprezzo degli uomini, e del disgusto del popolo della nostra nazione. Confidiamo ancora che le altre nostre aspettazioni non saranno deluse; ma come noi abbiamo adempito dal canto nostro tutto quel che ci è stato ricercato, per quanto comportano le nostre forze ed il nostro sapere; così ci lusinghiamo, che l'Emza Vostra si degnerà soddisfare ai nostri desideri, rimetter il nostro onore, e provvedere ai bisogni di questa infelice Nazione. E per accertarsi V. Emza della vera disposizione della nostra volontà, e sincerità delle nostre intenzioni, e che le nostre parole corrispondano appunto alle nostre azioni, ecco che noi le diamo piena libertà di significarci tutto ciò che torna a piacere della S. Sede, e va a grado di V. Emza. Ed affinchè non ci accada di rispondere in una maniera non conforme ai desideri del cuor di V. Emza, e ciò per non poter ben intendere i di Lei sentimenti, bramiamo che Ella ci mandi la minuta della risposta da presentarsi a Sua Santità, ed alla S. Congregazione, e noi saremo sempre pronti a firmarla senza il minimo indugio. Più di questo non può far mai un uomo verso un'altro (cioè maggior obbedienza non può prestar mai un uomo ad un'altro); e ciò facciamo con V. Emza più volentieri per amor della tranquillità nostra, e del bene di questa derelitta Nazione, e molto più perchè siamo persuasi dell' amore che ci porta, e dell' ardente zelo che ha

per tutto ciò che riguarda il bene dell'anima nostra, e di quelli che dipendono da noi. Terminiamo ora la presente sperando vivamente, che la vostra Bontà vorrà ricompensare amplamente la nostra obbedienza, e renderci in tutto il corso della nostra vita obbligati e riconoscenti dei benefici dell'Emza Vostra, la quale preghiamo di tutto cuore 1' Altissimo a voler conservare felice per molti anni.

Umo servo di V. Emza Giuseppe Audo Patriarca di Babilonia.

DOCUMENT 85

LETTER OF BISHOP ROKOS TO THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA REQUESTING ABSOLUTION FROM EXCOMMUNICATION

Traduzione della Lettera (20 Gennaro 1863) del Vescovo Rochos all'Emo Prefetto, nella quale riferisce i suoi avvenimenti, e domanda generale perdono ed assoluzione.

Eminenza Revma

Nello scorso anno umiliai a Vostra Emza una lettera sotto la data del 28 Settembre, ove le rappresentai, come due anni fa fu tenuta una adunanza di Vescovi, nella quale questi mi nominarono mio mal grado Vescovo; e come io vi dovetti alla fine prestare il mio consenso; ma con patto e condizione di andar solamente a visitare il Malabar e poi ritornare: e come dopo d' avermi consecrato, mi consegnarono due scritture firmate da tutti loro, unitamente al P. Eliseo Superiore del Convento, e munite de'loro sigilli: e come m'imposero di più e m'ingiunsero a voce di fornire quella popolazione di tutto ciò che può dipendere dalla potestà vescovile, quando mi avesse seguito e riunitasi a me. Impiegai sei mesi per arrivare alla regione Malabarica; e quattro mesi dopo il mio arrivo tutta la popolazione si riunì a me; ad eccezione di alcuni pochi, siccome è ben noto a Vostra Emza. Quindi mi dimandarono, e mi obbligarono a far loro delle ordinazioni; ed io inerendo agli ordini, ed alle ingiunzioni fattami da Monsignor Patriarca, e da tutti li Vescovi soddisfeci alle loro dimande.

Nella suddetta mia le esposi parimente, come avea ricevuto la lettera di Monsig. Patriarca mandatami per mezzo di Vostra Emza, ove mi ordinava di lasciare il Malabar e di ritornare alla mia

diocesi, ovvero al Mossul; ed un'altra da Monsig. Bernardino, nella quale mi dimandava di eseguire i comandi del nominato Patriarca, altrimenti avrebbe pubblicato contro di me la scomunica, premesse le tre canoniche ammonizioni; e come io gli avea risposto dicendo, che siccome avevo in tutto il corso della mia vita seguito il comando del S. Padre, e del mio Patriarca, così seguirò sempre a far lo stesso in avvenire. Dopo ciò Egli tacque, ne mi diede risposta alcuna ne negativa, nè positiva. Ciò nonostante io determinai risolutamente di partire subito; ed avendo sentito, che il popolo minacciava di uccidermi se partiva, e l'avrebbe fatto certamente, tenni a me questa mia determinazione per paura di esser ucciso; ma andava intanto cercando diligentemente una favorevole ed opportuna occasione per battermela. Questa però non mi s'offriva. Mi finsi perciò di esser ammalato, ed incominciai con iscongiuri, e colle lagrime agli occhi a pregare, che fossi condotto a Cogin per esser ivi curato da un medico. Tosto che io vi giunsi, manifestai la mia ferma determinazione di voler ritornare in patria. Cominciarono allora a venir da me da ogni parte a grandissime schiere per impedir il mio ritorno; ma non poterono. Mi offrirono 10,000 Ripah; ma non le volli accettare. Vedendo, che ogni loro tentativo e sforzo era inutile, mi denunziarono per ultimo al Governatore di Cogin con istanza di serrarmi il passo.

Stando io in tale angustia, venne a trovarmi Cirillo Vescovo de'Giacobiti, e mi disse: Il Vescovo Bernardino ha fulminato contro di voi la scomunica, ed ora voi siete scomnnicato. Uscito che fù da me il detto Vescovo, scrissi una lettera al suddetto Monsig. Bernardino, nella quale gli dimandai due cose: *l*'una di darmi le spese del viaggio pel mio ritorno, non potendole ottenere dalla popolazione; e la seconda di farmi sapere, se era vero che Egli avea emanato contro di me la scomunica. Ma egli neppur a questa ha voluto rispondermi nè a voce, nè in iscritto; solo mi fece dire per il Padre di Cogin, che se io partiva, mi avrebbe somministrato le spese necessarie per il viaggio. Dopo ciò io non ebbi più tempo di scrivergli per la terza volta in proposito; perchè tosto che il Governo mi diede la libertà di poter partire, scesi nel naviglio che era in procinto di commetter la vela al vento, e così mi misi in viaggio.

Or stando le cose in questi termini, supplico 1' Emza Vostra a voler giudicare, se tale sorta di scomunica sia conforme ai SS. Canoni, e se il modo con cui è stata fulminata sia immune da ogni spirito d' avversione e contrarietà, e se non sia piuttosto ingiusta ed ingiuriosa! Ma comunque sia stata la cosa, all'arrivo di quella lettera di Vostra Emza, in cui dichiarava a questo Patriarca, che il Vescovo Rochos era nominatamente scomunicato da Monsig. Bernardino in nome del S. Padre, vi aggiungeva dicendo, che se questo Vescovo accettava, ubbidiva, e domandava l'assoluzione dal S. Padre, questi qual Padre amoroso avrebbe accolto la sua dimanda, ed accordatagli l'assoluzione; io avendo nelle parole, e nella bontà di V. Emza ogni fidanza riposto, ubbidii subito, accettai, ed evitai ogni comunicazione d'altri, e scelsi per mia prigione una piccola cella, ove mi trovo da tre mesi e mezzo aspettando la benigna e pietosa risposta di Sua Santità e di V. Emza. Se non che ai 10 di Gennajo giunse a Monsignor Patriarca una lettera dal Sig. Francesco Mehaseb, nella quale egli diceva: che era desiderio di Sua Santità e di V. Emza che il Vescovo Rochos si portasse a Roma, ove avrebbe ricevuto l'assoluzione da Sua Beatitudine. Al sentire tale nuova da Monsig. Patriarca, il mio cuore s'accese di desiderio di visitare la città Santa, e vedere il nostro Salvatore nella persona del suo Vicario, e chiedere da Lui il perdono e l'assoluzione, e di vedere in pari tempo la persona di V. Emza. Il mio desiderio fù uguale a quello del cervo, qui desiderat ad fontes aquarum; e pari a quello del real Profeta, che esclamava dicendo: Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbae, et volabo et requiescam! Ma che giovano tanti desideri? I miei giorni sono già trascorsi; e le mie forze non mi permettono ora più di far de'viaggi 1. Per la mia avanzata età: 2 Per le fatiche sostenute, e disgrazie sofferte, ed i timori incontrati nell'andare e venire dal Malabar: 3. Per il ristretto e rigoroso ritiro di tre mesi e mezzo; talmente che non sono più ora al caso d'intraprendere un viaggio neppur di dieci giorni; motivo per cui ricorro alla clemenza di V. Emza, pregandola per le viscere di Gesù e Maria a voler mettersi di mezzo, ed impetrarmi dalla Benignità del S. Padre il perdono, e l'assoluzione. Io spero che Sua Beatitudine vorrà accettar la mia preghiera, quando questa venisse appoggiata da quella dell'Emza Vostra.

La supplico dunque a mani giunte, e con voci umili di esser unico Mediatore fra me ed il S. Padre, e di trattenere la sua ira, a guisa che il Nostro Signor Gesù Cristo è Mediatore fra Dio e gli uomini, e trattiene la di Lui ira; e di ottenermi (per le piaghe di Gesù Cristo e dolori della Nostra Signora Maria Vergine) dalla Clemenza di Sua Beatitudine un general perdono e plenaria assoluzione de'miei propri mancamenti, e di quelli degli altri che vengono ascritti a me, e non a quelli che mi hanno mandato nel Malabar. E nell'attendere la sollecita venuta dell'assoluzione (la quale qual figlio obbedientissimo son disposto a ricevere da qualunque persona che verrà destinata da V. Emza), supplico l'Altissimo a volerla conservare lungamente colma di tutte le felicità.

20 Gennajo 1863

Umo servo di V. Emza Rma, Tommaso Rochos Cangiarchan Vescovo di.....

DOCUMENT 86

LETTER OF THE PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA TO PATRIARCH AUDO DENYING THE PRESUMED PROMISES ABOUT CHALDEAN JURISDICTION IN MALABAR

L'Emo Prefetto (21 Maggio 1864) torna ad ammonire Monsignor Patriarca di Babilonia Giuseppe Audu: e specialmente risponde alle supposte promesse di estendere la di lui giurisdizione al Malabar.

Illmo e Rmo Signore

Dopo l'ultima mia lettera del 1 Aprile p. p, la quale a quest'ora è certamente in potere di V. S. nella speranza, che l'analogo riscontro mi porgerebbe motivo di umiliare al S. Padre consolanti notizie sulla cessazione de' gravissimi disordini, che affliggono cotesto Patriarcato, avrei desiderato di non tornare a scriverle sopra affare così dispiacente. Ma disgraziatamente le due lettere da Lei direttemi li 2, e 12 Marzo p. p. i richiami e i rapporti, che vanno da varie parti giungendo a questa S. C. non meno, che al

S. Padre sul peggioramento dello stato religioso di cotesta nazione mi pongono nella penosa necessità d'indirizzarle questo mio foglio. Non è però mia intenzione di riscontrare per singolo i capi delle anzidette due lettere, poiché la trattazione di molti, quali sono quelli concernenti la correzione della S. Liturgia, sulla quale già scrissi a Monsig. Chajat, l'erezione del Seminario ed altri, de' quali Ella mi parla, deve rimettersi a tempo più opportuno; quando cioè le cose religiose del Patriarcato saranno pienamente rientrate nell'ordine e nella regolarità. Ciò, che ora sommamente interessa è di provvedere senza ritardo ai mali ed agli scandali, che crescono ogni giorno in coteste contrade per colpa, mi duole il dirlo, di V. S. Mi limiterò adunque a farle poche osservazioni intorno ad alcune sue asserzioni, ed a certi fatti di maggiore importanza, sui quali non potrei osservare silenzio, dopo che ne ho avuta recentemente sicura ed esatta contezza.

E primieramente devo pur dirle qualche cosa riguardo a) Malabar, sul quale V. S. accenna a mie promesse, e ne reclama l'osservanza. Disgraziatamente i nostri colloqui furono fatti per interprete, dacché io non parlo la lingua di V. S. siccom' Ella non intende la mia: nel timore quindi di qualche mala intelligenza ho interrogato il Sig. Mehaseb, il quale non ha mancato di assicurarmi aver egli tradotti fedelmente i miei discorsi. Non esito dunque di ripeterle, che io lungi dal fare positive e franche promesse quali Ella le suppone, le dissi, e torno a dirle, che se il sistema di reggere le popolazioni con Vicarj Apostolici fù sempre un temperamento temporaneo, specialmente quando vi concorre la diversità di rito; pure la S. Sede non suole cambiarlo ed adottare le misure ordinarie se non quando l'assieme delle circostanze le reclami, e specialmente si abbia un clero idoneo donde trarre il Capo regolare, e di cui servirsi in vantaggio di quelle date popolazioni, e siano cessate le cause, per le quali venne adottata la temporanea misura: e concludevo, che anche nel Malabar potrebbe stabilirsi una Gerarchia del suo proprio rito, quando si verificasse il concorso di questi estremi. Ora mi dica V. S. se ancora sia giunto il tempo opportuno. Manca il Clero di quel rito, che certamente non può essere composto del solo Vescovo; manca un Seminario, ove si educhino i giovani idonei a formarlo. Le disposizioni di quelle

popolazioni sono incertissime: che in fatti non sono da valutarsi per tali le dichiarazioni e lettere scritte dai Malabaresi ad opportunità, e dietro le insinuazioni più calzanti, e niente leali di persone non aventi dinanzi gli occhi la vera gloria di Dio, e l'interesse delle anime; e V. S. ne ebbe da me nella sua dimora in Roma la più evidente dimostrazione in quella lettera originale, ²⁹ che non avrà certamente dimenticata, e che gelosamente conservasi in Archivio insieme ad altri documenti consimili. Nè sarà mai possibile, che si venga a questo punto, finché non si cesserà da tali inopportune sollecitazioni: si persuada che la S. Sede non ha giammai avuto minor premura per le dette popolazioni di quella, che altri possa vantarne. L'istoria, alla quale V. S. mi chiama, può renderne questa testimonianza; ed Ella per quanto ne scrive, ha pure nel suo archivio alcuni documenti, che la confermano. Difatti, siccome altre volte, così nel corrente secolo se ne occupò questa S. Congreg. Sul principiare del medesimo il Card. Borgia Prefetto allora della medesima in esecuzione di quanto era stato decretato nella Generale Adunanza³⁰ degli. Emi Padri scrisse li 28 Agosto 1802 a Monsig. Giovanni Hormes Arcivescovo di Mossul e Amministratore Patriarcale³¹ Caldeo una ben lunga lettera, nella quale trovo, che avendo creduto quell' Amministratore Patriarcale di ordinare un Vescovo e spedirlo nel Malabar con due sacerdoti che l'assistessero benché senza giurisdizione, ma solo per calmare quel popolo, questa S. C. giudicò riprovevole quel fatto per varie ragioni, fra le quali perchè que' popoli non sono soggetti alla di Lei giurisdizione (cioè del Patriarca Caldeo). Quindi quantunque accettate avesse le giustificazioni personali date da Monsig. Hormez, tuttavia per togliere ogni dubbio, dava le facoltà per l'assoluzione tanto dell'Hormez, quanto del Vescovo da Lui consecrato; contro il quale aveva anche pronunciate le censure ecclesiastiche il Vicario Apostolico dal Malabar. Finalmente si

 $^{^{29}}$ Si allude alla lettera di Monsig. Patriarca ai Malabaresi riportata in Sommario Num. *XXIII*. Pag. 87.

³⁰ Congregazione Generale *23* Settembre *1801 nel Vol. 907, fol. 247* Scritture originali.

³¹ Lettere del 1803 Vol. 285, fol. 470.

enuncia nella stessa lettera, che la se. me. di Pio VII. «all'effetto di provvedere ai bisogni di quella nazione Malabarica deputava Monsig. Giovanni Guriel Vescovo di Salmast in qualità di Delegato della S. Sede a beneplacito della S. C. con pienissima giurisdizione sopra tutti i Siro-Caldei dì quelle regioni (del Malabar) che sono veramente Cattolici, ed in quelle sole Diocesi, dove non si trovano Vescovi di rito Latino, e seppur vi sono, che siano impediti di esercitare la loro giurisdizione sopra i detti Siro-Caldei». Se ne trattò altre volte in una generale adunanza del 1852,³² ed il risultato fu di provocare esatte informazioni in proposito; le quali per verità non vennero presentate così lusinghiere, quali si desideravano, e si determinarono delle misure, che ove si fossero sentite, ed eseguite avrebbero iniziate almeno una vera sorgente di bene, che per le ultime digustose vicende a V. S. ben note venne non solo paralizzato maggiormente, ma direi quasi estinto. Prego V. S. a rincontrare nel suo archivio l'anzidetta lettera, che potrà pur darle altre utilissime istruzioni; purché sia fedele ed esatta la traduzione, ch' Ella ne leggerà. Comunque Ella non può aver dimenticato quanto in proposito le veniva ordinato dal S. Padre nel suo Breve³³ Nuper Nobis del 25 Settembre 1862, e non voglio dubitare, che l'osserverà con la dovuta e sincera obbedienza.

Relativamente al fatto di Alkoch di cui V. S. mi scrive a lungo, dirò francamente che mi sarebbe piaciuto, che il P. Duval si recasse a visitarla, specialmente se come sento Ella si trovava in istato di malferma salute. Non ho però saputo intendere come da un semplice atto d'inurbanità, se pur così volesse qualificarsi, e da supposto tentativo di sedizione, che mi costa esser positivamente falso, abbia Ella potuto prender motivo di pubblicare la sua circolare del 22 Gennaro p. p. che in fondo è un vero libello infamatorio, e d'inibire al Missionario Apostolico l'esercizio del suo ministero.

Mi dispenso poi dal discendere ad altri dettagli, cui mi chiamerebbero l'enunciate sue lettere; non posso però lasciare

³² 20 Décembre — Sulle Missioni di Bombay e del Malabar.

³³ Somm. pag. 242.

inosservato quanto nella prima di quelle asserisce V. S. intorno ai mezzi acconci a conseguire l'ammenda e il riordinamento della sua nazione. Poiché se debbo convenire con Lei, che uno di essi consiste nell' avvalorare la sua fedele ed ossequiosa obbedienza, dovrà però però Ella convenire con me, che un tal mezzo rimarrà pienamente inefficace, qualora i Vescovi ed il capo della nazione non la preceda con il suo esempio: Esempio che devono dare i Vescovi non meno che il Patriarca nell' eseguire gli ordini del Sommo Pontefice, nel rispettare le pene inflitte dai suoi Rappresentanti, e nel domandarne umilmente l'assoluzione. Quindi non saprei come qualificare, omettendone altre, la proposizione con cui Ella nella lettera 2 Marzo non dubita di asserire, che = l'obbligare i Vescovi a prendere l'assoluzione (dalle censure fulminate in nome della S. Sede) si considera piuttosto qual' annichilamento della medesima (nazione), che riduzione a migliore stato.=

In ordine alle lagnanze, ch'Ella muove specialmente nella lettera del 12 Marzo relativamente a Monsig. Delegato Apostolico ed ai Missionarj di Mossul, io non ripeterò ciò, che Le ho prolissamente scritto nella mia ultima del 1 Aprilo p. p. Aggiungerò solamente, che se nella lettera, colla quale il P. Duval Vice-Prefetto della Missione di Mossul le communicava il mio telegramma del 24 Febbraro poteva desiderarsi maggior delicatezza di forme, nella risposta datagli da V. S. dopo dieci giorni manca ben'anche la carità cristiana, la moderazione sacerdotale, la dignità di un Patriarca.

Intanto per questa esigenza di forme e di riguardi il ripetuto mio telegramma fù disprezzato, la mia lettera del 27 detto mese è restata inevasa ed inefficace; nuove arbitrarie e violente misure sono state da Lei usate fino ad interdire quasi interi villaggi, negando benanche il battesimo ai bambini, i sacramenti ai moribondi, la sepoltura ecclesiastica ai morti. La Caldea è restata commossa da tali atti. Continui reclami giungono anche direttamente al S. Padre, nè già dai soli Missionarj, ma da persone anche rispettabili della stessa e di diverse nazioni; e tutt'invocano dal S. Padre un pronto energico definitivo provvedimento; e Sua Santità memore de'doveri del suo Apostolico Ministero, e che deve

a Dio render conto anche di cotesta porzione della Chiesa Cattolica, ha già incominciato, a prendere qualche opportuno provvedimento; colle disposizioni, che mi affretto a parteciparle con altro contemporaneo mio foglio, e che non dubito punto saranno da Lei immantinente communicate alle parti interessate. Io quindi credo ripeterle che non cessando subito 1'attuale stato di cose sarà costretto a prendere altra più severa misura, come le accenno in altro foglio Num. 5.

Prego Iddio a darle lume e coraggio per ritirarsi dal cattivo sentiere pel quale va Ella camminando a gran passi, e Le dia grazia di sentire ossequiosamente la voce del Supremo Pastore, e di eseguirne i comandi ec.

Roma dalla Propaganda 21 Maggio 1864.

INDEX OF PERSONS

Unidentifiable simple Indian names are excluded. In accordance with our methodology, for authors generally surnames with their initials are inserted. Abbreviations: arch. = archbishop; ap. del. = apostolic delegate; vic. ap. = vicar apostolic.

Abdiso or Ebed-Jesu	Angelus (vic. ap.), 254
(patriarch), 25, 34, 35	Angold M., 82, 85
Abdul Jaleel Mar Gregorios	Antonelli Leonardo (car-
(bishop), 104	dinal), 221, 222
Abraham (arch.), 41, 44-70,	Aquaviva Claudio, 65
76-78, 121, 177	Asmar Emmanuel, 287, 297,
Abrahamo di Giorgio, 66	323
Addai, 22, 247	Assemani J. S., 29, 44, 244,
Ahattalla, 253	247, 249, 250, 252, 255
Al Khazraji W., 87	Audo (Audu) Joseph VI
Albert Cyriac, 397	(patriarch), 84, 86, 120,
Alencherry George (cardinal),	125, 128, 129, 133, 145-
71	149, 151, 153, 163, 168,
	171, 177, 191, 216, 218,
Alexander VII (pope), 95, 96	225, 227, 231, 233, 235,
Alphonse Liguori (saint), 219	240, 241, 243, 246, 255-
Altieri Lodovico (cardinal),	258, 263, 278, 281, 287,
443	289-291, 296, 301, 323,
Altmayer Henry-Victor	331, 336, 351, 363-366,
(arch.), 87, 89	368-372, 376, 389, 407,
Amanton Henri-Marie (ap.	412, 413, 420, 424, 246,
del.), 89, 287-290, 292,	428, 432, 439, 440
293, 301, 303, 304, 306,	Bagger Myster, 130
309, 314, 318-320, 331,	Baliabantil (Buniabantil)
334, 363, 365, 366, 375,	Thomas, 122, 124
378, 381, 387, 390, 391,	· · ·
413-415, 421, 423, 440-	Barnabò Alexander (cardinal),
443, 445, 447, 448	24, 37, 93, 170, 216, 219,
Ambrosius a S. Theresia, 102	225, 228, 236, 241-243,
11110100140 4 5. 111010014, 102	255, 256, 258, 263, 276,

281, 283, 299, 331, 358, 364, 372, 395, 406, 407, 424, 443, 444, 448

Bar-Tatar Michael Peter (bishop), 166, 229, 287, 323, 331, 335, 364, 368-372, 378, 386, 391, 406-410, 412, 414

Basil (saint), 40

Basilios (bishop), 103

Baum W., 82, 83, 85

Beltrami G., 32, 34, 35, 37-44, 54-57, 67-70, 74, 77

Benedict XIV (pope), 326, 362

Benedict XV (pope), 18, 91

Bernard Thoma, 44, 56, 96, 97, 100, 190, 215, 239, 339, 341, 392

Bernardino or Bernardo (Baccinelli, vic. ap.), 101, 102, 149, 189-193, 195, 197-199, 202, 205, 208, 209, 214-216, 218-220, 224, 226, 227, 236, 276, 297, 340-342, 344, 346, 347, 350-354, 358, 359, 361, 392, 393, 395-401, 403, 405, 414-418, 421, 424, 425, 429, 430

Biondi Fabio (patriarch), 69, 73

Bot D., 165

Brito Stephen (bishop), 94

Bruroni Paul (ap. del.), 94

Buttigeg Ambrose (bishop), 34, 35, 38-41, 64

Cachino Anthony, 59

Capalti Annibale, 364

Cariattil Joseph (arch.), 111, 112, 254, 277, 300, 328

Caterini Prospero (cardinal), 444

Chabot J. B., 23

Chalil Aippu, 239

Chavara Kuriakose or Cyriac Elias (saint), 299, 339-344, 346, 347, 350-354, 358, 360, 361, 392-396, 403, 406, 409, 446

Cherian P., 105

Cheriyan C. V., 103, 105, 107-109

Chiramel J., 92

Chrysostom (saint), 325

Clement VII (pope), 27, 67, 68, 76, 77, 97, 362

Clement VIII (pope), 67, 68, 76, 77, 97, 177

Clement XIV (pope), 161

Coupperie Pierre-Alexandre (bishop), 126, 169, 255, 295

Cyzicenus Gelasius, 24, 248

Da Fonseca Vincent (arch.), 59

Da Silva Coutinho Joseph Caetano, 112

Da Silva Rego A., 99

Dachto Ignatius, 287, 323

Dandin Jerome, 93

De Barcellona Nicholas (proap. del.), 442, 445

De Castro Agostinho (arch.), 70

De Clercq C., 93, 94, 191

De Crux Francis, 172

De Gouvea A., 42, 43, 45, 50, 70-73

De Leao Pereira Gaspar, 28

De Luca Antonio Saverio (cardinal), 443

De Marchi Augustine (ap. del.), 88, 119, 120, 128, 131, 132, 145, 153, 155, 216, 225, 228-231, 245, 259, 313

De Martinis R., 94, 96, 98, 99, 101, 391, 393, 394, 424

De Menezes Dom Aleixo (arch.), 42, 43, 45, 50, 60, 69-75, 177, 182, 203, 209, 263

De Menezes Duarte (viceroy), 59

De Nazareth C. C., 112

De Noronha Antonio, 73

De Paolis Velasio, 90

De Souza F., 43, 50, 57

De Távora Enrique (arch.), 56

De Vries Wilhelm, 91-93

Denha (bishop), 29, 30

Denha Barjona, 189, 191, 197-200

Denzinger H., 60, 61

Di Natale or De Natali Peter George (bishop), 287, 323, 363, 364, 367-372, 376, 408, 410

Di Pietro Camillo (cardinal), 443

Dinkha IV (patriarch), 248

Dionysius II (bishop), 105

Dionysius III (bishop), 105

Dionysius IV (bishop), 105, 106

Dionysius V (bishop), 107-110

Do Porto Antonio, 39

Dominic of St. Theresa, 98

Dos Reis Salvador (arch.), 111, 112

Dupuis J., 60, 61

Duval, 435, 436, 445

Eldo Mar Basilios (bishop), 104

Eliano John Baptist (ap. del.), 93

Elias Amidense (patriarch), 252

Elias Mar (bishop), 38, 41

Elias V (patriarch), 29

Elias VI (patriarch), 35

Elias VII (patriarch), 35

Elias VII (patriarch), 35

Elias

445

George of Christ

George or Mar Gregorios

deacon), 55-57

(bishop), 253

(arch-

XIV

Abolyonan

(patriarch), 84 Elijah (patriarch), 327 Elijah Habib Abib (bishop), 251, 329 Elisha (abbot), 236 Ettonnil Joseph, 239 Eugenius (saint), 29 Ferroli D., 40, 41, 43, 76 Flibitil (Filibitel) Joseph, 122, 124 Francis Xavier (saint), 31, 32 Francis Xavier of St. Anna (vic. ap.), 99-102, 120, 164, 172 Fransoni Jacob Philip (cardinal), 93, 119, 132-134, 168, 185, 186, 192, 194, 199, 202, 208, 209, 216, 232, 262 Gabriele of Azerbaijan (bishop), 254, 328 Gallagher C., 92 Garcia Francis (arch.), 94-96, 253, Geddes M., 45, 73 Geevarghese Ramban, 104 George (saint), 28, 285, 306, 314, 319, 439, 440, 443,

Giamil S., 29, 33-38, 42, 44, 46-48, 50, 53-58, 68, 77, 85, 86 Giuseppe di Santa Maria Sebastiani, 103 Gregorios (bishop), 103 Gregory XIII (pope), 35, 51, 53-58, 74, 78, 251, 327 Gregory XV (pope), 90 Gregory XVI (pope), 87, 98 Guriel John (bishop), 114, 115, 434 Guriel Joseph D., 148, 150, 259, 409 Habbi J., 33, 34 Hajjar H., 93 Hambye E. R., 98 Hanna (monk), 446, 448 Hartman, 197, 198 Hasan Joseph, 127 Hausherr I., 66 Henry (king), 55 Hidatulla Mar **Ivanios** (bishop), 104 Hindi Paul, 287, 323 Hoeck J., 92 Hormez John (arch.), 113 Hough J., 45, 73 Hull E. R., 99 Hünermann P., 60 Hyacinth Charles (pro-vic. ap.), 263, 268, 269, 275, 276, 278, 359

Hyacinth of St Vincent, 95

Ideoplatus Cosmus, 325		
Ignatios Mar Elias II, 106		
Illickal Sebastian, 240		
Indicopleustes Cosmas, 248		
Infante Dom Henrique		
(cardinal), 42		
Inivel Paul, 122		
Innocent XII (pope), 96		
Isaiah (prophet), 213, 361		
Isoyahb Adiabene (patriarch), 249		
Isoyahb III (patriarch), 24, 25		
Ivanios (bishop), 103		
Jaballah (bishop), 29, 30		
Jacob (bishop), 29-32		
Jaricot Pauline, 440		
Joachim Mar Cyril or		
Koorillos (bishop), 106,		
110, 120-124, 145, 148,		
149, 151, 160, 345		
John (bishop in India), 29, 30		
John (evangelist), 238		
John III (king), 27, 30, 31, 38		
John of Macin (bishop), 250		
John of Persia (bishop), 24, 248		
John or Yohannan Hormizd		
(patriarch), 84, 85, 111, 114, 115, 126, 225, 316,		
114, 115, 126, 225, 316, 328, 434		
,		
John Paul II (pope), 248		
Joseph (bishop), 37, 38, 41-46, 48, 49		
Joseph I (patriarch), 84		

Joseph II (patriarch), 84, 262 Joseph III (patriarch), 84 Joseph IV (patriarch), 84, 113 Joseph Joachim Immacolada Conceição Amarante, 113 Joseph V or Augustine Hindi (patriarch), 84 Julius III (pope), 33, 36, 38, 46, 78, 250, 327 Kaniyaparambil John, 239 Karimattathil Thomas, 239 Kattackal Sebastian, 239 Kattumangattu Ghevarghese Mar Kurillos (bishop), 105 Kattumangattu Mar Kurillos (Cyril, bishop), 104, 105 Kéramé O., 92 Khayyath Ebdejesus (Abdiso) George (bishop), 33, 228, 246, 255, 287, 318, 412, 414, 432 Kinai (Kana) Thomas, 24, 271 Kokkaravalayil S., 24 Kollaparambil J., 24-26, 31, 33, 82, 94 Kollara J. C., 112 Koodapuzha X., 33, 34, 95, 109, 239 Kudakkachira Antony, 189-194, 199-202, 206, 207, 215-219, 222, 226, 232, 236, 239-240, 276, 345 Kumpidiyanmackel Thomas, 215, 239-241, 281, 339

Kuzhinjaly Mathew, 239
Laham L., 92
Le Guillou M. J., 92
Leo X (pope), 362
Leo XII (pope), 316
Ligiez (Ligier) Vincent (pro-
ap. del.), 89, 283, 285, 286,
336, 379, 380, 443
Lion Eugène-Louis-Marie
(ap. del.), 89
Liony, 447
Losanna Domenic, 259
Louis (Ludovicus) of St Therese (vic. ap.), 101
Luke (evangelist), 213, 342,
361
Mackenzie G. T., 43, 45
Macomber W. F., 92
Madapatt Thomas, 239
Mahaseb Francis, 364, 365,
430, 433
Mai A., 25
Malancharuvil C., 103, 108
Malekandathil P., 42, 43, 45, 50, 60, 71, 73
Maliekkal Geevarghese Mar
Kurillos (bishop), 111, 160
Mansi J. D., 73
Manuel de San Joachim das
Neves, 99, 100, 136, 137,
171, 172
Mari, 22, 247, 325
Mark (evangelist), 361
Marot H., 92, 93

Mary (Our Lady), 87, 196, 234, 343, 350, 358, 377, 431, 446 Mathew Mar Athanasius (bishop), 106, 111 Matthew (evangelist), 361 Medawar K., 92 Medlycott A. E., 21 Melchior-Marie-Joseph Marion-Brésillac (Brasillac, vic. ap.), 143, 264, 266 Mellus John Elias, 449 Mendizábal Juan Álvarez, 160 Merciai Anthony (ap. del.), 127, 131, 152 Metzler J., 90, 93, 94 Moffett S. H., 22, 24, 25 Moozhoor Z. M., 392 Mundadan A. M., 31, 49 Mundamattam Thomas, 215 Nagam Aiya V., 43, 70, 74, 109 Nedumpallil Mathew, 239 Nedungatt G., 21, 43, 66, 72 Neill S., 99 Nestorius, 34, 138, 177, 230, 270, 427 Neuner J., 60, 61 Nicholas Zeia (Zaya, Zaja or Isaiah; patriarch), 84, 85, 120, 121, 124-126, 131, 145, 147, 171, 243, 262, 316, 440

Nicolas I (pope), 362

Nitididel (Nitiridel) George, 122, 124

Palakunnathu Abraham, 106, 107

Pallath P., 23, 27, 28, 45-49, 52, 54, 60, 63, 64, 72, 77, 95-99, 103, 203, 210, 391

Pandari Paul (Abraham, bishop), 113, 114

Pandiyamakel Abraham, 239

Panebianco Antonio Maria (cardinal), 443

Panicker J., 95

Parambil Alexander (bishop), 253, 328

Parambil Thomas (archdeacon), 94, 103, 253

Parayil Abraham (Tharakan), 339, 340, 355

Paremmakkal Thomas, 111-114, 254, 276, 277, 300

Pareparambil Aloysius (vic. ap.), 190, 215, 239, 339, 340, 341, 389, 390, 392

Parlato V., 92

Patrizi Naro Constantine (cardinal), 443

Paul (saint), 211, 261, 279

Paul IV (pope), 27, 35

Paul da S. Thomé d'Acquina (bishop), 13, 274

Paul V (pope), 28, 76, 203, 327

Paul VI (pope), 18

Paulino or Paolino a S. Bartholomaeo, 176, 221, 222, 274

Pedicini Carlo Maria (cardinal), 119

Peixoto John do Porto, 100, 113, 171

Perumalil H. C., 98

Peter (bishop), 121, 122

Peter (saint), 68, 137, 261, 262, 305, 326, 334, 342, 343, 351

Peter III Mar Ignatius (patriarch), 108

Phileksinos Mar Geevarghese (bishop), 105

Philip III (king), 177

Pianazzi Louis Maria (vic. ap.), 221

Piravithanam Jacob, 239

Pitra Jean-Baptiste-François (cardinal), 444

Pius IV (pope), 35, 36, 42, 45, 47-49, 53, 54, 60, 64, 78, 251, 327

Pius V (pope), 43, 53, 251, 327, 362

Pius VII (pope), 115, 434

Pius VIII (pope), 84

Pius IX (pope), 86, 91, 147, 206, 217, 231, 306, 323, 333, 336, 351, 359-363, 366, 370, 373, 393-396, 414, 417, 424, 443

Pius XII (pope), 61

Planchet Benedict (ap. del.), 89, 93, 94, 146, 166, 168, 184-187, 191, 216, 225-228, 233, 236, 237, 242, 244, 245, 255, 260-262, 285, 286, 314, 317, 319, 320, 234, 377, 440, 442, 445
Podipara P. J., 24-26, 33, 34, 105-107, 112, 277
Poondikulam Abraham, 390
Puccinelli Lawrence, 145, 146, 155, 159, 162, 170, 184
Pulikkottil Joseph, 107
Puliurumpil J., 21, 99, 100, 114
Puthur B., 25
Rabbath A., 45, 49
Ramban Mar John, 103, 104
Rassam S., 22, 23, 81-83, 85, 87, 150
87, 150
87, 150 Raulin J. S., 45, 73, 176
87, 150 Raulin J. S., 45, 73, 176 Rebello Jerome, 58
87, 150 Raulin J. S., 45, 73, 176 Rebello Jerome, 58 Reisach Karl August
87, 150 Raulin J. S., 45, 73, 176 Rebello Jerome, 58 Reisach Karl August (cardinal), 443
87, 150 Raulin J. S., 45, 73, 176 Rebello Jerome, 58 Reisach Karl August (cardinal), 443
87, 150 Raulin J. S., 45, 73, 176 Rebello Jerome, 58 Reisach Karl August (cardinal), 443
87, 150 Raulin J. S., 45, 73, 176 Rebello Jerome, 58 Reisach Karl August (cardinal), 443
87, 150 Raulin J. S., 45, 73, 176 Rebello Jerome, 58 Reisach Karl August (cardinal), 443
87, 150 Raulin J. S., 45, 73, 176 Rebello Jerome, 58 Reisach Karl August (cardinal), 443 Rokos (Rukos) Thomas, 17, 100, 110, 255, 256, 261, 285-287, 297, 301, 302, 319, 331, 333, 339-341, 342, 346, 347, 351, 353, 354, 358-360, 363, 364,
87, 150 Raulin J. S., 45, 73, 176 Rebello Jerome, 58 Reisach Karl August (cardinal), 443 Rokos (Rukos) Thomas, 17, 100, 110, 255, 256, 261, 285-287, 297, 301, 302, 319, 331, 333, 339-341, 342, 346, 347, 351, 353, 354, 358-360, 363, 364,
87, 150 Raulin J. S., 45, 73, 176 Rebello Jerome, 58 Reisach Karl August (cardinal), 443 Rokos (Rukos) Thomas, 17, 100, 110, 255, 256, 261, 285-287, 297, 301, 302, 319, 331, 333, 339-341, 342, 346, 347, 351, 353, 354, 358-360, 363, 364, 366, 369-372, 389-399, 401-404, 406-411, 413-
87, 150 Raulin J. S., 45, 73, 176 Rebello Jerome, 58 Reisach Karl August (cardinal), 443 Rokos (Rukos) Thomas, 17, 100, 110, 255, 256, 261, 285-287, 297, 301, 302, 319, 331, 333, 339-341, 342, 346, 347, 351, 353, 354, 358-360, 363, 364, 366, 369-372, 389-399,

Ros Francis (bishop), 43, 49, 64-66, 76, 94 Saba Salvator (arch.), 391 Sacralla Mar **Basilios** (bishop), 104 Sahara Anthony, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41, 42 Salvian, 127 Samhiri (syrian patriarch), 409 Sankurikkal George, 112, 114 Santorio Giulio Antonio (cardinal), 38 Santos A., 76 Scaria Zacharia, 73 Schulz H. J., 92, 93 Schurhammer G., 29-32 Sciauriz Luis, 339, 364, 368-371, 378, 383, 399, 406-410, 422 Scita (Schita) James, 122, 124 Sebastiani Joseph of St Mary (vic. ap.), 95, 96, 103, 274 Simeoni John, 448 Simon Bar-Saba (saint), 247, 325 Simon IV (patriarch), 32 Simon V (patriarch), 28 Simon IX Denha (patriarch), 35, 81, 82 Simon VII Bar Mama (patriarch), 32, 250 Simon VIII (patriarch), 32, 34, 44

Simon X (patriarch), 82
Simon XI (patriarch), 82
Simon XII John (patriarch),
82
Simon XIII Denha (patriarch), 82
Simon XIV (patriarch), 84
Simon XV (patriarch), 84
Simon XVI (patriarch), 84
Simon XVII (patriarch), 84
Simon XVIII (patriarch), 84
Sixtus V (pope), 252, 327
Sobensis Abdiso (Ebedjesus), 249
Soro Bawai, 22, 23
Sozomen, 325
Spuler, B., 81
C : 1 1 TEL 220
Srampickal Thomas, 239,
Srampickal Thomas, 239, 390, 392
390, 392 Subrahmanyam S., 70
390, 392 Subrahmanyam S., 70
390, 392 Subrahmanyam S., 70
390, 392 Subrahmanyam S., 70 Sulaqa John (Simon, patriarch), 19, 32-34, 36- 38, 44, 46, 78, 83, 84, 230,
390, 392 Subrahmanyam S., 70 Sulaqa John (Simon, patriarch), 19, 32-34, 36- 38, 44, 46, 78, 83, 84, 230, 250, 251, 327
390, 392 Subrahmanyam S., 70 Sulaqa John (Simon, patriarch), 19, 32-34, 36- 38, 44, 46, 78, 83, 84, 230,
390, 392 Subrahmanyam S., 70 Sulaqa John (Simon, patriarch), 19, 32-34, 36-38, 44, 46, 78, 83, 84, 230, 250, 251, 327 Sulaqa Joseph (arch.), 37, 64, 68, 78 Taddul Elijah (bishop), 127,
390, 392 Subrahmanyam S., 70 Sulaqa John (Simon, patriarch), 19, 32-34, 36-38, 44, 46, 78, 83, 84, 230, 250, 251, 327 Sulaqa Joseph (arch.), 37, 64, 68, 78 Taddul Elijah (bishop), 127, 168, 250
390, 392 Subrahmanyam S., 70 Sulaqa John (Simon, patriarch), 19, 32-34, 36-38, 44, 46, 78, 83, 84, 230, 250, 251, 327 Sulaqa Joseph (arch.), 37, 64, 68, 78 Taddul Elijah (bishop), 127, 168, 250 Tamraz John, 261, 297, 323
390, 392 Subrahmanyam S., 70 Sulaqa John (Simon, patriarch), 19, 32-34, 36-38, 44, 46, 78, 83, 84, 230, 250, 251, 327 Sulaqa Joseph (arch.), 37, 64, 68, 78 Taddul Elijah (bishop), 127, 168, 250
390, 392 Subrahmanyam S., 70 Sulaqa John (Simon, patriarch), 19, 32-34, 36-38, 44, 46, 78, 83, 84, 230, 250, 251, 327 Sulaqa Joseph (arch.), 37, 64, 68, 78 Taddul Elijah (bishop), 127, 168, 250 Tamraz John, 261, 297, 323 Tanner N. P., 61, 288 Temudo George (arch.), 43,

```
Theodosius
            (patriarch),
                         25,
  249
Thevarparambil Mathew, 239
Thomas (apostle), 21, 22, 38,
  52, 177, 183, 185, 196,
  209, 217, 246, 247, 249,
  270, 324
Thomas (bishop), 28, 29, 30
Thomas II (bishop), 104
Thomas III (bishop), 104
Thomas IV (bishop), 104
Thomas Kynai, 24
Thomas Mar Athanasius, 108,
  109, 111
Thomas V (bishop), 103, 104
Thomas VI (Dionysius I,
  bishop), 103-105
Thomas VII (bishop), 105
Thomas VIII (bishop), 105
Thomas XI (bishop), 105
Thondanatt Antony, 215, 239-
  241, 263, 276, 281, 282,
  286, 297, 300, 339, 341,
  344, 345, 351, 390, 392,
  400, 411
Thonippara F., 112
Timothy I (patriarch), 25, 249
Tisserant E. (cardinal), 42-44,
  56, 107, 112, 114, 115
Tnibil Paul, 124
Trioche
              Marie-Laurent
  (arch.), 86-88, 131, 316,
  364, 400
Ufi Michael, 259
```

INDEX OF PERSONS

Uraha Yausef (bishop), 24
Urumpackal A. P., 109
Vadakkekara B., 22
Valignano Alessandro, 56, 60-62
Vargas Timoteo Pérez (bishop), 86
Vattappalam M., 91
Vazhaplakel Mathew, 239
Vincent (Vincenzo Maria) of St Catharina, 274, 95, 253

Vosté J. M., 93 Wicki J., 32, 39, 45, 49, 55, 57, 58, 60-62, 66, 67, 72 Winkler D. W., 82, 83, 85 Wojnar M. M., 92 Yahbalaha (patriarch), 35 Yauseph Mar Kurillos (bishop), 111 Zakha Saliba (Sliba), 249 Žužek Ivan, 92

INDEX OF PLACES

In this index the places Malabar and Rome are excluded because they occur very frequently. The names of countries are put in italics.

Alangad, 94	150-153, 159, 165, 169-
Aleppo, 130	185, 217, 221, 230, 237,
Alexandria, 22, 150, 154, 294	251, 252, 263, 270, 278-
Alleppey (Aleppey), 165, 239,	282, 291, 304, 317, 323-
299	325, 327, 329-332, 336,
Alquosh (Alquoch), 35, 85,	342, 345, 351, 355, 359,
125, 128, 245, 292, 435	360, 371, 393, 394, 401, 403, 406, 408, 420, 428,
Amida (Amadiah, Amadiyah,	444
Diyarbakir or Diarbekir),	Baghdad (Bagdad), 85-89,
83-86, 122, 128, 129, 187,	119, 126, 131, 148, 165,
221, 237, 251, 255, 286,	166, 169, 186, 200-204,
287, 290, 297, 308, 316-	215, 217, 219, 220, 222,
318, 329, 334, 336	223, 232, 237, 239-244,
Angamaly, 46-59, 64, 68, 70,	270, 271, 276, 282, 283,
72, 76, 77, 97, 203, 210,	300, 308, 316, 334, 339,
250	344, 345, 348, 349, 355,
Anjoor, 104	364, 368-371, 378, 384,
Antioch (Antiochia), 22, 107,	390, 396, 397, 399, 404,
170, 208, 345	406, 407, 409, 411
Aqra, 256, 260, 261, 446	Bassein, 38, 39, 44
Arakuzha, 194	Bassorah (Bassora, Basra or
Armenia (Lesser), 87, 119,	Pherat Meisan), 148, 239,
146, 216, 287, 298	301, 302, 319, 333, 367,
Aruvithura, 190	370, 391, 401
Assyria, 33, 48	Bharananganam (Anakallum-
Ava, 98	
Babylon (Babylonia), 19, 34,	
	•
127, 128, 132, 134, 147,	148, 163, 178, 197, 435
Babylon (Babylonia), 19, 34, 74, 75, 85, 121, 123, 124,	kel, Alcalel), 163, 239 Bkerke, 94 Bombay, 38, 99, 123, 130, 148, 163, 178, 197, 435

Braga, 70 Calicut, 36, 37 Cannur (Canonor), 29, 37 Carthage, 23 Chalcis, 87 Chaldea, 52, 59, 65, 100, 120, 135, 170, 177, 182, 183, 189, 190, 199, 208, 216, 230, 239, 248, 250, 270, 273, 274, 286, 297, 306, 307, 312, 317, 324, 325, 331, 333, 344, 364, 366, 372, 389-392, 432, 436 Changanacherry, 194 Charfeh, 94	189, 203, 210, 250, 252, 263, 300, 349, 391, 392 Cyrrhus, 101, 102, 120, 143 Diamper, 17, 43, 45, 58, 66, 69, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 140, 170, 177, 179-185, 203, 209, 237, 252, 263, 265-274, 327, 330, 342, 343, 417 Edamattam, 392 Edessa, 22 Elaakr, 168 England, 105, 106, 165 Ernattukara, 300 France, 87, 131, 142, 314,
China, 25, 27, 250	320, 440, 443
Chumkam, 271	Funchal, 27
Cochin (Kochi), 27-32, 37, 38, 41, 47-56, 70, 73, 77, 95-99 104, 115, 123, 124, 136, 140, 148-150, 158-60, 165, 171, 172, 177, 198, 199, 250, 251, 253, 297, 299, 300, 339, 344, 345, 348, 355, 390, 391, 404, 416, 429, 430 Coimbatore, 143, 264 Colombo, 199 Constantinople, 23, 122, 294, 373 Cranganore (Kodungallur or Kodungalloor), 37, 49, 70, 77, 95-101, 111-115, 136, 139, 171, 172, 177, 182,	Gazirah (Jazira, Turkey), 28, 34, 49, 168, 186, 251, 287, 308 Goa, 27, 28, 37-56, 59-73, 76, 77, 97-99, 111-114, 136, 155, 157, 162, 177, 210, 251, 263, 277, 300, 327 Hierapolis, 96, 253 Hormizda (Ormuz), 29, 45 India, 17, 19-50, 52, 54-56, 62-66, 68, 69, 73, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 97-99, 103, 105, 106, 109, 112, 130, 155-157, 161, 162, 176, 183, 185, 209, 211, 215, 243, 246-251, 270, 274, 324, 325, 327-329, 334, 360, 391, 400, 409, 411, 432

<i>Iran</i> , 19
Iraq, 19, 81, 82, 85-87, 371,
Japan, 27
Jerusalem, 22, 69, 73, 177, 253
Kadanad, 239
Kaduthuruthy, 271, 341
Kalaparambu, 300
Kalyan, 248
Kallissery, 271
Kerala, 41, 50, 66, 99, 106, 136, 157, 189, 343, 391
Kerkuk, 261, 297, 308, 323
Kotchannes, 82, 84, 85, 286
Kottayam, 190, 271
Kuravilangad, 121, 124, 147- 150, 173, 189, 194, 234, 235
Kurdistan, 82, 87, 119, 216, 286, 287, 390, 441
Kuthiyathodu, 300
Lamasa, 297
Lisbon, 42, 43, 45, 49, 66, 111, 112, 277, 300
London, 108, 130, 202, 206, 214
Lyon, 174, 224, 311, 312, 377, 440
Madras, 98, 298, 348
Madurai, 145, 146, 155, 157, 170, 184
Malacca (Malaysia), 27, 50, 51, 77, 98
Malayattoor, 389

Mangalore, 101, 195, 269 Mangatt, 253 Mannanam, 343, 346, 352, 353, 360, 361, 392, 395, 397, 406, Maramon, 106 Mardin, 128, 287, 297, 301, 308 Marusits (Merve), 25 Masin, 36 Mattancherry, 94, 253 Mavelikara, 105, 106 Meschinta, 287, 289, 290, 295, 297 Mesopotamia, 19, 28, 29, 78, 81, 86-89, 93, 94, 119, 126, 128, 131, 132, 146, 166, 167, 170, 178-180, 184-187, 198, 216, 221, 222, 242, 250, 282, 287, 292, 304, 358, 364, 367, 372, 378, 386, 389, 395, 408, 441, 442, 443, 445, 447, 449 Mezur, 128, 153 Mosul (Mossul), 34, 36, 37, 83, 85, 87, 113, 128-132, 145, 146, 151, 153, 165, 166, 168, 186, 191, 209, 210, 215, 216, 225, 227-229, 231-233, 235-240, 243-246, 255, 258, 263, 278, 281, 282, 285-293, 297, 301-306, 308, 311, 312, 314-318, 320, 323, 324, 331- 335, 351, 364-

370, 373, 378, 384, 386, 390, 391, 399-401, 406-409, 411-413, 420, 421, 426, 248, 429, 435, 436, 440, 442, 445-447 Mozambique, 45	Prusa, 264 Pulinkunnu, 239 Quilon (Kollam), 101, 165, 195, 209, 250, 263, 268, 269, 275, 276, 300, 343, 345, 359
Mulanthuruthy, 108, 110	Rhodope, 89, 216
Muscatt, 239	Riwardushir, 24
Muttam, 239	Salmas, 82, 114, 434
Muttuchira, 239	Samarqand, 25
Mylapore, 28, 97-99, 115	San Francisco, 85
Naples, 224	Sardes, 101, 102
Narakel (Njarackal), 389, 390, 404	Seert, 256, 260, 287, 297, 301, 308, 323, 331, 335,
Nicaea, 23, 24, 248, 321, 325	368, 371, 391
Niranam, 103	Seleucia-Ctesiphon (Seleucia
Pala (Palai, Pelli), 165, 189, 190, 194, 239, 392	and Ctesiphon or Ctesiphon/Seleucia), 19,
Palayur (Palur), 55-57	22, 23, 209, 247, 248, 324
Parese, 297	Serra, 66, 74, 75, 179,
Paris, 334, 357, 447	Sin, 36
Pegu, 98	South Africa, 27
Persia, 19, 22, 24, 37, 146,	Spain, 26, 89, 90, 160, 177
198, 246-249, 287, 292, 324, 325, 358, 395, 441	Syria, 18, 19, 87, 170, 173, 176, 177, 181, 182, 288
Pharsala, 102, 189, 393, 395,	Tamilnadu, 99
401, 424	Tannara, 298
Plassanal, 190-194, 196, 239, 392	Telkef, 129, 243, 245, 285, 440
Pondicherry, 161, 162	Theodosiopolis, 448
Portugal, 26-28, 32, 38, 39, 45, 52, 55, 59, 60, 69, 73,	Thozhiyoor, 104, 105, 107, 110, 111
89, 90, 177, 198, 210, 250, 252, 254, 277, 328, 400	Thycattucherry, 339, 340, 353, 360, 362

INDEX OF PLACES

Traianopolis, 89, 216
Travancore (Trivandrum), 103, 104, 107-109, 159, 165, 181, 199, 345, 355
Trent, 37, 52, 59, 62, 251, 287, 288, 327, 347
Trichinopoly (Tiruchirapalli), 161
Tripunithara, 342
Turkey, 19, 28, 29, 43, 82, 85
Ummasia, 297
Urmiah, 82
Vaikam, 239
Vaipicotta, 64, 70

Vatican, 38, 54, 250 Verapoly, 96-102, 115, 120, 134, 139, 143, 150, 155, 160, 162, 163, 171-173, 177, 180, 182, 189-192, 195, 197-199, 202, 205, 208, 209, 214, 218, 219, 224, 234, 235, 258, 263, 264, 266, 267, 269, 274-276, 297, 299, 342-347, 350, 354, 358, 389, 390, 392-394, 396-400, 403, 405, 406, 424, 444 Vilakkumadam, 392 Zaku, 287, 301, 323